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THE DAY OF YAHWEH

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THE DAY OF YAHWEH

A STUDY OF SACRED DAYS AND RITUAL FORMS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

BY

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To
M. M. H.
W. C. H.

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PREFACE

This is not a systematic treatise, but a record of an investigation in a new field, in the form of related essays. This form is in keeping with the tentative nature of the study, which was undertaken with neither a thesis to defend or verify nor a predetermined method, but with the sole purpose of following certain clues wherever they should lead. While this procedure has the obvious disadvantage of entailing considerable repetition in detail, it may justify itself by affording a clearer insight into the complexity of the subject and the steps by which there gradually evolved a method of dealing with it. Dogmatism is alien to the scientific spirit in which, it is hoped, this inquiry has been conducted; if it anywhere appears, it should be credited to the mischance that besets work done under difficult circumstances. If the writer needed to be taught the lesson of humility, this study was the ideal school in which to learn it; for, however much it may have illuminated, it has brought out impressively the surrounding darkness. Perhaps more than in most directions, in this we know in part: in many matters of great importance we have little or no evidence, and in hardly any is there sufficient to warrant even a guess as to the historical connection. A history of the ritual schemes is, certainly for the present, impossible, even where data are most abundant; the quest of ultimate origins must be reserved for those who possess the power of divination. The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the evidence is of so different source and date. Objection will no doubt be made here and there to the use of data without regard to the date of the source. Where data can reasonably be assigned to the date of the documents in which they are found, such a procedure would be indefensible; but all the ritual forms are presumably far older than any documents at our disposal. Our investigation, therefore, raises far more questions than it may be thought, even on the most favorable view, to have answered.

In the course of the discussion there will be found sufficient intimations of the way in which this study came about; it need only be added that, had the issue or the required expenditure of time been foreseen, it would not have been undertaken. When, however, clues

which gave promise of leading to interesting and possibly important results were discovered, the duty to follow them and report the findings seemed inescapable. Unfortunately they have led a Hellenist into departments of learning where the credentials he can exhibit are more than doubtful.

Though the problems suggested by a study of the sacred days and the related ritual schemes were first approached from the side of the Greeks, because of our ampler information regarding them the major festivals of the Hebrews were naturally taken as the standard with which other rites and arrangements should be compared. It would serve no useful purpose to anticipate here the detailed discussion which is to follow; but I should be ungrateful, as well as untrue to myself, if I failed to acknowledge that, despite the inevitable occupation with minute and seemingly insignificant details, in the course of this study there came moments when I glimpsed with awe and almost with rapture the stately structure of Jewish ritual, rising before me like a vast cathedral, founded in the immemorial past and occasionally renewed, adorned with all the symbolism of a race rich in imagination, and lighted in the crypt by the undying memorial flame for the hallowed sanctities of old, and in the choir by windows picturing a people's hopes and fears in prospect of the great consummation at the Last Day. Perhaps the world offers nothing more significant or imposing; and, like the cathedral, it was built by innumerable individuals, sinners, no doubt, as well as saints.

A study of such a nature as this cannot be the work of an individual. Though, even in its present imperfect state, it should betray the combining and ordering mind of the architect, the material has been furnished in more or less elaborated form by countless workers, whose very identity in many cases I could not establish, if I would. For the most part it has become common property, collected here and there. It would be inexcusable pedantry to parade the list of books read and consulted: the bibliography is, therefore, far from complete, though my consciousness of indebtedness to many a book left unmentioned is very real. Often the same data were found in a number of secondary sources, and the acknowledgments made are arbitrary or for convenience of reference, as, e. g., to *The Jewish Encyclopedia.*

Working in an alien field, without the help of comprehensive analytical bibliographies and without the guidance of an expert Orientalist, it was inevitable that I should have overlooked much that would

have been of great value. After my book had gone to press, a number of works, some of which I had previously known by title, became accessible, and showed me how far I was from exhausting the subject; but it was perhaps best that I should not have known their contents, because I might never have concluded my task. They have, however, given me no little assurance regarding the method I employed and the principal outlines of the view which results from my inquiry. The works to which I refer are the following:

Sigmund Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie* (Kristiania, 1922). Mowinckel emphasizes the connection of Creation and eschatology with Sukkot, and shows the relation of many *Psalms* to the autumnal New Year festival. My attention was called to this remarkable study by the review of M. Loisy in the *Revue critique*.

A. J. Wensinck, "The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology," *Acta Orientalia*, 1 (1923), 158–199, contemporary with the foregoing but apparently independent of it. Wensinck connects Creation, the Deluge, the Kingdom, Chaos, and the end of all things with Sukkot, the autumnal New Year festival. Neither writer concerns himself with the festival arrangements in detail or with the ritual forms.

Abba Hillel Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel from the First through the Seventeenth Centuries* (1927). Dr. Silver emphasizes the connection of the Messianic speculations with the calendar, and points out that there existed a popular Calendar (era) of Creation, according to which the end of the fifth (the beginning of the sixth) millennium fell in the second quarter of the first century. The Messiah, who was expected to come in the sixth millennium, was therefore anxiously awaited; but when the hopes of the Jews failed, according to their belief, to be realized, there was adopted an official Calendar of Creation, which shortened the age of the world by a millennium, thus postponing the expected coming of Messiah. Dr. Silver likewise brings out the importance of the letters *He*(= 5) and *Waw*(= 6) in the Messianic speculations and in relation to the expectation of Messiah in the sixth millennium, since *Waw*(6) is the letter (number) of Messiah. His evidence, drawn from Jewish sources, runs precisely parallel to that which I gathered from other documents, partly Christian, partly generally Oriental, first in my essay "The Messianic Expectations of Vergil" and now in *The Day of Yahweh*.

Henri Hubert, *Étude sommaire de la représentation du temps dans la religion et la magie* (Paris, 1905). This pamphlet, sent by the author to his friend, Professor Dutcher, who passed it on to me, likewise contains a few observations of interest in connection with my study.

Axel Olrik, *Ragnarök: Die Sagen vom Weltuntergang* (1922). This book, brought to my attention by Richard Reitzenstein, *Weltuntergangsvorstellungen* (1924), might have yielded me very interesting parallels to the overthrow of Haik and Azi Dahhak at the New Year, besides many other motives common to Creation, New Year, and the end of the world. The quest of origins here pursued seems to me premature.

Benjamin Dean Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century* (1920). Dr. Meritt opens up an interesting field for study and speculation by pointing out the existence at Athens of a solar senatorial year alongside the lunisolar year in common use. Whether further search will disclose the important details of adjustment and reveal a recognition of a five-day epact, which might account for the epact in the pre-Julian Roman calendar, remains for the future to determine.

So many friends have assisted me in various ways that a mere list of their names would fill several pages. It does not argue want of appreciation of others that I record special obligations to the following:

My colleague, Professor George M. Dutcher, has given me references to many a title, which his exceptional knowledge of bibliography suggested. Dr. William J. James, Librarian of Wesleyan University, and his assistants have shown unfailing helpfulness both in placing at my service their own resources and in borrowing books for my use from other libraries. In this connection acknowledgment should be made of the liberal policy of the libraries of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia Universities, and of the Hartford Theological Seminary.

At the instance of President James L. McConaughy, a number of friends of Wesleyan University generously made possible the preparation of the manuscript for the press. Through the interest of Dr. F. P. Keppel and the Secretaries of the American Council of Learned Societies the book was brought to the attention of the Publication Committee of the American Historical Association, who accepted it for publication in their series of Historical Studies. Professor Charles

C. Torrey, of Yale University, and President Julian Morgenstern, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, in the midst of pressing duties in other directions read the galley-proof, and by their helpful suggestions and criticisms saved me from numerous mistakes, without incurring responsibility for anything the book contains. Dean Frank W. Nicolson has given indisputable proof of his friendship by joining me in revising the galley-proof; and Mr. Frederick S. Pease, Jr., of The Century Co. has been unremitting in his search for typographical errors. Mrs. Marion R. Trilling has prepared the index of Scriptural passages.

To all these, and to the unnamed friends who bore with me when I mentioned points of interest or vexatious questions arising in the course of my inquiry, I would express my heartfelt thanks and the fervent wish that what I now offer may prove to be not unworthy of so great kindness.

If errors of fact or judgment are detected—and they are quite certain to be found—it is my hope that they may be corrected by those who have a better knowledge of the subjects I have considered; and if many scholars in the several fields of their special competence shall extend in new directions the investigation I began, I shall feel amply repaid for the labor of years.

W. A. H.

Middletown, Conn., Dec. 4, 1928.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(The following list includes such titles only as are rather frequently mentioned and require explanation.)

Acta sanct. = *Acta sanctorum.*

A.J.P. = *American Journal of Philology.*

Al-Biruni = Al-Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations,* translated by Eduard Sachau (London, 1879).

A.R. = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*

B.c.h. = *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique.*

Bertholet = Bertholet, *Die jüdische Religion von der Zeit Esras bis zum Zeitalter Christi* (Vol. II of *Biblische Theologie des alten Testaments,* begun by B. Stade).

Brugsch, *Æg.* = Brugsch, *Die Ægyptologie.*

Brugsch, *Rel.* = Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter,* 2d ed.

Burton = Burton, Sir Richard Francis, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah* (1855).

Chabas = Chabas, *Le calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes* (Maspero, *Bibliothèque egyptologique,* XII, 146 *sq.*).

C.i.G. = *Corpus inscriptionum Græcarum.*

C.i.L. = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.*

D.B. = *A Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. James Hastings.

E.R.E. = Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.*

Gaudefroy-Demombynes = Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Contribution à l'étude du pèlerinage de la Mekke* (1923).

Ginzel = Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie.*

Gruppe = Gruppe, Otto, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte.*

Gruppe, *Jahresb.* (1908) = Gruppe, Otto, *Bericht über die Literatur zur antiken Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte aus den Jahren 1898–1905* (1908) (*Supplem. Bd., Jahresbericht für die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*).

Gruppe, *Jahresb.* (1921) = Gruppe, Otto, *Bericht über die Literatur zur antiken Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte aus den Jahren*

1906–1917 (1912) (*Supplem. Bd., Jahresbericht für die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*).

H.G.f. = *Historicorum Græcorum fragmenta,* ed. Müller.

Hurgronje, *Feest* = C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (1880).

Hurgronje, *Mekka* = C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* 2 vols. (1888–1889).

J. Enc. = *The Jewish Encyclopedia.*

Kugler = Kugler, F. X., *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* (1907–1924).

Landsberger = Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer, Erste Hälfte* (1915) (*Leipziger semitische Studien,* VI, 1–2).

Mommsen, *Feste* = Mommsen, A., *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (1898).

Nilsson, *Feste* = Nilsson, M. P., *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der Attischen* (1906).

P.G. = *Patrologia Græca,* ed. Migne.

P.L. = *Patrologia Latina,* ed. Migne.

Reinach, *Textes* = Reinach, Théodore, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme* (1895).

Roscher, *Lex.* = Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.*

Steuernagel = Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das alte Testament.*

Tresp = Tresp, Alois, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* (1914).

Van Gennep = Van Gennep, Arnold, *Les rites de passage.*

v. Prott = Prott, Joannes de, *Leges Græcorum sacræ e titulis collectæ. Fasciculus I, Fasti sacri.*

Weidner = Weidner, Ernst F., *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie, Erster Band* (1915).

Ziehen = Ziehen, L., *Leges Græcorum sacræ e titulis collectæ. Pars altera, Leges Græciæ et insularum.*

Zimmern I = Zimmern, H., "Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest," *Verh. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.,* LVIII (1906).

Zimmern II = Zimmern, H., "Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest, zweiter Beitrag," *ibid.,* LXX (1918).

Zimmern III = Zimmern, H., *"Das babylonische Neujahrsfest," Der alte Orient,* XXV (1926).

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THE DAY OF YAHWEH

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Religion is as complex and inexhaustible as human life, at the deepest roots of which it lies. He who would disclose its origins or embrace in a formula or a set of formulas its manifestations and significance attempts the unattainable. Even when one ignores the present and the unpredictable future and confines one's attention to the past, religion historically considered is utterly baffling as a whole. Who that has made an honest effort to interpret, that is to enter sympathetically into, the religious consciousness of peoples of other faiths or other times, has not been left cold, more or less aware that his attempt has ended in failure? No doubt this is in any case inevitable, if one is really honest with oneself. Nevertheless there are different modes of approach and corresponding differences in the degrees of success or failure. One who joins a foreign army, sharing its marches, its advances, battles, retreats, its elation, hopes, and fears, will comprehend the people in a measure unattainable by him who has stood aloof and played the part only of the spectator or the reader. Similarly, though not so fully as the participant, will one who has experienced like fortunes, albeit in other days and urged by other loyalties, find a sympathetic comprehension possible, provided that there be that in the two groups of experience which enforces a comparison. If that be supplied, even the greatest differences in detail may fail to obstruct the flow of sympathy which conditions understanding. In the study of the religion of other times and other peoples points of comparison which are at once significant and essential are of the first importance.

But how shall one ascertain what is significant and essential? Does not a judgment that a given point possesses these characters imply an understanding of the matter in hand? Undoubtedly it does; he who selects points of comparison for the sake of interpretation presupposes a significant relation, and hence is reasoning in a circle. But, *pace* the logicians, that is precisely what every man of science is obliged to do, whether he employs working hypotheses or the analytical method. Having made his assumption, he is justified or

condemned by the issue; if justified, by faith and works alike. The investigator inevitably follows many clues; but he spares the reader by ignoring those which have failed to lead him to the light.

Every student of religions institutes comparisons with a view to making them intelligible to himself or others. Is there nothing to guide him in selecting the things to be compared? Amid the infinite variety of religious phenomena, otherwise baffling, there is a division into classes unquestionably significant. We may consider a religion from two points of view, according as we direct attention to its rites and observances or to the thoughts and emotions which are associated with it. The former group we may call the ritual; the latter, the faith. Now in our time Occidental scholars, especially such as are Christian Protestants, have been in general little interested in liturgy and ritual, but supremely concerned with the intellectual elaboration and statement of dogma. Without questioning the value of occupying oneself with the latter, it is possible to maintain that as a mode of approach to the understanding of religion in other times and among other peoples it is extremely precarious and relatively fruitless.

If one contemplates a given congregation whose members are severally well known, one may in a measure tell how a given service is being reflected in the individual minds. Of one thing the spectator may be sure—that the thoughts and emotions will be extremely varied. Even if a common creed be pronounced, it may have almost as many meanings as there are worshipers. Yet all this baffling multiplicity is somehow related to the service—to the ritual acts and observances. If this be true in a Protestant service, in which the sermon is commonly without reference to the lectionary and the Christian Year, how much more obvious is the significance of the ritual in a church which observes times and seasons, omits or minimizes the sermon, and by lectionary and liturgy concentrates the attention on the sacred associations of the day. Many a Protestant congregation knows nothing of such services except at Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, and Thanksgiving; even then, however, the traditionary element may be reduced to a minimum, and the sermon, which serves to interpret the occasion, may contain little to fix the thought of the people on the sanctities of an historical faith. One may recall Christmas sermons without a reference to the manger at Bethlehem and wholly devoted to pleas for charitable gifts to the poor and subscriptions for missionary enterprises.

Judaism is, however, distinctly a ritualist religion, each service

definitely associated with the past history of the Hebrew people and serving as a memorial rite. Nor is this true solely of Judaism proper, the religion of Israel since the exile. The entire Hebrew tradition bears witness that it was even so from the earliest times which the researches of the historian can reach. Indeed, the greatest sanctities of Judaism are those of its ritual, its times and seasons. For Judaism, therefore, though not for Judaism alone, we may be sure that ritual is of the essence. He who would understand this religion may with assurance begin with a study of its ritual. But the essence of ritual is form. In a measure this fact has long been recognized: those who disapprove of a church which makes much of ritual charge it with formalism. Whether this criticism in any particular case is true and of serious import is not our present concern. So far as the statement is deserving of consideration it presumably means that the forms do not possess for the worshiper a corresponding spiritual significance. In a vital religion, however, which has not completely broken with its past, such a divorce of significance from the traditional forms is hardly conceivable. Certainly in Judaism with its highly developed ritual derived, though with significant changes, from remote antiquity, there has been in connection with its memorial festivals a conscious effort to preserve the continuing significance of its ritual acts. Nevertheless the interpretation has varied, and the conception of particular observances has changed in the course of history, as was indeed inevitable. It is just the indications of these changes which will be found to yield the most significant data available to the student in his effort to reconstruct the spiritual history of the Jewish Church.

The Jewish ritual consists of things done and of words read, sung, or spoken. A Greek rite likewise comprises the same essential elements. In the latter case we speak of rite and myth; but the ancient Greeks were quite as apt to employ the term "sacred story" for the word "myth." It matters little which term is employed, so long as one knows what is intended; though it is desirable on occasion to distinguish between myth and sacred story. The latter is naturally most intimately related to the rite or rites; whereas a myth or legend, though not unrelated to ritual, may have assumed forms and proportions which render precarious every effort to refer it, whether as a whole or in its several details, to a rite or ritual complex. In the latter case the poetic imagination may have had free rein, though it had the rite or the sacred story as its proper point of departure. It is of more consequence to ascertain the connection between the sacred

story and the ritual acts. Commonly the observance is represented as commemorative of the events related in the sacred story. The sacred story of the Passover is of course generally regarded by the Jews as narrating the actual circumstances attending the departure of Israel from Egypt, whereas the ritual observances are supposed to be performed in grateful commemoration of the deliverance of the people by the miraculous interposition of Yahweh. Thus on this view the sacred story, as furnishing the explanation or justification of the rite, is held to be prior to it in time; but this view of their relation can hardly be maintained. We shall find, on the contrary, abundant reason to conclude that the rite, itself of immemorial antiquity and no longer fully understood, gave rise to the sacred story, which in fact not only reflects the observances as a whole but contains indications not a few of the internal articulation and morphology of the ritual.

But while the supreme sanctities of Judaism are undoubtedly those of its ritual observances, the Torah has come to occupy a place almost if not quite of equal dignity. There are no doubt some who would attribute this veneration of the Torah to its supposed character as an inspired record of the patriarchs and the chosen people of Yahweh; but a careful study of the Hebrew tradition cannot fail to make it plain that such was not the view anciently taken of the Scriptures. The Torah was regarded rather as containing the body of directions for the cultus; and when there came to be felt a dissidence between cultus and directions, it was the latter, rather than the former, that were subjected to revision. That the revision did not result in the total obscuration of the historical process of growth and adaptation may perhaps be attributed to the dispersion of the Jews and their failure to effect an absolute centralization or unification of authority in the Church. Certain it is that changes in their Scriptures continued to be made even after the Septuagint version was made. In this process of revision and redaction, which we cannot hope to trace in detail, various sacred stories relating to the rites of Israel and Judah came to be combined into a comprehensive legend of the beginnings of the chosen people of Yahweh. This imaginative reconstruction of the distant past, beside embodying many sacred stories belonging to particular rites, was itself conceived in a form suggested by the ritual observances and framed, as it were, by the Passover-rites of ancient Israel. This we may now state thus briefly, leaving the evidence by which it is confirmed to be set forth as we proceed.

When one speaks of ritual as being essentially formal, one means

not only that the individual ritual act must be performed in a manner precisely prescribed. This is, to be sure, a commonplace observation illustrated with all desirable clearness by the oft repeated formularies describing the procedure at a sacrifice and by the meticulous punctilio of the Roman augurs. The roots of such prescriptions have rightly been sought in the sphere of magic. But ritual acts are not atomistically conceived: they form groups of smaller or greater length. Indeed, as in liturgies, it is the group rather than the individual act to which the chief significance attaches; and again, it is the form rather than the particular contents that provides the element of permanence. This has been shown with admirable precision to be true of early Christian liturgies in relation to the service of the synagogue;[1] for the general scheme was retained unaltered, even to the themes of the prayers and the lections, though the wording of the prayers and the selections from the Scriptures were changed by the substitution of other matters of similar import. This was done in the early days of the Church while the sense of ritual form was still vigorous; subsequently there supervened even in the Church of Rome a gradual decay in matters of ritual leading to a failure of ritual development and to the production of mongrel forms which offend the few who by historical studies have reëntered into the spirit of the early Church.[2]

From the point of view of ritual, the unit is not the individual act or part, but the complex which constitutes the service. Strictly speaking, however, even the particular liturgy or office does not stand alone, but is comprehended in a scheme of larger compass. At present in Christendom the true unit is the Church Year; but originally it was Holy Week. Christian ritual and liturgies gradually developed from the observances of Holy Week, which in turn derived in the main from the Jewish Passover. Now Holy Week presents a ritual scheme of considerable elaboration and complexity, each observance having a determinate relation to the whole. Even this scheme, however, connected as it is with the account of the last Passover given in the Synoptists, was not the only one observed in the early Church, as is evident from the fact that there are at least three other accounts of the events of Holy Week which purport to be derived from the

[1] See Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques*, esp. *Appendice* I, 317 *sq.*

[2] See Duchesne, *Christian Worship*. Mgr. Duchesne does not appear to see the reason for the lapse of the sense for ritual form; it is due to a break with the Eastern Church and to the fact that the ritual forms of ancient Rome were in part quite different from those of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin.

Apostles, differing indeed in many important details, but one and all susceptible of reduction to recognized ritual schemes. This observation, however, we cannot at present follow at greater length; what concerns us for the moment is merely to signalize the existence and importance of ritual schemes. For the study of this subject the religion of the Hebrews is of the greatest value to the investigator because of its long and abundant tradition. Incidentally, it will become clear as we proceed that this study throws much light on questions which have long engaged the thought of scholars concerned with the beginnings of the Christian tradition.

A scheme requires an inner articulation, and this articulation is revealed in good part by its numerical relations. The sacredness of the number seven among the Hebrews is too well known to require proof: in the later stages of their tradition the sanctity of this number is such that it has quite obscured others which must at one time or another have had a significance quite as sacred and quite as well defined. The sacred numbers are always related to schemes, but the units which in composition constitute the figures are so varied as to appear almost indifferent. Thus the sacred hebdomad may be one of days, the week, concluding with the Sabbath; of months, ending with the Sabbatical month; of years, yielding the Sabbatical year; and of hebdomads of years, leading up to the Jubile year. There can, however, be little doubt that the larger units are more artificial and of later development: in primitive society the apparent daily revolutions of the sun furnished the most natural units of time of which the schemes were compounded. Hence the fundamental significance of the day: a ritual scheme commonly consists of a given number of days.

The speculations of the ancients regarding numbers are more or less familiar to all students of the past. Too often it is assumed that this supposedly futile exercise of the intellect is a symptomatic product of an age of decadence, associated in many minds especially with the somewhat frivolous Neo-Pythagoreans of the last centuries preceding the Christian era. However much these so-called philosophers may have contributed in detail to the fascinating game of finding new and curious relations between numbers, it is demonstrably false to conclude that any appreciable part of the significance attaching to the first four digits, or even to the larger group of numbers from one to ten, is due to their speculations. The sacred associations of numbers are rather of great antiquity, in certain cases clearly reaching far into prehistoric times. This must, for example, be true

of the number two, if etymologists be right in connecting *duo* in Greek with *dia,* which connotes division. That the number two stands for division in many ways hallowed in cultus is clear; though, as with the sacred associations of numbers in general, little regard has been paid to the fact because of the gross neglect of ritual and of the significant patterns it assumes. When these things have received any attention, they have commonly been explained as due to symbolism. The numerical relations, apparently first elaborated in cult-schemes, found their way in time into spheres far remote, becoming mere forms capable of receiving almost any content. Entering insensibly into the very substance of song and story, they have had a career by no means negligible even in the highly artificial literature of an age of printed books. More palpably present are they in folk-tales and ballads dating from a period when immemorial customs still held sway in the lives of the common people. On this point it is permissible to quote a remark of Hermann Usener. "It is a palpable mistake," he says,[1] "to look for symbolism in the frequent use of numbers in folk-tales and customs. The number is rather to be regarded always as a given, preëxisting form, in which the idea has been unconsciously cast as in a mold. The numbers had become in a measure fixed types and schemes, which, presumably by the operation of analogy, found ever wider application. To this estate of a rigid, lifeless form numbers could of course not have been reduced, had they not previously had the opportunity in stereotyped connections to impress themselves on the memory and become thoroughly familiar." We cannot here concern ourselves seriously with such artifacts as Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Boccaccio's *Decameron,* nor even with folk-tales and ballads originating spontaneously among the people, because they come down to us without known points of attachment; it is however not without a certain interest to remark that the numerical schemes which they embody, in part quite identical with those which we shall discover in the sacred stories connected with the cultus of the Hebrews, had been used even in ancient times as frames for literary compositions.[2] Ultimately cultus-scheme and literary pattern are connected, and one cannot doubt that the latter is derived from the former.

This relation, perhaps hardly discerned and certainly not empha-

[1] "Dreiheit," *Rh. Mus.,* LVIII (1903), 348 *sq.*

[2] That this is true of the number seven in the Hebrew Scriptures has long been remarked. Cf. Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible, s. v.* "Seven," III, 1219 *b.*

sized or developed by Usener, to whom all students of the history of religion are deeply indebted, has become clear to the writer in the course of the investigations he has carried on in recent years. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the forms are peculiar to the cultus of any particular god or even that they necessarily belong to the cultus of distinctly conceived gods of whatever name or specific character; for they appear in rites possibly even more primitive which have little if any inherent reference to a clearly conceived *numen*. Of such character are many so-called *rites de passage,* performed at various junctures in the life-cycle of the individual, marking and effecting his or her transition from one estate to another. These rites, as we shall presently see, fall into distinct, successive stages, each possessing its own peculiar function and suggestions for the initiate; since, however, the ritual drama of initiation commonly occupies a determinate number of days, it is only natural that in general the several acts of the drama should fall to stated particular days, to which they are accounted suitable. Thus the several days of the rite would in the thought of the initiate take color from the mood induced by the observances peculiar to them; and from the fixed associations of ideas thus formed there springs in course of time, as will appear in the sequel, a wealth of spiritual suggestions for prophet, seer, and preacher, and even for the teller of folk-tales and the nameless singer of ballads.

Hitherto our discussion has proceeded in such general terms that the reader may have gained the impression that there was to be here set forth a single ritual scheme which, once disclosed, would provide an easy clue to the labyrinth of rites and sacred stories. It is conceivable that sometime somewhere so simple a problem may have confronted the investigator; unfortunately it is not true of the ritual traditions of the Hebrews, which show on the contrary a considerable variety of competing schemes that result in occasional confusion not wholly due to the redaction of the documents. Regarding the origin or provenience of these schemes we are in general in no position to speak with confidence: before that may be done, many contiguous fields, such as the Babylonian, must have been diligently worked by those who are at once aware of the nature of the problems and competent to use the sources. Now in any ritual complex extending over a determinate period of time, the significance and suggestions of the constituent days must obviously depend on their relative positions and the particular observances assigned to them. In view, therefore,

of the existence of competing schemes, a double caution is clearly demanded: one must avoid hasty generalizations, and on the other hand inconsistent or unexplained data must not be unduly pressed in opposition to our findings. The evidence of shifting schemes and of changed evaluations of days is indeed abundant; the conclusions to be drawn from the indications are not always equally plain. This condition is, however, just what we might reasonably have expected; for the Hebrews, occupying the corridor of Asia and exposed to the tragic vicissitudes due to their position, suffered a series of catastrophic changes of fortune without reckoning the less dramatic but perhaps no less fateful experiences growing out of their constant relations to near or remoter neighbors. In general it must be acknowledged that we know far too imperfectly the religious history of Western Asia to admit of dogmatism regarding the influences in detail to which the Hebrews were subjected.

Could we determine even the order and the approximate dates of the various ritual schemes which the Hebrew tradition reveals, it would conceivably be a discovery of far-reaching significance; for, if these ritual forms were ascertained to be those which prevailed among peoples with whom the Hebrews successively came into immediate contact, and the sequence were found to correspond to the known outlines of history, we should unquestionably have found a criterion of the first importance for the critical study of the literary tradition of this people. But such results, should they ever prove to be attainable, are at present impossible. While one may discern distinct ritual forms and in a tentative way bring one or the other into an intelligible relation to certain strata of the literary deposits of the Hebrew tradition as they have been made known by the historical study of the Old Testament, so much remains undetermined that one is led to suspect that not only the question of ritual changes but that of the literary stratification of the Old Testament also are really in their initial stages.

Now it will be asked how the evaluation of days is to be ascertained. There are of course many references, say, to the third and the seventh day. Because of their character there is in most instances no reason to connect these with specific calendar days, the time-references being rather a frame into which the particular story is set. Even here, however, it is of advantage to consider the character of the several days as revealed by the acts which are assigned to them. In this regard we owe most to other than Biblical sources. Another

fruitful resource lies in the provisions for the festivals. These, as we shall presently find, furnish the best evidence of the shift in ritual forms, but they likewise reveal a change in the evaluation of days. But in the directions of the Torah regarding the festivals there is likewise a definite reference of each solemnity to a calendar: the calendar-dates of the pilgrimages are of course of prime importance, as any thoughtful reader of the Scriptures must instinctively feel. But the sacral calendar of the Hebrews has a history, some of the stages of which we shall later attempt to make clear, though here also there are considerable stretches where a guess alone is possible. Fortunately for our present purpose, we are able with reasonable certainty to reconstruct the calendar of the Priestly code to which the traditional dates of the festivals are referred. This discovery will throw an unexpected flood of light on the evaluation of sacred days at a certain stage of the Hebrew tradition. But a scientific calendar, even a sacral calendar, is secondary. Since primitive religion everywhere centers about festival-observances, it is the festival that furnishes the primary datum; but the festival is itself proper to times and seasons. How these were originally determined one can but guess: when the prevailing mode of life was agricultural, the farmer's year, depending on the crops, would presumably decide when the festival should be held at the local shrine; but agriculture was not the earliest stage and there were festivals before there was agriculture. That of sheep-shearing, for example, known from the Old Testament, had no inherent relation to agriculture. It is a palpable exaggeration to bring all festival-observances into an original relation to the farmer's year; yet there was unquestionably a farmer's year among the Hebrews, and it was one of many beginnings. The Talmud mentions a New Year's day for every important crop. Such a year as this, though itself an abstraction from concrete experience and arrived at probably by averages, might suffice for a local shrine frequented solely by close neighbors who could be reached by a relatively simple proclamation appointing a festival on a given day; but for a centralized cultus, having devotees widely scattered, a fixed calendar is of course a practical necessity. There is, of course, no inherent reason why a fixed calendar should adopt different ritual schemes from those observed in local shrines; but it is conceivable that the same influences which determined the form of the calendar, if it came from abroad, might affect the days of the month on which the festivals were appointed.

So far as we know the history of fixed calendars, they are apparently the creation of priestly colleges, whose chief concern lay in the determination of the festal seasons. The problems with which they were confronted varied of course with circumstances. A calendar made for a particular shrine devoted to a single cult might well present few difficulties, whereas one constructed for a polytheistic state observing different ritual schemes in its varied cults might well tax the ingenuity of a sage. Such was, for example, the case at Athens. Among the Hebrews, however, when in the course of time the Jewish Church had, at least in theory, achieved monotheism, the Sabbath, as the seventh day hallowed by age-old tradition, gave rise to a weekly calendar which was never, it seems, in actual practice combined either with the month or with the year. This arrangement was of course extremely artificial and of quite late origin; the Rabbis bestowed a deal of attention on the clashing of this weekly calendar with the previously existing annual or semiannual calendar to which the immemorial pilgrimages were referred. In view of the sanctity of the cyclical Sabbath it was natural that in later Judaism this day was held to supersede the festivals, while in practice the festivals tended more and more to be reckoned as Sabbaths. The prophets reveal a regard for the new moons which seems to imply that the lunation was a large factor in the ritual observances of early Israel; but in the Torah the new moons as such appear to be quite ignored in favor of an artificial month the first day of which received scant attention. In late Judaism the observation of the new moons was again recognized, though not with the approval of such devoted ritualists as the author of *Jubilees*. We shall later find presumptive evidence of the effort in late times to combine regard for the Sabbath with that for the phases of the moon. The cyclical Sabbath belongs obviously to post-exilic times; before the exile the cultus centered in the pilgrimages to local shrines except in so far as the Deuteronomic order may have succeeded in effecting an actual centralization of the cultus of Yahweh at Jerusalem. Of such an effect there appears, however, to be little or no tangible evidence. Nevertheless the dates appointed for the pilgrimages in the Priestly code are apparently determined with reference to the preëxilic calendar, though restated in terms of the calendar of the exile. The evidence for this assertion will be presented in the course of this study. The shift from one calendar to another had the effect of obscuring to the common view the ritual significance of the dates of the pilgrimages, which

has now to be recovered by painstaking research. A secondary result was that Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles, because dated on the fifteenth day of the month, came to be associated with the full moon at a time when the priests had resumed the observation of the moon's phases, although the older Hebrew tradition contains no hint of a special regard for the full moon. The details of the sacral calendar of the Hebrews will be more fully considered later. For the present this general statement must suffice.

Since, however, in the course of our study numerous references will have to be made by way of comparison to Greek dates, a brief account of some basic principles involved in Greek calendars, especially in the Athenian, is here indispensable. The same regard for the significance and character of particular days underlies both Hebrew and Greek practice. While, however, because of the simplicity of its requirements the Hebrew calendar called in general for no recognized divisions of the month, among the Greeks the greater complexity of sacral rites demanded the utilization of the whole month and consequently a formal distinction of its parts. A study of the sacred numbers would show that an immemorial sanctity does not attach to any beyond the decad: larger numbers owe their significance to analogy and to derivative schemes. Now the Greek month regularly falls into three decads, and the days in each decad have the values and connotations of the prime digits. Thus we know that "all the third days" were sacred to Athena; and since the final decad of the Greek month admitted of a twofold reckoning, according as one counted forward or backward, it is readily seen that the framer of a Greek calendar might have four dates within the compass of a month at his disposal for the high-day of a festival which should fall on a third day. The same principle holds of course for the other digits. Of which among the possible dates the calendar-maker would actually avail himself in a given case depended of course on circumstances unknown to us, but doubtless intelligible enough if one knew them.[1] In the Old Testament likewise periods of ten days occur, but except in one late instance there is apparent no reason for assuming that they have any relation to the division of the month into

[1] Somewhat the same procedure was followed in Islam. Al-Biruni, p. 246, says: "Some people say that the *unlucky days* mentioned in the Koran (*Sūra* xli. 15) coincide, each set of four of them, with a day of the month in the date of which there is a 4, i. e., the 4th, or the 14th, or the 24th from the beginning or end of the month."

decads.[1] In particular it is certain that none of the major pilgrimages owed its date to a calendary principle similar to that which obtained in Greece.

We have now to speak in summary terms of the Hebrew festivals. Philo says that the weekly Sabbath is the prime datum, the whole ritual scheme of Judaism being based on it. There was, indeed, some reason for holding such an opinion in Philo's time, when the cyclical Sabbath had come to be one of the signs of the covenant; but it seems hardly credible that there should be found to-day intelligent students of Hebrew antiquities who would apply this point of view to the ancient pilgrimages. It is not our purpose to anticipate in detail the conclusions to which our investigations have led; but it cannot be too strongly emphasized that a Sabbath is not necessarily a weekly Sabbath or the last day of an hebdomadal term, even if it be granted that it was always a seventh day. Not only is there no evidence of the observance of a weekly Sabbath before the exile;[2] but the Hebrew tradition as well as analogy points unequivocally to the conclusion that in the earlier period the sanctities of Israelite religion attached to the pilgrimages, which were associated with the exodus, the sojourn in the wilderness, and the return to the Holy Land. The Sabbath also, to be sure, obtained a precarious reference to the same complex, but it is not difficult to see that this was not original. It is, therefore, to the Hebrew tradition regarding the pilgrimages that we must chiefly look for evidence respecting the ritual schemes of the Israelite and Jewish cultus.

Upon an examination of the Hebrew pilgrimages, one is at first impressed by their superficial differences. The Feast of Unleavened Bread, for example, appears at first sight to have little, if anything, in common with the Feast of Tabernacles. One may note, to be sure, that in the calendar they absolutely balance each other; but this is

[1] *Gen.* XXIV. 55. Rebekah is to remain ten days in her father's house before joining her bridegroom. *Exod.* XII. 3 is frequently cited as evidence of a decadic division of the month; but this is a manifest error, as will later appear. In the story of the Flood (*Gen.* VII–VIII) the addition of ten days is probably due to intercalation, in order to adjust the lunar to the solar year. But the fact that, while terms (apparently not consecutive) of seven days are emphasized in the story, the 7th, 17th, and 27th days of the month are specified, shows on the one hand that the cyclical week was not an established institution, and on the other hand that the decadic division of the month was followed, as in Babylonia, Egypt, and Greece.

[2] II *Kings* XI. 5–9 more probably refers to a festival, and II *Kings* XVI. 18 is quite uncertain in meaning (see LXX). *Exod.* XXIII. 12 and XXXIV. 21, being unsupported, cannot prove the preëxilic origin of the institution.

likely to appear of little significance until a more penetrating examination of the tradition reveals a thoroughgoing equation of these festivals, not only in form, but also in ritual observance. Moreover, the assimilation of the Day of Atonement to the festivals just mentioned and its ritual equation with the Passover in Christian thought must give one pause. Furthermore, the study in modern times of the festivals of the Bedouins plainly suggests that the several Hebrew festivals are in essence nothing more than specialized elaborations, probably due in part to local custom, partly to the intervention of the priests, of observances once more or less common to the typical *hag*. This is indeed the conclusion to which a detailed consideration of the Hebrew tradition itself appears to point. Thus the Feast of Unleavened Bread raises to the dignity of a special annual festival an observance which was probably common to all *haggim,* as the Feast of Tabernacles sanctifies the equally universal practice of sojourning in booths at the pilgrimages. Pentecost, in turn, singles out for ritual emphasis the offering of first-fruits, without which one can hardly think of a major festival. Certain it is that from ancient times—unquestionably from the institution of the cycle of three annual festivals—this practice was observed. "Three times thou shalt keep a feast [*hag*] unto me in the year . . . and none shall appear before me empty." [1] Elsewhere [2] the formula is more fully given: "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord Yahweh. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread: neither shall the fat of my feast remain until the morning.[3] The first of the first-fruits [4] of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of Yahweh thy God." This statement, duly considered, implies the parity and fundamental similarity of the three annual festivals, all combining observances which in due course received special emphasis in the three successive festivals.[5]

The ritual acts once common to all *haggim* but in time honored by being elevated to the rank of titular observances of the several pil-

[1] *Exod.* XXIII. 14–15.

[2] *Exod.* XXIII. 17–19.

[3] Compare the specific directions for Passover.

[4] This was the specific rite of Pentecost.

[5] It is noteworthy that the sojourn in booths, to which the Feast of Tabernacles owes its name, is not specifically mentioned. This may be due to the circumstance that it was common to every pilgrimage; but it is perhaps more probably omitted because at the time this special festival had not yet been differentiated; for that the specifications regarding it are of relatively late origin admits of no doubt.

grimages were not all, however, from the point of view of ritual, equivalent or interchangeable. Each had its proper place in the scheme: while the eating of unleavened bread coincides in point of time with the eating of the Passover and the sojourn in tents, none of these strictly goes with the offering of first-fruits. This fact, the evidence for which will be given in the sequel, is reflected in the calendary dates of the several festivals; for while the feasts of Passover,[1] Unleavened Bread, and Tabernacles are appointed for the same days of the month, the proper place of Pentecost, as an observance of a post-festal day or *'azeret,* is duly marked by the provisions for the feast.[2] There is, therefore, good reason for the view that in the cycle of three annual pilgrimages the priests by their ordinances sought to give to the several festivals a distinctive character by emphasizing certain observances of hallowed associations connected by immemorial custom with special days of the common *hag.* It may, therefore, be said from a certain point of view that the developed ritual scheme embodied in the cycle of festivals, in the instances of Unleavened Bread and of Booths, converted observances proper to a single day of a festival term into the titular rite of a separate *hag,* lasting for a considerable term, whereas Pentecost, singling out the ritual act of the closing or post-festal day (the *'azeret*) for special emphasis, came to be regarded in a part of the tradition as a distinct *hag,* though brought by a careful elaboration of the scheme into relation with Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Strange as this procedure may appear, one may find interesting and significant parallels even in the days of fully developed Judaism. Thus we think of the Feast of Trumpets as falling on a single day, the first of the seventh month, Tishri; but we have indisputable evidence that in the time of the Targumists this observance proper to a single day had assumed the proportions of a festival of seven days.[3] Indications of a similar character with regard to Passover and the feasts of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles will be noted in the sequel. Even Pentecost, in later Judaism, came to be celebrated on two days.

[1] The question whether Passover belongs to the 14th or the 15th Nisan will be fully considered later; but its connection with the 15th is so well understood that it may here be taken for granted.

[2] We shall later find Pentecost also referred to the 15th of the month, when it was regarded as a separate *hag.*

[3] See the *Targum of Palestine* on *Levit.* XXXIII, p. 219 Etheridge.

There are consequently several points to be attended to in studying the tradition regarding the ancient pilgrimages. That which will at first arrest the attention is the length of the festal term; for there is abundant evidence of variation in this respect. A consideration of this point is doubtless capable of yielding interesting and valuable results in relation to the successive ritual schemes adopted by the priests in ordering the cultus of Yahweh; but, though we shall not fail to refer to certain rather obviously parallel schemes which suggest a probable or certain relation between them and the Hebrew rites, there is still much that remains obscure in the historical connections to be inferred. In general terms it may be safely asserted that among the Hebrews, as among the Greeks, there was a tendency to prolong the terms of festivals which enjoyed increasing popularity; but we are not to assume that this tendency was indulged without providing another acceptable pattern, from whatever source derived. We cannot think of Jews deeply imbued with the sense of due ritual forms heedlessly forgoing the requirements in regard to their most sacred rites. Nevertheless, until such time as we may more adequately ascertain the facts needful for an historical survey of this complicated question, we are bound to say that the most significant data regarding the ancient pilgrimages are not to be found in the varying ordinances for the length of their terms, but rather in the constant date of beginning the observance, which the Hebrews called the *mo'ed,* the appointed season, tryst, or rendezvous of the people with Yahweh. For the individual festival of more than one day's duration there were two specially holy days, the first (constant) and the last (more or less subject to variation): the intermediate days were recognized as of a lesser sanctity and admitting of somewhat variable observance.[1] These facts, duly considered, are of the utmost significance for a study of Hebrew ritual. The last day of the festival is an *'azeret,* or closing day; as strictly post-festal, its signature reveals the length of the festal term proper. The intermediate days may have been intercalated in the course of time, the *'azeret* having perhaps in the most ancient times immediately succeeded the *mo'ed.* For the signature or evaluation of the *mo'ed* we must look to the calendar-date, which becomes significant, however, only when one has ascertained the calendar to which it is referred. A comparison with similar rites elsewhere will at the same time con-

[1] See the article "Holy Days" in *J. Enc.,* VI, 444 *sq.* The intermediate days are likewise spoken of as "half-festal" or "secular."

firm the conclusions drawn from a study of the Hebrew tradition and reveal a far-reaching agreement between elements of the cultus of different peoples.

The calendar of Israel will be discussed at some length in Chapter VII. Here it will suffice to say that it passed through several phases. In the earliest period the months appear to have coincided with the lunations, and the year must have been lunisolar. Passover was dated on the new moon of Abib, a month kept by some sort of intercalation near the vernal equinox. This calendar was displaced, probably shortly before the Babylonian captivity, by another which used arbitrary months, probably of thirty days, divorced from the lunations. The solar year thus introduced was originally dated from the tenth day of a lunar month, and the first day of the seventh month was arbitrarily taken as coinciding with the tenth day of the corresponding lunar month: hence these dates were in the earlier strata of the Priestly code regarded as New Year's days, and the *mo'adim* of the major festivals, Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles, were appointed with reference to these epochs of the half-years. In course of time this calendar, obviously of purely ecclesiastical origin and employed, largely if not solely, for ecclesiastical purposes, gave way before the lunisolar calendar in secular use, which was essentially that of preëxilic Israel and of Babylon. This shift led not only to the eventual adoption by the Church of New Year's days on the new moons of the first and seventh months in addition to the older, more sacred observances on the tenth days of those months, but also to the connection of the *mo'adim* of Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles with the full moon, which was not at first contemplated. A further consequence was that the very nature of the calendar by which the Priestly code dated the festivals was obscured and forgotten, when the Babylonian names of the months and system of intercalation became established in the last centuries before the Christian era.

It was apparently in great part due to this loss of immediate touch with the older order that the pilgrimages came in later times to undergo a revaluation. A circumstance well known to the Rabbis was that the pilgrimages were observed now as fasts, now as feasts, and they offered various explanations of the fact, without in any way touching the heart of the matter. We cannot pretend to have answered this perplexing question, though it is safe to say that the solution, when found, will be discovered to be connected with later ritual

schemes. The Rabbis held that the festivals were converted from fasts into feasts after the return from the Babylonian captivity. One can readily discover a relation between the feast and the day of return; but the difficulty merely grows more perplexing as one contemplates it. On the one hand, later Judaism, even before the destruction of the second temple, multiplied its fast-days far beyond the tale recognized by the Torah; on the other hand, the pilgrimages came in time to be reckoned as Sabbaths. But the Sabbath itself shared the uncertain fortunes of the pilgrimages; for while in theory the Jews insisted that the Sabbath was to be a day of joy or luxury, in practice it became a time of almost limitless taboos; and in pagan [1] and Christian writers [2] it is almost without exception represented as a fast. Since in later Judaism the Sabbath was thought to supersede the pilgrimages, the observances of the former may well have reacted on the latter; but, whatever the relation of these holy days may have been to one another, they must obviously be considered together. In the Christian Church the vigil of feast-days and saints' days was regularly observed as a fast; and that the Christian liturgy should have adopted the Jewish Sabbath-service as that of its vigil cannot be regarded as accidental, when one recalls that even the Rabbis insisted that Sunday be observed as a day of joy and that in the ordinances for the Feast of Tabernacles, which have found acceptance in the scheme of Holy Week, the first and eighth days, both reckoned as morrows after the Sabbath, were the holy days. There is, therefore, good reason for concluding that, in at least a considerable part of the Jewish Church, the Sabbath about the beginning of the Christian era was reckoned as a vigil and observed more or less as a fast. That there was among the Jews a body which rejected this valuation was natural in view of the facts which will hereafter be brought out. One might pursue this subject into the con-

[1] The data are conveniently collected by Theodore Reinach (*Textes*). The annotations, however, do not display such acquaintance with the facts as one might with reason expect.

[2] Thus Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*, pp. 566 P., 616 P., 810 P.) says that the Sabbath was observed ἀποχῇ κακῶν. The same point of view is implied in the logion of Jesus (No. 2 Grenfell and Hunt) from Oxyrhynchus: Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα. (Cf. *Levit.* XXIII. 29, 32.) The saying has a further ritual signification, which may be brought out in another connection. It is not necessary here to enlarge on the different practices of various parts of the Christian Church in regard to the observance of a fast on Saturday, especially in Holy Week.

troversies among Jewish sects regarding the modes of Sabbath-observance; but this must be left to those who are better acquainted with the later history of Judaism. Our task is merely to throw such light as we may on the relation of the Sabbath to the ancient pilgrimages. The conclusion to which our study points need not, however, be anticipated here.

The intricacies of the Hebrew observance of days have not yet been exhausted; for there is evidence of various kinds that certain days were divided at midday, yielding a day somewhat resembling the *dies fissi* known from the Roman calendar.[1] This is one of the most difficult subjects with which the student of Hebrew festivals is confronted; without claiming to have fathomed this mystery, we shall later offer some suggestions which may be helpful to those who would pursue the question further.

The points already mentioned amply illustrate the complexity of the problem we propose to consider; but to complete the survey it is necessary to refer briefly to the character of the Hebrew tradition on which we must in good part rely. As was stated above, the Torah, which is one of the chief sources, was by the Hebrews regarded primarily as a body of directions regarding the cultus, deriving its sanctity from the latter. The cultus was therefore the sanctity *par excellence;* and as changes, from whatever source or cause, were introduced into it, they inevitably entailed modifications in the Torah. Similar changes, though for obvious reasons less thoroughgoing, were made in the prophetic literature. Historical criticism of the Old Testament, not always fully conscious of its problems, has endeavored to disengage the different threads which enter into the complex fabric of the documents as they have come down to us; and in the main there is a surprising degree of unanimity among critics in regard to the portions of the Pentateuch to be assigned respectively to the four or five important sources. Regarding the redactorial elements, especially as regards their dates, there is however neither unanimity nor great clearness in detail; and here, for our purposes, lies the crux of the whole matter. It is generally held that the minute time-references in the Torah are especially characteristic of the Priestly code; but there are some of equal significance, which are assigned to older sources. Even in the Priestly code, however, there must be recognized different strata, the relations of which to one another and to the history of Judaism are apparently far from a definitive de-

[1] See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer,* p. 358.

termination. Especially in regard to the pilgrimages and the Sabbath, in which the cultus centered, changes in the literary tradition to keep pace with the changed ritual were inevitable; for the priests must of course justify their practice by the sacred texts. Hence it becomes apparent that the present analysis of the Torah cannot serve as a sufficient guide.

In the centuries intervening between the exile and the Christian era, we have to deal with the Jewish Church as the institution which maintained the cultus of Yahweh; but the history of this institution is at many important points far from clear. One would wish, for example, to know whether the Church ever, except for brief and sporadic efforts, effectively made good its claim more than outwardly to rule a people. If this really occurred, it must have been after the Jews had lost their political independence and must therefore have been compelled in some degree to respect the beliefs and practices of persons dwelling in the land, who belonged to other cult-associations. This would inevitably have the effect of exposing Judaism to alien influences. Moreover, the militant proselytism of John Hyrcanus, who "converted" the Idumæans to Judaism, might well swell the number of "Jews" without improving the purity of their faith; for history affords no example of wholesale conversion that did not involve the retention of many beliefs and practices alien to the adopted faith. The plain fact is that the current popular view mistakes the orthodox tradition of Judaism for a trustworthy account of a situation which must have been in many essentials different from that commonly supposed to have existed; as who should regard solely the Catholic tradition of Christianity, ignoring the almost innumerable bodies of Christians who were in time set apart as heretical but did not therefore cease to exist or even to react on the supposedly orthodox Church.

We have every reason, therefore, to expect that the Hebrew tradition underwent considerable changes in the course of its long history; but despite the violent shock of the exile and the persistent influences exerted by neighboring peoples and cults, there is to be observed in it a considerable degree of continuity. This is probably due in good part to the vitality of the oral tradition, which was reverently cultivated among the Jews. We should be happy if we could always, even in matters of greater moment, distinguish between the traditionary factor and the accretions, and bring these modifications into relation with the history of the Jews. This being for us impossible, we must

perforce content ourselves with something considerably less. Even the whole literary tradition is not accessible to us; but we shall endeavor to record and utilize all available data, trusting that others better qualified will in time supply our deficiencies. Even in the Talmud there are hints of differences between the cultus ordered by the priests and the uncensored practices of the people, whose only guide may have been the oral tradition of the neighborhood. At all events such facts show the importance of noting and interpreting all available data; and perhaps the most significant data may prove to be those which have been least subjected to the redaction of the priests.

In addition to the Hebrew tradition proper, there exists a considerable body of pagan reports about Judaism. These are commonly ignored by modern scholars, Christian as well as Jewish, who regard them as fathered by ignorance or malice. In fact this view is hardly more than an uncritical echo of the polemic of Josephus against Apion; for it requires little judgment to assert, as it is so often asserted, that a statement purporting to give a fact is unfounded, it being impossible that a Jew could have done or believed what was alleged, because the Torah commanded or stated otherwise. This is the procedure of Josephus, and his practice is still repeated in defiance of all rules of critical scholarship. That a Jew brought up in the orthodox tradition and taught to ignore all dissenters should take this view is readily intelligible; in others it is hardly pardonable. A careful study of the whole body of pagan texts regarding Judaism must convince one that, though there is an unmistakable animus against the Jews manifested by some of their authors, they are on the whole extraordinarily true to fact; for, barring three or four points, there is nothing in these pagan reports which cannot be matched by statements of unexceptionable Jewish authorities. One who has made a careful study of the researches of the Greeks in the field of anthropology cannot fail to have gained from it a very high regard for their intellectual integrity, though when they are moved by an unfriendly purpose they are quite capable of stating, in the manner of the plaintiff, such facts only as are unfavorable to the defendant. Even where they appear to be manifestly at fault, the error may be less serious than it seems. Suppose, for example, that a statement, really true of some local shrine belonging to persons called Jews, should have been erroneously referred to the temple at Jerusalem. There would be in that case a misstatement, but certainly it might

be due to other causes than malice. If we should be told that a certain rite was performed by the Jews, we should probably suppose that it was meant to apply to the central sanctuary; but if we know anything about Judaism, we know that Jews, whether orthodox or not, had other shrines beside that at Jerusalem.[1] One must always bear in mind the fact that, like the name "Christian," the term "Jew" had a variety of uses. It might denote an orthodox member of the Jewish Church; a pagan proselyte, who had perhaps adopted little beyond the cardinal signs of the covenant, circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath; an Idumæan forcibly converted and, like the Samarian of old, fearing Yahweh but observing cult-practices proper to the traditional gods of his people; or, finally, one of the numerous strangers within the gates of Judea, who were accounted Jews, as many in so-called Christian lands are called Christians. One cannot doubt, for example, that Posidonius, a native of Syria, had intimate knowledge of the beliefs and practices of Semites who were near neighbors to Judea and had much in common with those who in one or more of the indicated meanings might properly be called Jews. Certainly for us, having no interest either in attacks on Judaism or in apologies on its behalf, the statements of pagan writers are, like all others, merely testimony—data to be weighed and interpreted.

This study, as already stated, is in origin and purpose primarily concerned with the investigation of ritual forms and schemes. So far as we know it is, in a true sense, something quite new, and as such inevitably a mere beginning and incomplete. Essentially an essay in comparative morphology, its very nature requires that it be based on comparison of ritual forms. Indeed, it must be evident that ritual forms would possess no special significance or attraction to the student if they were confined to a single rite; for in that case they would probably be regarded as fortuitous; only when something resembling a law is discovered does one naturally seek to establish it and find the limits of its application. On another occasion we may give a fuller account of the steps by which certain ritual principles having a considerable scope came to be disclosed; for the present we must confine ourselves to a few remarks. As frequently happens in such matters, the beginning was almost the result of chance. Many scholars had been occupied in various essays with the ancient Greek

[1] Hölscher (*Gesch. der Israel, u. jüd. Rel.* [1922], p. 139) shows that cults were still practised at Mamre, Gilgal, Enaim, Carmel, and Dan down to Roman times.

marriage-rite; but none had fully solved the mystery of the sequence and meaning of the three days which it was known to occupy. Meeting a newly discovered fragment of papyrus unearthed in Egypt, the writer, familiar with the previous discussions, saw at once that the order of the days of the nuptial triduum could now be determined with absolute certainty; other data soon brought together served to elucidate the meaning of the days and to assign to the marriage-observances their proper places in the scheme. Knowing that there was a far-reaching equation recognized by the Greeks between marriage and death and Mystery, and aware that funeral-rites likewise occupied three days, the writer next investigated the patterns of these related ritual complexes and soon discovered them to be essentially identical. Still further following the clues thus obtained, the investigation took up the ritual forms to be discovered in the cultus of the gods of Greece and their relation to the calendar. With surprising rapidity a large mass of data fell into place, disclosing principles unquestionably significant. But almost from the first there were met larger ritual schemes, notably such as provided for festal periods of seven days, which were somehow brought into relation to the triduum. The resulting pattern was not always the same; but not infrequently the triduum was found to be incorporated in the hebdomad in such sort that the third day coincided with the seventh.

This seen, one who knew even superficially the discussions of the early Christian Church regarding Holy Week could not fail to recognize that this festival-term, which was admittedly the nucleus of the Church Year, followed the same pattern as certain Greek rites, even when, as rarely occurred in the early Church, the third day of the Passion-triduum was identified with the eighth day of Holy Week. This observation must challenge the student, especially in view of the relation which the Church has always recognized as subsisting between Holy Week and the Jewish Passover, and the virtual equation of Good Friday with the Day of Atonement. The cyclical week of seven days, ending with the Sabbath, was in like manner incorporated into the Christian scheme and set in a determinate relation to the whole by assigning the Day of Palms, Easter, and Pentecost to Sunday. Clearly the student of comparative ritual morphology was bound to investigate the Hebrew tradition regarding the pilgrimages and the Sabbath, in order to determine, if possible, whether the forms thus disclosed were original and peculiar to the Hebrews. It

is not necessary to say that the task thus imposed was not an easy one, but for a long time desperately baffling; even now much remains obscure, although (or rather because) much evidence was discovered of shifts in ritual schemes. What is clear beyond all possibility of doubt is that the ordinary view is false which represents the hebdomad or the weekly Sabbath as the basis of Hebrew ritual forms. This is true at best of the latest period of Judaism only, the age immediately preceding the Christian era; and even then there is abundant evidence, even in purely Jewish sources, of an evaluation of days which amply explains the Christian observance of Sunday (the first day of the week) instead of the Sabbath (the last day of the hebdomad).

Now as regards the triduan scheme, for reasons easily intelligible the first day presents a character rather indistinct and wanting in the definition which comes of distinctive rites. This is no doubt due in good part to the nature of the evidence for the ritual pattern; for, being obtained by comparison of rites performed for very different purposes, the differences tend to be emphasized at the beginning. Furthermore it is a matter of common observation, even in modern observances lasting a number of days, that the preliminary stages are rather colorless, the interest and significance gradually working up to a climax on the last day, which in ancient festivals was regularly the "high-day." In the marriage and funeral rites, however, the ritual acts of veiling and bathing were proper to the first day, though even they were sometimes postponed until the second. In fact few things are more strikingly clear in ritual than the tendency of the first day to degenerate into a mere "eve" or *'ereb* (as the Hebrews call it) of the festival. Though strictly, as we shall presently see, the first ritual act should commonly be one of setting apart the competent, which ought to be regarded as a fateful and sad rite, in the scheme of the three libations, so characteristic of the Greeks, the first bowl was dedicated to the Olympians, and thus manifestly reckoned as marking a kindly act.

When the bride, like the corpse, was bathed and veiled, this was interpreted as signifying her death and separation from her old estate. Properly, as already stated, these acts fell to the first day; but they were often deferred to the second. If the first bore a somewhat indefinite character, it was not so with the second. Whether in marriage or funeral, it was a black day, characterized by fasting, repentance, and mourning as for the dead, who were thought of as

buried. It suggested separation and estrangement, and division of various sorts, even the cleaving and rending of the god. In religious rites it is marked by observances peculiar to a time of the wrath, the estrangement, and the departure of the god—a season of evil omen and of deep contrition; but by a strange freak of the human mind it is also a time for beating and driving out the god and of heaping mockery and abuse upon him. It can hardly be doubted that the comparatively colorless character of the first day, to which we have already referred, was in good part due to the compelling attraction of the second day for everything that could fill the mind with horror. Thus in Greek cults the dark rites of pre-initiation, known as *proteleia,* were assigned by preference to the second day. Of their character in detail it is not now necessary to speak; but they were conceived as dedicated to the dead and to the evil spirits of the underworld. Of the three libations, the second was offered to the heroes, to the dead, and to the chthonians.

The third day is one of release and return, of resurrection from the dead, of reunion and reconciliation after separation and estrangement—in a word, of salvation: "the third to the saviour," said the Greek. In the triduan marriage-rite the pair, betrothed with various observances on the first day, separated and mourned as dead or departed to the far country on the second, were as revenants reunited, being regarded as resurrected and reborn in the child supposed to be begotten when the marriage was consummated on the "high-day" of the triduum. The day is terminated by feasting and drinking wine, which is not offered to the dead nor partaken of by the living in commemoration of the dead, except on a day of return.

Herewith the triduum is of course concluded; but like other terms the triduum had a post-festal fourth day, among the Greeks technically called *epibda,* or "added day." It is a day of joy, and in various cults bore the name of *Hilaria.* As the third day was recognized as completing the cycle, the fourth (though not constituting a part of a second formal triduum) would naturally be regarded as beginning a new cycle or generation; hence it is not difficult to understand how it came to be reckoned the day of the first-born, of the firstlings and first-fruits, the consecration of which very properly belonged to a day of joy. Moreover one of the recognized meanings of *epibda* is New Year's day, showing that in Greece, as elsewhere, a triduum was observed at the close of the month and of the year.

The evidences of this scheme, which is extremely common in

Greek rites, we hope to present in detail at another time. It was not, however, confined to the Greek world, but can be shown to have been equally well known in other lands of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin. It is moreover very ancient, probably long antedating recorded history. Of its origin one may speak only by way of conjecture; but the following suggestion has the merit at least of bringing together things certainly connected. After the writer had, by a most laborious process of comparison in detail between many rites, discovered the triduan scheme above outlined, he succeeded in obtaining for a few days a copy of a book long known to him by title, Van Gennep's *Les rites de passage,* wherein that distinguished savant summed up his analysis of a vast number of rites of initiation and transition made known by modern anthropological research among peoples widely separated in geographical position and ethnic affiliations. M. Van Gennep has almost nothing to say about a scheme of days, presumably because the miscellaneous data at his disposal revealed festival-terms of very different lengths, nor does he deal at length with any of the festivals which at the time had engaged the writer's special attention. While, therefore, the book contributed nothing in detail to the analysis of the triduan or other schemes which our study had enucleated, it was found to offer a confirmation, as welcome as unexpected, of the outline above set forth; for M. Van Gennep recognized a triadic scheme as underlying the multifarious ritual observances with which he dealt. The ritual of the *rites de passage,* he says, falls naturally and generally into three successive stages, or acts, which he denominates respectively (1) *rites de séparation,* (2) *rites de marge,* and (3) *rites d'agrégation.* The first act, then, in this dramatic scheme (the *rites de séparation*) sets the individual apart from the group to which he or she previously belonged; the second (*rites de marge*) draws, so to speak, a dead-line or delimits a no-man's land, the dividing march between contiguous groups or territories; and the individual, arrived at this boundary, is regarded as dead to his or her old associations and is often actually mourned as dead; the third act (*rites d'agrégation*) is designed to effect the formal admission or reception of the competent into the new group, he or she being often regarded as reborn to a new life in the estate to which the three-act ritual drama constitutes the transition or initiation. The third degree thus completes the ceremony by which, as in the known forms of Masonic initiation, the novice enters a new fellowship. Regarding M. Van Gennep's analysis of the *rites de passage* it is necessary

only to say that it agrees at all points with the triduan scheme which we have found and that, given the concrete conception of social ties well known to exist among primitive peoples, it is at once extremely simple and altogether natural.

Though rites of this character among backward peoples may now often occupy festivals of different duration, one may well believe that the triadic form of the ritual complex was very often matched by a festival-term of three days, each act occupying a whole day. This assumption would account for the sanctity of the number three, for the widespread existence of festival-terms of three days, and for the relatively constant assignment of ritual acts to the several days of the triduum.

Be that as it may, there is abundant evidence that the triduum was not unknown to the Hebrew tradition; though of course it entered into competition and also into combination with terms of different duration. We shall discover terms of six days, regarded as a repeated triduum, and terms of seven days which incorporate the triduum; but there will be found other schemes also, such as the hebdomadal week plus the post-festal eighth day, regarded as a repeated triduum plus the *epibda*.[1] In these larger festal terms the Sabbath, as the seventh day, naturally received varying evaluations, which were reflected in the mood of the people and in the suggestions and associations of the holy day. But there is in the Old Testament evidence of another scheme of days, which at a certain time acquired great prominence, but had, so far as we can see, no relation whatever either to the triduum or to the hebdomad; it was a festal term of five days, regarded as the epact, with the *epibda,* or New Year's day, on the sixth. This arrangement, which will become quite clear as we proceed, is easily matched by Egyptian, Old Persian, and Babylonian observances, but is, as regards its date and origin, a wholly unsolved puzzle to the writer.

[1] This scheme can be shown to occur in certain accounts of Holy Week, and has an interesting parallel in the Valentinian ogdoad as reported by Tertullian (*Adu. Ualent.* vii). The ogdoad of Æons comprises four wedded pairs, of which Tertullian succinctly says, *Habes ogdoadem, tetradem duplicem.* The scheme of the Æons, though highly significant in relation to the triduan marriage and Mystery rites, cannot be further discussed here. Another hebdomadal scheme of the Gnostics, brought into relation with the hebdomad of Creation, occurs in Victorinus *On the Creation of the World* (*Ante-Nicene Christian Library,* XVIII, 391). The Gnostics, being Mystery-sects, made much of ritual schemes, a knowledge of which is indispensable for the student of their doctrines.

It is easily understood that in the detailed study of schemes, when a day is dated by a calendar, evidence of other values must be derived from other indications. Thus, if a seventh day is rated likewise as a third, this fact can be established only by proof of a subdivision of the term. Fortunately there are not wanting such evidences, of which we shall now give a few; the reader must bear in mind, however, the observation made above, that in the schemes larger units, such as weeks, months, years, and weeks of years, may be substituted for days.

It was observed above that in the triduan scheme the third day is one of release and return. One of the most generally observed periods for solemnities was that at the dark of the moon. The duration of this phenomenon may be said to be commonly three days, though it may extend to five. In Greece and in Semitic lands, triduan observances at this juncture were common. When the thin crescent reappeared, it was of course greeted with joy and taken as marking the beginning of a new month or a new year. At Athens the last day of the month, whether the thirtieth or the twenty-ninth, was called the "thirtieth" (*triakas*) or *hena-kai-nea,* which latter term is now customarily rendered "the old and new day." The first component of this name is of doubtful etymology, but it admits of no doubt that in ancient times it was understood to mean "third." Thus the Greek month was roughly reckoned as consisting of thrice ten days, and the third tenth, or last, day was regarded as a third day. At these gatherings during the dark of the moon, in Greek as in Semitic lands, clan-festivals were held; and in these ancient synaxes we may be sure that the dead as well as the living returned. In Babylonia such tridua were observed before both new moon and full moon;[1] among the early Hebrews there is, as will later be shown, no evidence of gatherings on the latter occasion, but David is represented as pretending to attend a meeting of his clan at Bethlehem.[2] David expects to return on the third day and the gathering is dated at new moon; but in the account the three days are stated to be the first three of the month. It will be recalled that in the *Odyssey*[3] it is at a festival of Apollo held at the dark of the moon that Odysseus, who was ac-

[1] See Jastrow, "The Day after the Sabbath," *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.,* xxx, 100.

[2] 1 *Sam.* xx.

[3] xiv. 161; xix. 307; xx. 156, 276–278; xxi. 258.

counted dead, returns in a death-trance to Ithaca, conveyed by the supernatural ship of the Phæacians. Since the rites of Apollo generally fall into the hebdomadal scheme, it is possible that the day of Odysseus's return was reckoned as both the third and the seventh. Certainly among the Jews, when the hebdomadal scheme was fully developed among them, as it appears in their eschatology, the seventh day was reckoned as the last day, the time appointed for the general resurrection of the dead.[1] But even among the Jews there were those who held that the resurrection must occur on the third day.[2] No doubt these apparently contradictory beliefs were harmonized by incorporating the triduum in the hebdomad. The general resurrection of the dead was conceived as a great synaxis, the gathering of the tribes or clans. As such, late Jewish eschatology must of course regard it as falling at the end of a week, that is to say on a Sabbath, announced, as was the cyclical Sabbath, by the blowing of the trumpet.[3] During this great week all mankind, as well as Messiah, will lapse into primeval silence, the renewed earth bringing them forth at a new birth.[4] In a similar vein Tertullian [5] brings the normal birth of the child in the tenth month into relation with the decalogue, ten being (he says) the number of the discipline of rebirth; and of parturition in the seventh month he says that "it fitly concurs with the hebdomad as an earnest of the resurrection, of the rest, and of the kingdom." In the *Life of Adam and Eve* [6] we read, "When they had been mourning (for our first parents) four days, Michael the archangel appeared and said to Seth: 'Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six [7] days, for on the seventh is the sign of resurrection and the rest of the ages to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works.' " Clement of Alexandria [8] also, with ob-

[1] See *J. Enc.*, v, 213 *a*. For the suggestions of the number seven regarding release and return, see Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, II, 533 *sq*.

[2] See p. 32.

[3] *J. Enc.*, v. 216 *b*. The same rite occurs in Greece. At Argos, says Plutarch (*De Iside* xxxv), Dionysus was evoked by the sound of trumpets.

[4] *J. Enc.*, v, 216 *ab*.

[5] *De anima* xxxvii.

[6] LI. 1–2.

[7] It will be pointed out later that the name "Seth" was connected with the numeral six. In the *Gilgamesh Epic, tab.* x. 55 Ungnad, the hero says that he mourned for his friend, Engidu, six days and nights. Gressmann (*Das Gilgamesch-Epos* [1911], p. 207) without good reason says "six days and seven nights."

[8] *Strom.* VI. 140, p. 811 P., alluding to *Mark* XII. 25 and parallels.

vious reference to the resurrection of the dead, says, "Reasonably, therefore, they reckon the number seven as motherless and childless,[1] interpreting the Sabbath and allegorizing the scheme of the rest, in which 'they no longer marry nor are given in marriage.'" It will be recalled that in the Jewish tale of *Bel and the Dragon* it was on the seventh day that the king went to bewail Daniel in the lions' den, where the latter had fasted six days and had been feasted on the seventh by a special interposition of Providence; Daniel, who was accounted dead, was found seated, and then brought up out of the pit. One cannot doubt that this was regarded as a resurrection of the hero. Exact parallels can be found in Greek sources. One may suffice: in Lucian's *Lover of Falsehood*[2] the wonder-monger Eucrates relates how on the seventh day after her death his wife returned to complain that one of the pair of golden slippers that she had loved in life had not been burned with her on the pyre. In the Greek schemes, however, it is generally on the third days that the dead return; and, as we know, the Hebrew tradition in part so represents it, following the scheme of the prophets: "Heaven and earth, as well as Israel, shall be renewed; the former shall be folded together like a book or a garment and then unfolded, and Israel, after having tasted death, shall rise again on the third day."[3] This certainly suggests that the third and seventh days coincided, the hebdomad having incorporated the earlier triduum.[4]

[1] Others therefore identified seven with Athena. The motherless generation, as one sees by *Poimandres,* is connected with the higher degree of initiation. The Jews in Clement's time forbade marriage on festivals and Sabbaths.

[2] *Philopseud.* xxvii.

[3] *J. Enc.,* v, 216*b sq.* When Paul says (1 *Cor.* xv. 3–4), "I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received: that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures," we are indeed left in doubt as to the precise Scriptures which he had in mind, but it is abundantly clear that the atoning death and resurrection of the Son of God were expected to follow a definite scheme. Of this more will be said hereafter. Of return from abroad or from the grave on the third day there are innumerable examples aside from the rites of Attis and Adonis. According to Herod. ii. 117, Paris returned with Helen to Troy (and consummated his marriage) on the third day. The *Testament of Zebulon* (β) iv. 4 implies that Joseph was delivered from the pit at the end of the third day. Doughty (*Arabia Deserta,* ii. 385 *sq.*) tells the story of a Maronite priest, in which a child is restored to life on the third day. In Boccaccio's *Decameron,* various stories told on the third (Sunday) and seventh days contain this motive.

[4] That this was true of the view prevailing in the early Church regarding Holy Week has already been stated.

These instances of the equation or combination of the numbers three and seven do not of course exhaust the list. While *Jeremiah* [1] represents the Babylonian captivity as lasting seventy years or three generations, the *Epistle of Jeremy* [2] sets down its duration as seven generations; the theophany on Sinai also is dated now on the third,[3] now on the seventh day,[4] and Israel is said to have arrived at the holy mountain in the third month.[5] The association of these numbers is as intimate in the ritual of the Priestly code as it is in certain observances of the Christian Church: "He that toucheth the dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days; the same shall purify himself therewith on the third day and on the seventh; so shall he be clean: but if he purify not himself on the third day and on the seventh, he shall not be clean." [6] The same scheme recurs, e. g., in the initiation of the competents in the early Church. The story of Samson also is of interest in this connection, especially that of his marriage with the Philistine woman of Timnah, because it certainly reflects the marriage-rite. Here what is presumably the same day is called now the seventh, now the third of the feast.[7] Such instances are hardly intelligible unless the triduum was conceived as coinciding with the fifth, sixth, and seventh days of the hebdomad. This in turn implies that the first four days of the hebdomad constituted a group apart which might be taken almost indifferently with the preceding or the following Sabbath; and in fact certain data occur in the Talmud which are certainly consistent with such a view, if they do not prove it. A man of exceptional piety (like Shammai, the straitest of the Pharisees) may indeed be said to have begun his preparations for the next Sabbath immediately after the *habdalah,* which ushered in

[1] xxv. 11–12; xxvii. 7. Cf. ii *Sam.* xxiv. 13 *sq.,* i *Chron.* xxi. 12 *sq.*

[2] Vs. 3.

[3] *Exod.* xix. 15–16 (E?).

[4] *Exod.* xxiv. 16 (P?); *Jubilees* i. 3. In Etheria's *Pilgrimage,* Chaps. i–iii, the approach to the holy mountain is so described that Sinai is the seventh to appear. The pilgrims reach it on the Sabbath and ascend it on Sunday. *Yomah,* Chap. i, refers the first day of the glory to the 1st and *Ta'anit,* Chap. iv, refers the sixth and seventh respectively to the 6th and 7th Siwan, the third month.

[5] *Exod.* xix. 1.

[6] *Num.* xix. 11–12 (P), marginal reading.

[7] *Judg.* xiv. 12, 18. LXX has "fourth day" in vs. 15. It is to be recalled, however, that the third and seventh days, though equated, might be successive. Thus in the hemerologies of the library of Ashurbanipal, the "nuptial couch" of Marduk of Babylon and his consort Sarpanit was regularly celebrated on the 3d and 7th days of each month. See Fr. Hommel, art. "Calendar (Babylonian)" in *E.R.E.,* iii. 76 *b.*

the week; but commonly one finds acts performed "in honor of the Sabbath" limited to Thursday and Friday.[1] Again, it is difficult otherwise to interpret the following saying found in the Talmudic tract on the Passover:[2] "We have learned that the children of R. Hyya said, 'If a man failed to say the *habdalah* at the close of the Sabbath, he may say it at any time during the following week.' Until what day of the week? Said R. Zera: 'Until the fourth day of the week' (for after that the days belong to the next week)." Unless in the parenthetical addition of Rashi we are to understand "Sabbath" instead of "week," we have here a formal ritual week beginning on Thursday;[3] in any case Thursday and Friday are recognized as being in exceptionally close association with the Sabbath.

Assuming that the identification of the third day with the seventh involved the incorporation of the triduum in the hebdomad in the manner here suggested, we should expect to find evidence of the equation of the sixth day with the second; and since the second day of the triduum is a *dies nefastus,* the sixth day of the week, Friday, ought likewise to be one of evil omen. That the latter is true in popular estimation is a fact familiar to all, which many would explain by the events of Good Friday, while others assert that all even numbers are unlucky. As against the former suggestion it is sufficient to remark that there is, as will later be shown, ample evidence that Friday was regarded as a fast-day before the Crucifixion, and that it is observed among Jews as well as among Christians by eating fish, the food of the fast.[4] There is no reason to suppose that the Jews would thus adopt a custom directly derived from the Christian day of atonement. As regards the statement that all even numbers are unlucky, though made by men of intelligence in ancient and modern

[1] In the Christian Church, when Friday and Saturday were both observed as fasts, there was naturally a parasceve on Thursday. How widely this practice was followed, I do not know; but a curious, if not important, witness to this custom is the epilogue to the second day in Boccaccio's *Decameron,* a work which is well worth studying in relation to the hemerologies of the Middle Ages.

[2] *Pesah.,* Chap. x, tr. Rodkinson. Contrast *Gittin, Baraita, 77 a.*

[3] An alternative would be to regard the four days from Sunday to Wednesday as intercalary, a week of three days plus the *epibda.* Such a view can be shown to underlie certain schemes of Holy Week. All intercalary terms are by their very nature *dies non,* counting neither in the tale of days nor (like Rip Van Winkle's drink) in morals. Cf. Plutarch *De Iside* xii, and Rabbi in *Rosh ha-Shanah,* Chap. i. See also ii *En.* xxxiii. 2.

[4] Marco Polo (p. 39, Everyman's) found this custom among the Tartars, who likewise regarded seven as a sacred number (*ibid.,* p. 131).

times, it can be shown to be false in this general application, and hence of no special significance in the study of rites. The only defensible generalization appears to be that the value of a number is determined by its relation to a given scheme, while the scheme in turn is relative to the rite. Nevertheless, though we shall later present evidence of the observance of a Friday-fast among the Jews, it was not in ancient times consistently observed. How the curiously divergent practice of Judaism in this regard is to be explained we shall later have to consider; for the moment we may content ourselves with pointing out, what will subsequently appear more clearly, that Friday in this respect runs quite parallel to the pilgrimages, which were mostly sixth-day observances, and the Sabbath, which successively entered into various ritual schemes.

However that may be, the equation of the second and sixth days is shown in many ways. In *Ta'anit* [1] we read: "R. Jehudah ben Bathyra said: 'Mention of the rain should be made on the second day of the Feast of Tabernacles'; [2] R. Aqiba said: 'Likewise on the sixth day.'" Thus, as we found above the third and seventh days linked in ritual, we here find a similar connection between the second and the sixth days, which are moreover supposed to be days of distress owing to the want of rain. The association of ideas in this case may at first seem mysterious, but the explanation is not far to seek; for unquestionably the ritual scheme of the prayers for rain is connected with a matter of far-reaching significance—the dividing of the waters as practised in the pilgrimages and as recorded in the story of Creation. As regards the hexaëmeron of Creation, it is well known that on the second day the waters were divided, a part receding to the firmament: this must result in drought, unless the separation be overcome, and this second day was, as the Rabbis emphasized, the only one on which Yahweh did not pronounce a blessing, declar-

[1] Chap. I.

[2] We shall later refer to the custom associated with the Feast of Tabernacles as well as with the Passover (both of which fall at the turn of the year) of prognosticating the weather by reading "the signs of the times." This practice appears to have been in ancient times very common at a great variety of festivals connected with the turn of the year. It is not necessary here to go into the evidence, which is curious. Greek reports of Alexander's campaign to India represent the Indian "philosophers" as prognosticating the weather at New Year. In Egypt evidently the same custom prevailed in connection with the rise of the Nile. Our farmer's calendars still profess to do so, and the state of the weather at the turn of the year is popularly supposed to forecast that of the whole year. With this complex the prayers for rain at the Feast of Tabernacles are clearly connected, and the practice is obviously very ancient.

ing that his work was good.[1] As to the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles, which we shall find referred to sixth days, the dividing of the waters was evidently a rite of great importance at these pilgrimages. They were all, as we shall presently see, *rites de passage,* connected with passing over various bourns, and marked by the division of the waters of the Red Sea, of the Jordan, of the Arnon, and of the Jabbok; and at the Feast of Tabernacles in particular there was the rite of Siloam associated in the thought of the Jews with Meribah. Peter Comestor,[2] remarking that Yahweh did not express approval of the work of the second day, says that the Hebrews explained this fact by the circumstance that Satan was created on that day, while the Greeks attributed it to the evil character of the number two.[3] Others must have connected the fall of Satan, due to his audacity, with the same day; for the Neo-Platonists describe the lapse of the individual souls from primal Unity as both the first division and an act of audacity, and connect these notions with the dyad.[4] A discussion in the Talmudic tract on the *Passover* [5] is so instructive that it deserves to be quoted at length. "Is it a fact that fire was created at the close of the Sabbath? [6] . . . The fire which we use was created at the close of the Sabbath, while the fire of Gehenna was created at twilight on the eve [7] of the Sabbath. Was the fire of Gehenna then created on the eve of the Sabbath? Have we not learned in the tract *Nedarim* that seven things were created even before the world, and among the seven was Gehenna? The atmosphere [8] of Gehenna was created before the world; but the fire of Gehenna was created at twilight on the eve of the Sabbath. Yet, was the fire of Gehenna really created on the eve of the Sabbath? Did not R. Banaha, son of R.

[1] *J. Enc.,* IX, 46 *b.*

[2] *P.L.,* CXCVIII, 1058 D *sq.*

[3] We referred above to the connection of δύο and διά as suggesting division; δεύτερος, like Heb. *shenaim,* was often used to connote repetition.

[4] Plotinus *Ennead.* V. 1. 1: τόλμα . . . γένεσις . . . ἡ πρώτη ἑτερότης. *Theol. Arith.* ii. 10: πρώτη γὰρ ἡ δυὰς διεχώρισεν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς μονάδος, ὅθεν καὶ τόλμα καλεῖται. As to the relation of the number two to the *rites de marge,* it is to be recalled that the dyad was accounted as non-existence (τὸ μὴ ὄν), and signified death.

[5] *Pesah.,* Chap. IV, tr. Rodkinson.

[6] The question of course relates to the practice of lighting a lamp and pronouncing the *habdalah* just after the close of the Sabbath. This brings the lighting of the lamp to the first day, when God said, "Let there be light."

[7] I. e., on Friday.

[8] Referring presumably to *Gen.* I. 2, interpreted as meaning a chaos of outer darkness.

Ula, say that the reason why it was not written with regard to the second day 'the Lord saw that it was good' was because on that day the fire of Gehenna was created? Therefore we say that the atmosphere of Gehenna was created before the world, the fire of Gehenna on the second day of the week, and the fire which we use was to have been created on the eve of the Sabbath, but the creation was postponed; as we have learned in a Baraita, R. Jose said: 'Two things were to have been created on the eve of the Sabbath, but were not created until the close of the Sabbath,—to wit, fire and the mule.'" [1]

This passage makes it clear that the fire of Gehenna was variously referred to the second or the sixth day, though the latter reference seems to have caused some difficulty in keeping with the dubious observance of Friday among the Jews; but the kindly fire, on which the blessing of the *habdalah* is pronounced, was associated with the beginning of the new week. In the simple hebdomadal scheme this would of course be the eighth day; in the compound scheme now under consideration, which at its close incorporates the triduum, it would be the fourth day. Now when, as we have seen, the *habdalah* might be postponed to the fourth day of the week, this concession was manifestly connected with the hexaëmeron of Creation,[2] which records the creation of light on the first and fourth days. Christian hymnology follows the Fathers in celebrating Sunday as the day on which light was given. As the early Church called Sunday the Christian Hilaria, or day of gladness, so too the Rabbis appear to have regarded it; [3] for how else can one interpret the celebration of the creation of light and the kindly fire on that day? It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why the Rabbis, though regarding two

[1] Why the mule was thus honored I do not know; but one guesses the reason is connected with its hybrid origin.

[2] See *Hagiga,* Chap. II. The same scheme recurs in the rites of Attis, the fourth day being regarded as the special day of the reborn god and the first day of light. Possibly the same scheme accounts for the choice of December 25th as the day of Sol Invictus; for that at the solstices (and equinoxes) the sun seems to stand still for three days was an observation familiar to the ancients. Assuming that December 22d was taken as the winter solstice, the 25th would be the fourth and also the first day of the returning sun. It is well known that the Church adopted the day of Sol Invictus as the date of the Nativity. In the Feast of Tabernacles, and in the Phota, which copied its scheme, the first and eighth were the holy days and were marked by specially brilliant illumination.

[3] See *Hagiga,* Chap. II. The *J. Enc.* (I, 23 *b*) regards the proposal of Judah ha-Nasi to lessen the severity of the fast of the 9th Ab when it fell on Sunday as due to the declining severity of the observance; but this may be questioned.

as a number of evil omen, should not include the even numbers four and eight in the same condemnation. These numbers were in fact expressly excepted:[1] as to the number six, we have for the present no need of saying more.

We may now hark back to a point above mentioned in passing, that in the Greek triduan scheme the fourth or post-festal day is devoted to the first-born and the first-fruits. This scheme, with the substitution of years for days, obviously occurs in the provision of *Leviticus*[2] regarding fruit-trees: "And when ye shall come to the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food, then ye shall count the fruit thereof as their circumcision: three years shall they be as uncircumcised unto you: it shall not be eaten. But in the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, for giving praise unto Yahweh. And in the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the increase thereof." When it is said that the fruits of the fourth year are holy, this means that they were to be regarded as first-fruits consecrated to Yahweh, as is shown by reference to other passages of Scripture[3] and to Jewish and Christian writers.[4] The fruits of the fifth year are profane,[5] and may be enjoyed by the owner of the orchard. Now there occurs in the Code of Hammurapi[6] a provision which Biblical scholars have not failed to compare with that of the Jewish law: "If a man has given a field to a gardener to plant a garden, and the gardener has planted the garden, in the fifth year the owner of the garden and the gardener shall share equally. The owner of the garden shall cut off his share and take it." If one recalls that the Code of Hammurapi is in character wholly secular and therefore may not be expected to refer to the offering of first-fruits to some deity, it is at once apparent that both laws follow the same scheme, which must therefore be older than any Mosaic legislation. Precisely the same scheme seems to underlie

[1] *Pesah.*, Chap. x.

[2] xix. 23–25.

[3] E. g., *Deut.* xx. 6, xxviii. 30.

[4] See *Jubilees* vii. 1–3, 35–37; Josephus *Ant.* iv. 8, 19; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18, p. 479 P.

[5] Cf. *Jer.* xxi. 5. The fact that the fruit is profaned, that is to say made over to the enjoyment of man, in itself shows that the sacred days of the festival have elapsed. That is apparently the reason for connecting the enjoyment of the produce of the land, which will of course begin on a day of joy following the sacred fast, with the post-festal day or *'azeret;* but we shall presently find evidence of the extension of the festival to include the *'azeret* among the holy days.

[6] § 60, tr. Johns.

the parable of Jesus regarding the fig-tree:[1] "A certain man had a fig-tree planted in his vineyard; and he came seeking fruit thereon, and found none. And he said unto the vine dresser, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; why doth it cumber the ground? And he answering saith unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I dig about it[2] and dung it; and if it bear fruit thenceforth, well; but if not, thou shalt cut it down." The fruit of the fourth year will of course be the first-fruits and will belong to the "Lord," which to a Hebrew would of course suggest Yahweh.[3] That we have here the form of the triduum plus *epibda* is sufficiently obvious; but it calls for remarks that the human enjoyment of the fruits profaned[4] by offering the first-fruits to the deity is deferred to the fifth year. In this instance there may be some justification in the nature of the case, as the trees might in the fourth year produce no more than should be consecrated; but in such matters nature is little consulted. Among the Hebrews we have evidence of the eating of fruits on the same day that the first-fruits were offered; but we shall see that in such cases the day was at least at times treated as a *dies fissus* and having a twofold nature. There are, however, other indications that when a scheme of days was converted into one of years it was likely to produce confusion; and there are instances of curious postponement of the eating of the fruits of the land. Not to speak of the case of Israel on entering Canaan, which will later engage our attention, we may refer to a passage in *Jubilees,*[5] where Noah is said to have made wine of his grapes in the fourth year, but not to have partaken of it until the following New Year, when he celebrated with joy the day of his feast. One may conjecture that the author of this treatise conceived the offering of the first-fruits of the vine as made on the New Year *epibda* of the fourth year, and Noah's feast as held one year later, because the fourth year was the Lord's.

Returning to the text of *Leviticus,* we note that three years shall

[1] *Luke* XIII. 6–9.

[2] Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18, p. 479 P.

[3] As the rites of Adonis in part, at least, fell into the triduan form, with the fourth day Hilaria devoted especially to this "Lord," the scheme may be supposed to be fairly normal in Semitic lands. To the Christians the word "Lord" always suggested the Christ, as one may see by numerous instances in the Gospels.

[4] Cf. *Jer.* XXXI. 5–6. We shall later point out the connection between profaning the fruits of the land, by offering first-fruits, and profaning the Sabbath.

[5] VII. 1–3.

be counted as the uncircumcision of the trees; in the fourth year the produce, clearly accounted as circumcised, shall be offered as first-fruits of Yahweh: thus circumcision, as well as first-fruits, is referred to the fourth year. In the hebdomadal scheme of the Priestly code both rites are connected with the eighth day. Not to anticipate our discussion of Pentecost, it is expressly commanded, "Thou shalt not delay to offer of thy harvest, and of the outflow of thy presses. The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thy oxen, and with thy sheep; seven days shall it be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me." [1] In view of the association of first-fruits with circumcision in *Leviticus* we are prepared to hear that "Abraham circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old"; [2] and *Jubilees,* connecting the first-fruits with the first-born, says: [3] "On the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest Isaac was born." Elsewhere the same treatise says,[4] "And the Lord was gracious to Rachel and opened her womb, and she conceived and bare a son, and she called his name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month of the fourth [5] year of this fourth week." One cannot doubt that this specification was made with a full knowledge of the signature of the number four. We meet with instances of circumcision on the fourth day also; but Origen [6] expressly affirms, "The

[1] *Exod.* XXII. 29–30. Subsequently the injunction "thou shalt not delay" was ignored, the offering of the firstlings being permitted on the eighth day *or thereafter.* This may have been due to exigencies arising from the centralization of the cultus at Jerusalem or to confusion with the ordinary victims offered to Yahweh; cf. *Levit.* XXII. 27.

[2] *Gen.* XXI. 4.

[3] XVI. 13. Isaac would then have been circumcised on the eighth, and last, day of Tabernacles.

[4] XXVIII. 4.

[5] The MS. says "sixth;" but Dr. Charles is clearly right in substituting "fourth."

[6] *Contra Celsum* v. 48. Relative to the place of circumcision it is of interest to note that both among modern Jews and among the Palestinian Arabs it is customary to observe a vigil on the eve of the rite and there is among the Arabs a sacrifice closely resembling Passover. These observances are proper to a *rite de passage* falling on New Year's eve and New Year's day, or generally to the last day of a festal term and the *epibda.* In the synagogue service of circumcision, the character was "modified, all the parts which were of a mournful nature being omitted; and sometimes appropriate hymns were recited instead, to make it a festal occasion" (*E.R.E.,* III, 680 *a*). This comports with the Rabbis' recognition of Sunday as a day of joy. That the rite of circumcision might be referred, as will subsequently appear, to the Sabbath, is one of the significant survivals of the term of six days.

Jews say that the circumcision on the eighth day is the principal circumcision, and that which is performed according to circumstances is different." Whether he would have regarded the rite when performed on the fourth day as exceptional, we do not know. It is not necessary to multiply quotations to prove the connection of the first-born and the first-fruits with the eighth day; but it may be of interest to point out that the early Church, doubtless following the Jewish practice, adopted the same scheme. When Paul said[1] "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come," he was, in instituting the regular Sunday collections, presumably adapting to the needs of the infant Church the contributions made by the Jews of the Dispersion to the temple at Jerusalem. Such contributions were of course holy as dedicated to the service of Yahweh, and therefore protected from theft by the Roman Emperors. From Josephus[2] we learn that they were regarded as first-fruits, and the same interpretation is surely implied in Paul's phrase "as God hath prospered him."

The passage above quoted from *Exodus* brings the offering of the first-born of the sons into connection with that of the firstlings of herd and flock and of the first-fruits of the harvest. In later times the first-born of man was redeemed, not sacrificed; the ritual practice of referring circumcision to the eighth day may with probability be taken as recognizing this rite as a surrogate of human sacrifice. Now as we are led by the evidence to regard this scheme as a (presumably later) substitute for a triduum plus *epibda,* in which the first-born, if sacrificed, would be offered on the fourth day, we think not unnaturally of two narratives in the Old Testament: the first relates to Jephthah's daughter; the second, to the sacrifice of Isaac. The stories being so well known, it is not necessary to relate them *in extenso.* As for Jephthah's daughter, the vow and sacrifice have often been brought into relation with the *uer sacrum,* which was essentially a rite of firstlings. It is not necessary to split hairs; but it suffices to point out that as an only child[3] the maid may be regarded as a first-born. That the story reflects a rite is quite beyond question: "And it was a custom in Israel that the daughters of Israel went

[1] 1 *Cor.* XVI. 2; cf. *Didache* XIII. 4.
[2] *Ant.* XVI. 6, 7.
[3] *Judg.* XI. 34.

yearly to celebrate the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in the year." [1] Without going into the substitutions of terms by which the sacred story accommodates itself to the scheme of the rite, it may be regarded as certain that the rite, like the sacred story, ended with the sacrifice of the first-born, which must, therefore, have fallen on the fourth day. The contemplated sacrifice of Isaac is not related with the same particularity; [2] but it is stated that God tempted or proved [3] Abraham, and that the patriarch took his son on the morrow and cleft [4] wood for the sacrifice: "on the third day [5] Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place afar off." [6] In the absence of further time-references, one might be in doubt whether the interrupted sacrifice fell on the third or fourth day; but the latter is distinctly more probable, both because of the analogy of the rite of Jephthah's daughter and because the same scheme recurs in other rites,[7] notably in that of Heracles, who was burned and "passed to the gods" on the fourth day.[8] Whatever may have been the proveni-

[1] *Judg.* XI. 39–40. *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* XL. 8 says: "And the children of Israel made a great lamentation and appointed in that month, on the 14th day of the month, that they should come together every year and lament for the daughter of Jephthah four days." The month is not specified, and hence we cannot identify the rite with any known festival of Judaism; but the author felt the need of referring it somehow to the calendar. Was he thinking of Passover?

[2] *Gen.* XXII. 1 *sq.*

[3] This motif suggests a festival, as will later appear.

[4] Both the departure and the rite of cleaving various *sacra* are, as will presently be shown, characteristic of the second (nefast) days.

[5] According to Burton, III, 238, n., the Islamic legend connects the commanded sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham with the Yaum Nahr, which is the third day of the hajj of Mecca. Cf. Al-Biruni, p. 333. It is the Moslem day of atonement.

[6] *Gen.* XXII. 4. It will later be pointed out that passing the first-born to Molech was a Passover-rite, and that certain Jews are reported as dating the offering of Isaac on New Year's day, Rosh ha-Shanah. The Christian Church, in accepting the sacrifice of Isaac as a type of Christ's Passion, apparently identifies the occasion as Passover.

[7] Cf. II *Sam.* XXI. 1–9. The seven sons of Saul were hanged in propitiation of Yahweh's wrath because of the slaying of the Gibeonites after three years of famine "in the days of harvest, in the first days, at the beginning of the barley harvest." This looks as if it was done on 'Omer-day, a day of first-fruits.

[8] Suidas, *s. v.* τετράδι γέγονας, says: διατεθεῖσθαι δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ταύτῃ εἰς θεοὺς μεταστάντι. As with the Christian martyrs who were burned at the stake, the day of Heracles was the fourth, being preceded by a triduum. His day is that of his martyrdom, reckoned as his birthday, because he was born anew and admitted to life with the gods. Whatever the provenience of Heracles, the rite of burning him is known to have been celebrated in Phœnicia. Various

ence of the latter, it is known to have been celebrated in Semitic lands.

There is other evidence of triduan or triadic schemes among the Semites. *Isaiah* [1] says "Within three years, as the years of a hireling, the glory of Moab shall be brought into contempt;" when it is declared,[2] "Within a year, according to the years of a hireling, all the glory of Kedar shall fail," the scheme is obviously the same, whether a term of three years is meant, or, as is perhaps more probable, reference is made to a year of three seasons, such as is revealed in the Homeric epic, in the Egyptian calendar, and (perhaps) in Biblical direction regarding the "three times in the year" when Israel is enjoined to meet its appointment with Yahweh. In favor of the latter alternative one might cite also the fact that at least in later times the seasons of the Egyptians were regarded as possible years; which suggests that they, like the term of the epact, may have been occasionally called "little years." Again we are told [3] that King Hiram paid tribute to Solomon "once every three years," and *Amos* [4] directs "Bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days." *Deuteronomy* [5] directs, "At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithes of thine increase in the same year, and shalt lay it within thy gates" for the Levite, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow. This last provision suggests comparison with the "repast of Hecate," which in Greece was set out at the cross-roads on the thirtieth of the month, reckoned also, as we have seen, as a third day.[6] In the Code of the Covenant [7] a similar provision for the poor of Israel and the beasts of the field is made in the directions regarding the fallow of the Sabbatical year.

The fact thus clearly brought out that the same or analogous directions are given for the third and seventh years calls for further discussion of the data regarding the times of release and return. These data do not all refer to precisely the same relations, but they

things suggest a fusion or confusion, in Greek as in Semitic rites, of the holocaust of the *dies nefastus* and the passing (passover) of the first-born through the fire to the gods to insure their immortality (cf. II *Kings* XXI. 6, *Jer.* XXXII. 35). *Wisd. of Sol.* II. 21, III. 9 is especially instructive.

[1] XVI. 14.
[2] *Isa.* XXI. 16.
[3] I *Kings* X. 22.
[4] IV. 4.
[5] XIV. 28.
[6] Of Hecate, goddess of the sixth day, we shall later speak more at length.
[7] *Exod.* XXIII. 11.

are obviously connected with ritual schemes. Beginning with the Code of the Covenant, we find the following direction:[1] "If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing." This is coupled with provisions regarding the year of fallow and Sabbath rest:[2] "Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the increase thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie fallow, that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy oliveyard. Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh thou shalt rest." Almost identical directions for the solemn rest of the land in the seventh year are given in the Priestly code.[3] While it is sufficiently obvious that the term of labor is six days, or six years, the release and rest are so closely associated with the seventh that one might be tempted to think that the release came at the close of the seventh year. No such question could arise with regard to the provisions of *Deuteronomy,* which says:[4] "If thy brother, a Hebrew man, or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee," and: "The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand."[5] This form of statement surely suggests that the release takes place at the expiry of the term of six years, the phrase "in the seventh year" being used merely to insure the completion of the term. The suggestion that at the expiry of a term of six years the servant shall enjoy a year's rest at the expense of his master must have seemed grotesque to a practical man. The direction[6] "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release," though almost certainly a later addition, can mean neither more nor less than is implied in the Septuagint version, "at intervals of seven years;"[7] which would be true whether the release occurred at the beginning or at the end of the seventh year. In a parallel connection the Septuagint renders "when six years have been fulfilled."[8]

With these data of *Deuteronomy* we must join that regarding the

[1] *Exod.* XXI. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* XXIII. 10–12.
[3] *Levit.* XXV. 3–4.
[4] XV. 12.
[5] *Deut.* XV. 9.
[6] *Ibid.* XV. 1. See Driver's comment.
[7] δι' ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν.
[8] ὅταν πληρωθῇ ἓξ ἔτη, *Jer.* XLI. 14 (XXXIV. 14 in the Hebrew).

reading of the Law.[1] "At the end of every seven years, in the set time [*mo'ed*] of the year of release, in the Feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Yahweh . . . thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing." This passage will engage our attention later on; but it is desirable at this point to observe that when the Priestly calendar was formulated, the *mo'ed* of the Feast of Tabernacles fell on the 15th Tishri, which was the seventh month, reckoning from the epoch of Passover. There being another epoch beginning with Tishri, this might be regarded as the 15th of the first month. In that event the *mo'ed* of the year of release would be near the beginning of the year. We shall subsequently point out that the festival was from ancient times a New Year's observance. Here, then, we may assume, was the date at which the year of release, the Sabbatical year, was supposed to begin. This date has never been determined. Bähr,[2] indeed, long ago suggested that the Sabbatical, like the Jubile, year probably began on the 10th Tishri, since that epoch would bring about a desirable agreement with the agricultural year. That day, however, stood in the same relation to the *mo'ed* of Tabernacles as the 10th Nisan did to the *mo'ed* of Unleavened Bread:[3] which fact marks both as observances of the sixth day. How this evaluation comported with the connection of Passover and Tabernacles with New Year's day will have to be considered later. It will be shown that the pilgrimage later called the Feast of Tabernacles was even in Ezekiel's day a passover; and we may recall that in *Deuteronomy*[4] the Sabbath rest is associated with the release from the Egyptian bondage, which was achieved by the Passover of the exodus, whereas the Priestly[5] code connects the first Sabbatical rest of the land with the corresponding passover of the Jordan. As both passovers terminated on sixth days, they were properly succeeded by the Sabbatical rest and release.

These considerations seem to make it clear that in the older scheme the term was properly a hexad, the sixth day or year being the last, and the seventh a *dies non* or an *annus non,* that is to say a blank,

[1] XXXI. 10–11.

[2] *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus,* II, 572. At best, Bähr's suggestion would apply only to the Priestly code. How far the different years—of release, of fallow, of jubilee—were actually observed in practice we have no evidence until quite late, say from the third century B. C. While the Torah prescribes them, the historical books ignore them entirely, which must be significant.

[3] This, as we shall see, was recognized by the Rabbis.

[4] V. 16.

[5] *Levit.* XXV. 1–7.

which was reckoned only as an interval between terms, when they were counted in succession. Other data of a similar character will be considered later. Meanwhile it may not be amiss to compare the seventh day in this earlier scheme with the intercalary term which might be inserted in the year after the expiry of either term of six months in the Hebrew, as in the Babylonian, calendar. This analogy of the Sabbath to intercalation [1] will later be found to throw some light on its history. We should not fail, however, to bring the Hebrew scheme of release into relation with that which we find in the Code of Hammurapi: [2] "If a man is subjected to an attachment for debt and sells his wife, son, or daughter, or they are given over to service, for three years shall they work in the house of their purchaser or temporary master; in the fourth year [3] they shall be set free." Once more, as in the law of the same Code regarding fruit-trees, we meet the term of three years. This Babylonian term of service is of course identical with that of the hireling recognized by *Isaiah;* and the Hebrew term of six years is as clearly as possible recognized as a double triennium when *Deuteronomy* says,[4] "It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou lettest him go free from thee; for to the double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee six years."

For some reason, then, not at once intelligible, either the Deuteronomists or earlier priests substituted a hexadic for a triadic scheme, recognizing the former term as twice the length of the latter. In some of the Deuteronomic directions for the festivals we shall presently meet a festal term of six days followed by an *'azeret*. We shall have no great difficulty in showing that the scheme which recognizes the Sabbath as the last day of a recurrent week was neither original nor very early. What is obvious even now is that there was a time in Israel when there were recognized terms of six days understood to be double the triduum, and that then the sixth day was the *mo'ed* or time of Israel's tryst with Yahweh. But along with the sacredness of

[1] Grounds will later be given for the conclusion that the High and Holy Sabbath of Judaism, as of Christianity, was originally the morrow after the Passover, a New Year's day; the Passover-time being essentially a period of intercalation, and as such reckoned neither in the month nor in the year, as the Egyptian myth relates (Plutarch *De Iside* xii).

[2] § 117.

[3] Obviously meaning *after the expiry of the third year,* being thus quite parallel to the Hebrew "in the seventh year."

[4] xv. 18. Dr. Johns inferred from this passage that the term of three years recognized by the Code of Hammurapi was known to the Deuteronomists; though clearly right, his suggestion appears to have received little consideration.

the number six obviously goes that of the number two. How intimately they are associated in the form of the hebdomadal scheme which embodies the triduum in such sort that the second and third days coincide with the sixth and seventh, we have already pointed out; but for some reason not at once obvious the number two, which to the Hebrew suggested repetition, had peculiar associations. The Rabbis emphasize the circumstance that on the Sabbath all the ritual acts go by twos.[1] Later we shall find grounds for suspecting that this manner of observing the holy day was an inheritance carried over to the Sabbath from the time when the sixth day was the day of Yahweh *par excellence*.[2] At all events, it can do no harm to draw attention to a curious phenomenon which appears to have been largely if not quite ignored: the festivals show a marked tendency to form pairs. Not only do Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles balance each other perfectly in the two half-years, but Passover associated with itself its doublet, Unleavened Bread,[3] and 'Omer-day and Pentecost form a similar pair.[4] Moreover, repeated Passovers [5] and Feasts of Dedication repeated are known from the Hebrew tradition. Among the Jews of the Dispersion all festivals [6] were at least occasionally observed on two successive days. The latter fact is usually explained by the uncertainties connected with the observation of the new moon at Jerusalem; but the Jewish calendar provides for double new moons [7] as well. Whether this phenomenon is related to the repeated triduum in the hexaëmeron is not certain, but it is not improbable.

We remarked above on the constant effort of the Rabbis to connect whatever has for them a ritual significance with the several days of the hexaëmeron of creation. No doubt they would have maintained that the ritual demanded this or that practice because at creation God had by his procedure determined the type; but in reality the story of God's works is a reflex of man's *dromena* in the cultus of Yahweh. A complete record of the acts referred in the

[1] This apparently gave rise to the practice in the Christian Church of holding two services on the Lord's day, whether it was Saturday or Sunday.

[2] The twofold service would be easily explained, if the day of Yahweh was—at the time when this practice was introduced—a *dies fissus*.

[3] Likewise called "Passover." There was a second Passover also in the second month.

[4] Linked moreover with Passover or Unleavened Bread.

[5] E. g., II *Chron.* XXX, 13 *sq.*, the second Passover (Mazzot?) repeated.

[6] Usually the Day of Atonement formed an exception, but not always.

[7] One may compare the two New Year epochs, and in later times the 1st and 10th Tishri, both New Year's days.

Hebrew tradition to the several days of creation would undoubtedly afford a most instructive exhibit of the associations of the *feriæ* or days of the week; but we have neither the space nor the complete command of the sources requisite to such a study. Such facts as have come to our knowledge will be brought out in connection with special topics as we proceed.

It is sometimes said that the story of creation is inconsistent in that it is stated that at the close of the sixth day [1] "the heavens and the earth were finished" and again that "on the seventh [2] day God finished his work which he had made." How much disagreement there may be in these statements as originally intended may be left to more competent judges; but when the Sabbath came to be regarded as the last day of an hebdomadal week rather than as a blank day, there must have been some temptation to see in these phrases evidence of God's continuing work even on the seventh day,[3] despite all the taboos of the Sabbath. It seems little likely that those who composed the hexaëmeron had any thought of continuing activity on the part of God, once the fateful words were spoken, "It is finished," as Jesus on Good Friday declared his work of redemption at an end.[4] Did they not rather think of God as forspent? [5] Commentators [6] have drawn attention to various indications in the text that attempts were made to revamp the story with a desire to make it conform to ritual usage: into these we need not enter, but may content ourselves with the remark that, though the Jews ob-

[1] *Gen.* II. 1.

[2] LXX says ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ. It may be confidently affirmed that this represents the original meaning. Cf. *Exod.* XX. 11.

[3] This may have occasioned the reading "on the seventh day" in the Hebrew text. In the Fourth Gospel, which clearly recognizes Sunday as the Lord's day, there is an interesting discussion of Sabbath-work, occasioned by Jesus' healing the sick on the Sabbath, in which Jesus justifies himself by saying (v. 17) ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι and (v. 21) ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγείρει τοὺς νεκροὺς (of course on the seventh day) καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὓς θέλει ζωοποιεῖ.

[4] *John* XIX. 30.

[5] Students of the Synoptists must have remarked that the High and Holy Sabbath is entirely passed over except in anticipation or in retrospect. We shall later see, in considering the day of rest, that in the scheme of the Magi as reported by Theopompus the rest of the good god follows the completion of the third period. In the Jewish eschatology also (see above, p. 31, n. 4) all the world, including the Messiah, will rest in death at the end of the times for the space of a week and then be renewed by a new birth. This week is an enlarged Sabbath, the "Sabbath of the World."

[6] E. g., Skinner's *Genesis*, p. 7 *sq.*

viously felt free to manipulate the text pretty much at will, there emerges nevertheless in sufficiently clear outline a scheme of the hexaëmeron strikingly similar to that which we have just observed elsewhere. Here we are fortunately in a position to quote from a recent writer:[1] "The distribution of the eight works over six days has appeared to many critics a modification introduced in the interest of the Sabbath law, and at variance with the original intention of the cosmogony. Before entering on that question, it must be pointed out that the adjustment of days to works proceeds upon a clear principle, and results in a systematic arrangement. Its effect is to divide the creative process into two stages, each embracing four works and occupying three days, the last day of each series having two works assigned to it. There is, moreover, a remarkable, though not perfect, parallelism between the two great divisions. Thus the *first* day is marked by the creation of light, and the *fourth* by the creation of the heavenly bodies, which are expressly designated 'light-bearers'; on the *second* day the waters which afterwards formed the seas are isolated and the space between heaven and earth is formed, and so the *fifth* day witnesses the peopling of these regions with their living denizens (fishes and fowls); on the *third* day the dry land emerges, and on the *sixth* terrestrial animals and men are created. And it is hardly accidental that the second work of the *third* day (trees and grasses) corresponds to the last appointment of the *sixth* day, by which these products are assigned as the food of men and animals. Broadly speaking, therefore, we may say that 'the first three days are days of preparation, the next three are days of accomplishment.'"

This scheme in detail we are not now concerned to date; Professor Skinner, whom we have just quoted, proceeds to say, "Now whether this arrangement belongs to the original conception of the cosmogony, or at what stage it was introduced, are questions very difficult to answer." Without attempting to answer these difficult questions, it is permissible to suggest that the answer, when it is forthcoming, will be found by tracing the history of the several ritual schemes which successively or otherwise competed for the mastery of the cultus of Israel. That this scheme of the hexaëmeron agrees essentially with the Deuteronomic pattern of Passover and differs utterly from that of later Judaism is clear; for in the latter the

[1] Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 8 *sq.*

prevailing scheme called for the equation of the first day (not with the fourth but) with the fifth; of the second (not with the fifth but) with the sixth; and of the third (not with the sixth but) with the seventh. The difference will later be brought out more clearly in the comparison of Passover with the Feast of Tabernacles. Nowhere does the difference appear in bolder relief than in the doubling of the works of God on the third and sixth days, whereas in the provisions of the Priestly code and in the repeated declaration of the Rabbis this doubling of the *dromena* is characteristic of the Sabbath. Nothing, perhaps, could more clearly indicate the desire of successive generations to adjust the more complex patterns of their ritual to the simple and sacrosanct triduum.[1]

It is obvious that a scheme of repeated tridua with an added day that is virtually a blank is capable of two quite different arrangements. One is found in the hexaëmeron of creation, the tridua following one the other without interruption, and the first leading up to the second. This form must inevitably be preferred when periods of seven days succeed one another in an unending series of weeks. But in detached hebdomads an entirely different arrangement is possible; one might conceive of an introductory triduum and one of accomplishment punctuated, as it were, by the *dies non* or blank day of the Sabbath falling between them. Such a scheme was the more feasible because festival-terms so frequently went in pairs and were (either or both) succeeded by days of rest. Assuming a triduan term repeated with a day of rest between, we should have this precise form. That this was among the Israelites something more than a possibility is suggested by certain data of the festivals hereafter to be set forth, especially by the fact that an 'Omer-day was supposed to fall on the morrow after the Passover proper, succeeded by the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and that there are indications of a triduan Passover. Since the Passover consisted, as we shall see, of a going-forth and a coming-in, each of which aspects may have occupied three days, we should have this very scheme, provided that the two triduan terms were separated by a *dies non;* which would in a very striking way reproduce the pattern of the *rites de passage*

[1] Those who are interested will find curious and significant data for the latest phase of Judaism in the scheme of the week of creation as it appears in *Pirke R. Eliezer*. Thus the division of the waters is referred to the third day, which is probably due to the equation of the third day with the Sabbath and to the fact, to be pointed out later, that the pilgrimages, such as the Feast of Tabernacles and Passover, came to be rated as Sabbaths.

disclosed by M. Van Gennep. Something very like this we saw suggested above by the Rabbis, except that their week would begin on Thursday rather than Wednesday, in conformity with their identification of the Sabbath with the third day. On the other hand, precisely this arrangement may be found in the *menorah* or sacred candelabrum. Philo,[1] who certainly did not originate the idea, clearly associated the central light of the *menorah* with the Sabbath, and speaks of it as "the seventh and central one of the lights, divided in the midst into triads, and flanking it on either side." All this of course implies an extremely varied interpretation of the Sabbath at different times or by different groups of those who observed it. That in fact there was such diversity among the Jews must be patent to every student, and to it we may attribute the strangely inconsistent associations of the day.

Regarding the source of the Hebrew story of creation there is much dispute among Biblical scholars. The particular source, or rather sources—for the account is clearly composite and written from various points of view—may never be ascertained; but a comparison with Babylonian and old Persian versions leaves no room for doubt that one and all are connected with New Year festivals, the form of which adequately explains the general scheme of the hexaëmeron, as we shall show in a subsequent chapter. As we proceed with our study, the reader will discover why this association of creation with the New Year and the ancient pilgrimages of the Hebrews is of the first importance for the interpretation of the ritual patterns. Gradually, in pursuing the analysis of the Hebrew tradition and comparing the results in detail with data furnished by a study of the festivals of neighboring peoples, the supreme significance of the New Year and its rich complex of associations was forced upon our attention. At the same time the meaning of the Passover, as a *rite de passage* and the most sacred festival of the Hebrews, became increasingly clear. If the mystery of the Sabbath has not been completely solved, there is at all events good reason for the belief that it was introduced, perhaps from Babylonia, as an addendum to the hexaëmeron of the New Year festival. In an investigation of this sort dogmatism is inadmissible. Let the reader follow and weigh

[1] *De congressu eruditionis gratia* viii, p. 520 M. He labors in a similar way to find a seventh in the provisions for the shewbread, in the divided victims of Abraham (*Gen.* xv. 9 *sq.*) as well as the *menorah* in *Quis rerum heres* (ccvii *sq.*, p. 502 M.).

the evidence, as it is presented; he will find that much which has been supposed to be peculiar to the Hebrews was in fact the common property of a large group of peoples living near the Eastern Mediterranean.

CHAPTER II

The Pilgrimage or *Hag*

The great pilgrimages of the Hebrews are so frequently mentioned in the Bible that one might not unnaturally suppose that they may be readily understood from the record; but one has only to study that record attentively and to read what Biblical scholars have made out of it, to be undeceived. Leaving aside the vexatious problems arising from the stratification and contamination of sources, which have so largely engrossed the attention of scholars, there are questions of considerable importance which the record is ill calculated to answer. The difficulties are in fact due to the very nature of the Biblical record, which was never intended to describe the pilgrimages, but is concerned with the regulation of institutions hoary with age when the earliest literary documents were written. Whether the festivals were or were not originally conceived as devoted to gods we need not pause to inquire; we may be quite sure, however, that there were pilgrimages to shrines in Palestine before those shrines were centers of the cultus of Yahweh. Of what character they were it is our business to inquire, reduced though we are almost exclusively to the literary tradition of the Hebrews. It is imperative, therefore, that we realize in some measure the limitations under which we labor. Pilgrimages existed in Palestine from time immemorial: in essentials, as will be shown, they differed little from festivals observed in ancient Greece and among Semites to the present day. The Christian Church likewise has its pilgrimages, which in certain ritual aspects are not unlike those of the ancient Hebrews; and festivals of peoples, far removed in time and space from the Jews, present striking parallels which become explicable, if at all, only on the assumption of extreme antiquity and of a common basis of belief and practice. It is upon this background of extremely ancient practice that we must project the picture of the Hebrew pilgrimages, if we are to comprehend the details furnished by the literary tradition. This tradition itself is, however, as we have al-

ready remarked, far from yielding a complete picture of the variegated scenes and practices of the pilgrimage. One might as well expect to find in the exiguous directions of the Koran a true picture of the hijra, or in the data of the *Acta sanctorum* a living image of the observances of the Christian Year in Catholic lands.

The pilgrimage does not differ essentially from the sacrifice, which is its central rite. The nature of the sacrifice has been sufficiently studied.[1] It involves the separation of the devotee, as of the ministering agent or priest, from the estate of the profane by an act of purification or consecration,[2] and the making-over or transfer of the sacrificer to the divinity by an act signalizing the union of the human with the divine; the same course in reverse order at the close of the sacrifice reëstablishes the devotee in his former environment. In the pilgrimage, especially if it be to a distant shrine, the same steps are taken, but a longer interval may separate them. The pilgrim to Mecca formally devotes himself to his pilgrimage before leaving his home, but marks as well the passage over the sacred precincts of Mecca, which none but the faithful may cross; arrived at the sanctuary, he kisses the black stone of the Kaaba and performs other rites. The regress carries him through the same stages. While wearing the *ihram,* he is in a state which removes him from all the ordinary relations of profane life. This intermediate state lies between the limits of the pilgrimage, which are marked by the departure and the return.

Here we have the underlying scheme of the pilgrimage, consisting of the departure; the intermediate state, which sets the pilgrim off from the round of secular affairs; and the return. One sees without difficulty the general agreement of this ritual pattern with the triduan scheme above set forth. That the days of return, the third and the seventh, are somehow related to the ritual practice can hardly be doubted; but it is not clear whether there was among the early Hebrews a single festal term generally observed, nor how the ritual acts were disposed in such scheme or schemes as they employed. About one point, however, which is of considerable importance in connection with this ritual pattern, there is no doubt: in the two great pilgrimages of Israel, Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles, the days of special sanctity observed with elaborate rites were the open-

[1] See Van Gennep, p. 263 *sq.*

[2] Cf. *Ezra* VI. 20–21; II *Chron.* XXX. 3, 15–19; Philo *De septen,* cxlviii, p. 242 M.

ing and closing days, those which fell between being regarded as "intermediate," "half-sacred," or "half-secular." Of the significance of these special holy days in relation to the ritual forms of the Hebrews we shall have to speak hereafter; for the present it is enough to note that even in the elaborated festival-ritual there is a certain resemblance to the essential outlines of a pilgrimage. In view of the abundant evidence of acquaintance on the part of Israel with the triduan scheme, which did not prevail in the later ritual of Judaism, one might be led to conjecture that the earliest practice of the Hebrews called for pilgrimage festivals of three days; and there are in fact certain bits of evidence which one might cite in support of this view. Thus certain of the stories, notably that of Jephthah's daughter, point directly to this scheme. The importance of the theogamy in ancient ritual lends significance to the evidence that the Semites from most ancient times down to the Bedouins of to-day have observed a triduan marriage-rite;[1] and we shall presently find abundant proof of this term in Mohammedan rites. We shall, moreover, see that there are in the sacred story of the Passover indications not a few of a sacred triduum in that most ancient observance of Israel. But one may well be cautious here, because of another fact, to which we have already referred—the tendency of the Hebrews to duplicate their festivals.

This tendency, as we have seen, shows itself in various ways and is indeed of the greatest importance in relation to the pilgrimages. The question arises whether these observances were not essentially twins, like the departure and the return of the pilgrimage. All the major Hebrew pilgrimages were in fact associated with "the great departure" (the exodus) of Israel from Egypt and the "return" to the Holy Land, which with the intermediate sojourn in the wilderness[2] constituted for the pious Israelite the prototype of all his

[1] See E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus,* I, 89 *sq.*

[2] That the sojourn in the wilderness, lying between the Passovers of the Red Sea and the Jordan, was regarded as a *période de marge* (as Van Gennep calls the neutral interval), is suggested by many things said by the Rabbis. It is well known, for example, that at the last trump the great synaxis of Israel will take the form of a return to the Holy Land, crossing the Jordan being for the people a return from death. Cf. the tradition quoted from *Jer. Ta'anit,* IV, 69 *c,* and *Midrash Lam. Rab.* by Morgenstern ("Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals," *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.,* VIII, 34), which broadly suggests that the sojourn in the wilderness was a sort of entombment and that on the 10th or 15th Ab there was a resurrection. That this was connected with the Passovers (in *Joshua*) on the 10th and 14th/15th Nisan

"feasts." Since the Biblical data regarding triduan Passovers may be interpreted as related respectively to the "departure" and the "return" of the pilgrimage, and since the oldest clear record of the Passover reports a festival-term of six days, we do well to suspend judgment about a matter which is not susceptible of demonstrative proof.

The connection of the Hebrew pilgrimages with the exodus and the experiences of the Israelites in the wilderness, until they had passed over Jordan and accomplished their return, is a matter of capital importance. Though the Hebrew tradition sought to establish a connection for all the festivals, including the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement, with the exodus, it is Passover that shows the most intimate relation to that event or series of events. Passover is, in fact, the heart of the cultus of Israel, as Holy Week, its lineal descendant, is the nucleus of the Christian Year and ritual. That Passover is the prototype of the lesser pilgrimages cannot be doubted, though at times Tabernacles and the Day of Atonement bade fair to supersede it in the regard of the Jews. We shall discover as we proceed abundant evidence of the historical importance of the passover-rites and of the great number of such observances in Palestine. In view of these considerations, the character and associations of the Passovers assume a significance which attaches to no other pilgrimage. The special characteristics of this festival will occupy us at length in the following chapter; for the present it is of importance only to note that the rites were to the Jews suggestive of a departure and a return, and that they relate, among other things, to the transition from the Old to the New Year. From either point of view, the Passover would naturally assume the form of a double rite with an intermediate period, more or less prolonged, which was reckoned as belonging to neither term. How this condition should express itself in the festal term of the pilgrimage must have been a problem for the priests who regulated the ritual. We shall see some curious results of the various attempts to dispose of this neutral period in the indications regarding the night following the Passover proper and preceding the beginning of Unleavened Bread, when these observances had come to be regarded as constituting separate festivals; and we shall find that similar neutral zones elsewhere separate the Old Year from the New.

can hardly be doubted. The fast of the month of Ab thus becomes a replica of Passover.

We have remarked that the Passover was associated in the thought of the Hebrews with a departure, followed by a return. Strictly speaking, the return does not imply that the end of the journey shall coincide with the beginning, though in the Egyptian Passover there is, as in other similar accounts, the fiction of a previous sojourn of Israel in Palestine. Philo seems to ignore this, speaking rather of Israel's going abroad to establish a new home or colony;[1] and in speaking of the migration of Abraham to the land of promise he brings the patriarch's departure into relation with the injunction, "Ye shall eat it in haste; it is Yahweh's Passover," explaining that the Passover is a turning to the Saviour God, and that flight is a second form of salvation.[2] One can hardly doubt that the learned Jew was likening the hurried departure of Abraham from the land of the Chaldees to the double pilgrimage of Passover and Unleavened Bread, which commemorated the hasty departure from Egypt, the journey in the wilderness, and the arrival at the new home allotted to the faithful by Yahweh. This assuredly suggests that it was the inherent associations of the pilgrimage which led to the form of the sacred story of the exodus; for this account purports to give the *raison d'être* of the rites of Passover, and many of its

[1] *De septen.* cxlvi. 11, p. 292 M: *τῆς μεγίστης ἀποικίας ὑπόμνημά ἐστιν ἡ ἑορτὴ καὶ χαριστήριον, ἣν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐστείλαντο κατὰ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια.* The emigration from Egypt and the colonization of Palestine in obedience to oracles is thus quite parallel to Greek colonization prompted and guided by the Delphic oracle. Elsewhere (*ibid.* ccvi, p. 297 M.) Philo speaks of the Feast of Tabernacles as *ὑπόμνησιν τῆς τῶν προγόνων μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας.* Later we shall note the parallel of the Metageitnia celebrated by the Ionians in commemoration of their emigration.

[2] *De migratione Abrah.*, p. 440 M. He uses *διάβασις*, as usual, for Passover. When he says *δευτέρα γὰρ ἔφοδος εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ δυναμένοις δρασμός ἐστιν*, he is thinking not only of the flight of Abraham but also of the flight of Israel from Egypt; both are instances of a Passover or *διάβασις* to the Saviour God. Possibly he implies also that Mazzot was the second Passover, since the two observances were in his time regarded as distinct. That the account in *Exodus* likewise implies a twofold *διάβασις* will be pointed out below. "Flight" came to have an eschatological sense in Israel, referring to escape from the wrath to come on the day of Yahweh, no less than turning from sin; cf. *Matt.* xxiv. 16 *sq.*; II *Pet.* i. 4. In I *Macc.* ii. 27 *sq.*; II *Macc.* v. 27, x. 6, the flight of the Jews to the mountains in the wilderness is obviously conceived after the pattern of the Egyptian Passover or Sukkot. The notion of fleeing from the world, the flesh, and the devil took in time the form of a lifelong fast and abstinence to insure salvation. In Islam the hajj, which is a flight from the world, is the assured means of escaping the fire of Gehenna.

details may be paralleled by practices of the pilgrimage continuing to this day among the Arabs.

Israel generally dated its existence as a nation, or as a national Church, from Passover. As we might expect from the prominence in Judaism of the Passover in Nisan, it is the Egyptian Passover, inaugurating the exodus, that commonly claimed this honor, though we shall have occasion hereafter to draw attention to a rival passover, which might well dispute that claim, to wit, that at the Jabbok, at which Jacob, wrestling with Yahweh or his angel, won for himself the name of Israel. These associations of the Hebrew pilgrimage, embodied in the exodus, compel a comparison with the Hijra of Mohammed; for it is from this event that the Mohammedan era is reckoned. Although there is no etymological connection between "hijra" and "hajj,"[1] it may be said that in the thought of Islam they are intimately associated; for it was at the annual hajj, or pilgrimage, at Mecca that Mohammed, according to tradition, made good his flight to Medina.[2] The hajj was of course an ancient institution at that time, as the *hag* of the Hebrews is clearly assumed to have been at the time of the exodus. Like the latter, "hijra" means "separation," "absence," or "departure:" the Hijra, however, is commonly assumed to have derived its significance from the "flight" of Mohammed from Mecca,[3] as the exodus, or

[1] See Hurgronje, *Feest*, p. 19.

[2] Al-Biruni (p. 74) dates the Moslem calendar from the "farewell-pilgrimage," which he also calls "the correct pilgrimage." That is, the hajj of the tenth year.

[3] Burton, III, 286, mentions the return from Muna to Mecca which is called *El Nafr*, or the "Flight." It falls on the 10th Hijjah, which (as is remarked below, p. 62) does double duty as the close of hajj proper and the beginning of the second (optional) triduum. Is it a ritual relic of an ancient hijra on the first day of a hajj? "Hijra" is generally connected with the stem found in "Hagar." That the story of Hagar centers in her flight into the wilderness is clear. There are apparently two versions, *Gen.* XVI and *Gen.* XXI. In XVI. 9, Hagar is bidden to return. Critics appear to agree in regarding this detail as due to the desire of the redactor to account for the flight in XXI. 14 *sq.* But it should be observed that a twofold flight recurs in the Hijra, and that, if we assume a connection of the story with a pilgrimage at the sacred well El Roi, a return is not unnatural. Islamic legend also connects the story of Hagar and Ishmael with the hajj. It relates that in their wanderings in the desert they came to the valley of Mecca: in the agony of her thirst Hagar runs to and fro between the hills of Safa and Marwa (thus creating the precedent for the *sa'y*, see below, p. 60, n. 1) in quest of water, while Ishmael, left crying on the ground, kicks about him in childish passion, and lo, the sacred spring Zemzem bubbles up at his feet. See Muir, *Life of Mahomet* (1894), p. lxxxvii.

hasty departure of Israel, commemorates the "flight from Egypt." It will therefore repay some study to ascertain the time-references in the accounts of the Hijra embodied in popular tradition and in the official chronology of Islam.

Beginning with the popular traditions, it is to be observed first of all that account is taken chiefly of the days of the hebdomadal week, which had long been adopted in Arabia. In Islam, as with us, the week is reckoned as beginning with Sunday, and the first five days are designated simply by the ordinal numbers. Since "hijra" means separation or departure, we shall not be surprised to find it referred to the second day (Monday) or to Friday, the sixth day, with which it is so frequently equated. "The Prophet," says Burton,[1] "is generally supposed to have started from Mecca on the 1st of the same month (Rabia el Awwal), on a Friday or a Monday.[2] This discrepancy is supposed to arise from the fact that Mohammed fled his house in Mecca on a Friday, passed three days in the cave of Jebel Thaur, and finally left it for El Medina on Monday, which therefore, according to Moslem divines, was the first day of the Hijra." But in this Moslem exodus, as in the Hebrew, we must take account not only of the departure from the old home but also of the arrival in the new. "This event happened on the [second] [3] day of the week, the 12th [4] of the month Rabia el Awwal, in the first year of the Flight: for which reason Monday, which also witnessed the birth, the mission and the death of the Prophet,[5] is an auspicious [6] day in El Islam." The event here mentioned was Mohammed's arrival at Kuba, lying near Medina. The entry of the Prophet into the latter city was deferred until the following Friday, from which dates the foundation of the Jumah ("Friday") Mosque

[1] Burton, II, 131.

[2] Contrast the official chronology, below, pp. 65 *sq.*

[3] Burton, *ibid.*, says by mistake "first."

[4] Note the coincidence of Monday, the 2d day, with the 12th.

[5] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II, 57, says the date of Mohammed's death has been fixed arbitrarily. Similar instances are mentioned below, e. g., in the case of Alexander the Great. The day was observed by eating sweetmeats and with a great procession to the birthplace of the Prophet and back to the mosque.

[6] Burton says "auspicious" here and elsewhere (see p. 62, n. 5) when one would expect a different characterization. There was "a happy coincidence," but one suspects that the day was one of solemn associations. This was true likewise in ancient Egypt; see Brugsch, *Æg.*, p. 334: *"Traf ein in Rede stehender Mondtag mit demselben Zahlendatum des sothischen Monats zusammen, so galt diese zufällige oder beabsichtigte Coincidenz als ein besonders glückliches Ereignis."*

at Kuba and the first preaching on the day of assembly (Jumah) at Kuba and Medina. It will be observed that the same days of the week, the second and the sixth, are concerned with the departure from Mecca and the arrival at Medina, but that they are in chiastic order. We shall later find something quite parallel in the arrangement of the passovers of the Egyptian border and the Red Sea, at the beginning, and at the Jordan, at the close, of the exodus of Israel. We should not be surprised to discover signs of passover-rites[1] associated with the Hijra and the hajj. In the popular accounts there is obvious also a desire to connect the second and sixth days of the week with the corresponding days of the middle decad of the month, which creates the illusion of a calendar which we may be sure never existed in fact. We may draw attention to the further fact that the tradition of the Hijra, like the hajj, embodies several triduan terms.[2]

Before proceeding to the official chronology of the Hijra, it may be well to consider briefly some time-references and other indica-

[1] The Friday Mosque at Kuba lies in the valley (probably at the regular passage over the wadi). It is suggestive to read (Burton, II, 25) that when the pilgrims sighted Medina their prayer was "O open the gates of thy mercy, and let us pass through them to the land of joy." The hajj at Mecca is in fact a sequence of rites akin to Passovers. First of all, the hajj proper may be combined with the *'omra,* a *peregrinatio ad loca sancta,* as the Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem is preceded or followed by the *peregrinatio.* As the Hebrew Passover was a *hag,* or circular dance, the hajj proper begins and ends with the rapid sevenfold circumambulation (*tawāf*) of the Kaaba, though in the interval other sacred spots also are circumambulated. The "hasty flight" is repeated, and is variously called *nafr, daf',* and *ifâdha.* See Hurgronje (*Feest,* pp. 153–160), who recognizes the practice as a survival from pre-Islamic times. It can hardly be explained, however, by the horror Moslems might feel on passing a spot where "Christians" had performed their rites! Gaudefroy-Demombynes mentions such flights as observed between the two limits (*mazamein*) which mark the boundary between 'Arafat (where, according to some, the hajj proper ends) and Mozdalifa, and again over the wadi Muhassir which, as he says, forms a sort of neutral zone between Muna and the sacred precincts (*haram*) of Mecca (cf. Al-Biruni, p. 333). This author recognizes the kinship of *ifâdha* with the rite of running to and fro between the green pillar-stones, Safa and Marwa, the so-called *sa'y,* within the sacred precincts, for which cf. Hurgronje, *Feest,* pp. 24 *sq.,* 106–110. Etheria (Chap. v) makes it fairly clear that the running to and fro between the gates of the camp of Israel before Sinai (*Exod.* XXXII. 27) was in fact just such a *sa'y.* We may compare likewise the confused movements of the Israelites between Pihahiroth and Baal-zephon-Migdol (*Exod.* XIV. 9 *sq.*) and the race between Ahimaaz and the Cushite (II *Sam.* XVIII. 19 *sq.*), of which more will be said later.

[2] Cf. Burton, II, 131, and Hurgronje, *Mekka,* II, 59 *sq.* for the women's festival of Sheik Mahmud.

tions of numerical values in the provisions for the hajj. The intending pilgrim before leaving home must offer two prostration-prayers, the number constantly recurring. "The day should be either a Thursday or a Saturday; some, however, say 'Allah hath honored the Monday and the Thursday.' If possible, the first of the month should be chosen, and the hour early dawn." [1] That Friday should here be omitted is surprising, but the equivalent Monday occurs, and calls for no further comment. As to Saturday, it is difficult to explain it except by Jewish influence, in so far as later Judaism tended to identify all its festivals as Sabbaths; [2] for the number seven seems to play a subordinate rôle in Moslem ritual.[3] Thursday, however, as the fifth day, presents no special difficulties, since it is paralleled not only by the reference of the Jewish Passover to Maundy Thursday, but by other ritual uses of the number five which will presently be mentioned. But while the pilgrim may be said to be engaged on the hajj from the time of his departure from home, if he assumes *ihram* there, the hajj proper begins at Mecca and lasts three days, the 8th, 9th, and 10th of the pilgrimage month, Hijjah. This term is extended by the addition of a second triduum variously called the Little Bairam,[4] or Ayyam el Tashrik ("days of drying flesh in the sun"). But since the beginning of the latter optional triduum is reckoned variously from the 10th or the 11th Hijjah, the total number of days observed is either five or six.[5] Of the triduum of the hajj proper it is desirable to speak somewhat more in detail. We remarked in the Introduction that the first day of the triduum is frequently quite colorless. This is notably true, it seems, of the Yaum el Tarwiyah (8th Hijjah), the first day of

[1] Burton, III, 227, n.

[2] Especially Pesah, as is shown by the identification of the morrow after the Sabbath (*Levit.* XXIII. 11, 15) with the morrow after Pesah (*Num.* XXXIII. 3).

[3] E. g., seven circuits of the Kaaba, seven (or seventy) stones cast at "Shaitan."

[4] The Great Bairam is another triduum falling on the 1st, 2d, and 3d Shawwal, immediately following the fast of Ramadan. The Little Bairam (so-called by the Turks) is dated the 10th, 11th, and 12th Hijjah, the Ayyam el Tashrik the 11th, 12th, and 13th. Compare Ginzel, I, 273, with Burton, III, 241.

[5] Burton III, 241 n. †, says: "The schools have introduced many modifications into the ceremonies of these three days. Some spend the whole time at Muna, and return to Mecca on the morning of the 13th. Others return on the 12th, especially when that day happens to fall on a Friday." This happened when Burton was at Mecca (cf. III, 312 *sq.*).

hajj at Mecca.[1] As we might expect, the second day, the "day of Arafat" (9th Hijjah) is sharply defined. The distinctive rite of the day is the obligatory sermon (*hotba*) on Mount Arafat; "if the pilgrim is too late for the sermon," says Burton,[2] "his labor is irretrievably lost." Here the pilgrim is commanded to weep; "for that is the place for the outpouring of tears." [3] Since the day of assembly and the sermon is normally Friday, we have once more a clear equation of the second and sixth days. The Moslem finds a significance in this fact, as appears from the statement of Burton: [4] "Hajj el Akbar (the great pilgrimage) is when the 'day of Arafat' happens to fall on a Friday. This is a most auspicious [5] occasion." As to the final day of the hajj proper, its character likewise is such as we might have expected: "Yaum el Nahr, the third day of pilgrimage (10th Hijjah), is the great festival of the Moslem year." [6] The day is decidedly of a twofold nature, according as the pilgrim does or does not intend to observe the second triduum. For him who does not, it is an occasion of joy and laying aside *ihram*. When Burton at this ceremony was having his head shaved,[7] he heard the

[1] See Burton, III, 245 *sq.* On the preceding day, the 7th, pilgrims assume *ihram,* if they have not already done so; and an official pronounces the *hotba* (corresponding to the *prorrhesis* in the Greek Mysteries). Yaum el Tarwiyah (the 8th) is the "Day of Watering;" Arabic writers explain the name as referring to watering the animals (camels and horses) because of the scarcity of water in the parts traversed in the hajj. It seems more probable that the ceremony is akin to the New Year rites of drawing water, which I illustrated in *A.J.P.,* XLV, *232 sq.,* and to the ἄλαδε μύσται of the Eleusinian rite.

[2] III, 239. Hurgronje shows that it is not properly a "sermon."

[3] *Ibid.,* III, 240.

[4] III, 226.

[5] See above, p. 59, n. 6. When *John* XIX. 31, speaking of the day following the Crucifixion, says "the day of that Sabbath was a high day," it is obviously meant to signalize the coincidence of Passover with Friday and of the morrow after Passover with the Sabbath. This would be a specially significant occasion.

[6] Burton, III, 240 *sq.* Islamic tradition represents this day as substituted for the Jewish Day of Atonement, the 10th Tishri. See Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (1894), p. 188. This is obviously the day intended in the tradition that Mohammed, who began the Hijra at the hajj, arrived at Mecca on the Day of Atonement. But, since Muharram is the first month of the Moslem year, and the latter begins with the Hijra, the 10th Muharram is similarly observed. See Hurgronje, *Mekka,* II, 51 *sq.*

[7] An ancient Semitic custom, especially at the *hag,* because of its character as a fast and its rites to the dead. Cf. Herod. iii. 8; *Jer.* XVI. 6, XLI. 5; *Mic.* I. 16; *Deut.* XIV. 1; *Levit.* XIX. 27, XXI. 5; Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites* [2] p. 325 *sq.* Cf. the cutting of Absalom's hair. Wellhausen (*Reste arab. Heidentums,* p. 80) regards the rite as a sign that one's vow has been paid and

prayer,[1] "O Allah this my forelock is in thy hand, then grant me for every hair a light on the Resurrection-day;" which, in view of the brilliant illumination on the night connected with this day, suggests that the third day of the hajj had conscious associations with resurrection.[2] On the other hand, Yaum le Nahr (day of throat-cutting) is obviously preparatory to the triduum of Tashrik, and in the titular observance of the day prayers omit reference to the mercy of Allah.[3] One thinks not unnaturally of the selection of the paschal victim[4] on the 10th or 14th Nisan and its sacrifice on the latter day, which precedes the *hag* of Unleavened Bread. In view of observations which will later be set forth in regard to the Sabbath as a day of rest following the completion of a festival-term of six days, another point deserves mention. Speaking of the 11th Hijjah, which immediately follows the triduum of hajj proper, Burton says,[5] "This day is known in books as Yaum el Karr, because the pilgrims pass it in *repose* at Muna," whither they return to their tents.[6] We shall

that one lays aside *ihram*. The other obligatory rites of the day are the offerings (Abraham would have offered Isaac), and the *ifâdha* to Mecca.

[1] III, 285, n.

[2] The topics of the prayers are constantly connected with the suggestions of the day. As for the associations of the miraculous lights with the resurrection, cf. Bartema (as quoted by Burton, II, 358) in regard to the miraculous lightning issuing from the sepulcher of Mohammed at Medina and the miracle of the sacred fire at the Holy Sepulcher on Holy Saturday, or the eve of Easter, for which see Bernard the Wise (in Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 27) and Maundrell's vivid account (*ibid.*, p. 462 *sq.*). This rite is discussed by Duchesne (*Christian Worship*, p. 250 *sq.*), but he knows nothing of it except as it is practised in the Church. It is an ancient New Year rite, known among primitive folk in many lands, connected with eating the new crop, as was the Feast of Unleavened Bread. See below, p. 68, n. 2. It is worth noting that many regard it as meritorious to observe the preceding night at Mozdalifa at least partly as a vigil, watching and praying. Cf. the watch-night of Pesah and the vigil of the disciples at Gethsemane.

[3] Burton, III, 303, n.

[4] The parallel to the Jewish Passover is complete. Passover proper begins on the 15th Nisan, whether dating from midnight or the morning-watch (cockcrow); but the paschal lamb was slain on the 14th "between the two evenings," i. e., at sunset. As the paschal victim should, according to *Exod.* XII. 3, be selected and set apart on the 10th Nisan, this date is clearly the epoch from which Passover dates. There is something quite like this arrangement in the Athenian Apaturia. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 279, speaking of the victim offered at Muna, says: *"La victime en effet doit, suivant la doctrine, prendre, pour ainsi dire, l'*ihram *en même temps que le pèlerin."* Since the rite begins with the assumption of *ihram*, the conclusion is obvious.

[5] III, 241, n.

[6] Cf. *Deut.* XVI. 7, of which more hereafter.

presently find a similar character attaching in the Hebrew tradition to the morrow after Pesah.

These details sufficiently show that in Islam the triduan scheme, as we have sketched it elsewhere, is well known. The second day is one of death, departure, and mourning; Mohammed's death is dated on Monday the 12th Rabia el Awwal in the eleventh year of the Hijra.[1] One suspects that the day of the week (and of the month [2]) was chosen because of its associations. Friday, as the sixth day, carried similar suggestions; for Mohammed is believed to have commended the practice of visiting the graves of one's parents on that day.[3] The prominence of the cult of the dead among Arabians thus sufficiently accounts for the peculiar sanctity of Monday and Friday, which has already been noticed. But in Islam the number six is perhaps more honored even than two; for its Holy of Holies is the Kaaba, which means "cube," [4] a figure bounded by six surfaces. The connection of six with the Kaaba is variously marked; as when Moslem tradition reports that the original Kaaba was constructed of materials gathered from the six mountains of Paradise; [5] when Abraham and his sons rebuilt it by the command of Allah, they obtained the materials from five or six sacred hills.[6] Monday and Friday would appear to have been at one time the days favored for opening the sanctuary.[7] It is not unlikely that anciently the Kaaba was the altar of a deity worshiped on the sixth day. The rationalists of Islam are said [8] to connect their faith with the worship of Venus (the planet), to whom, as we know, Friday was sacred among the days of the week.[9] If the Kaaba was really in ancient times an

[1] Burton, II, 136.

[2] This practice resembles that of the Greeks, who display a marked preference for the coincidence of the ordinals of the festal days with those of the decads (especially the first and middle) of the month. Later Judaism and Islam in their ritual display a preference for agreement with the days of the week.

[3] Burton, II, 71. For the six prayers for mercy, see Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II, 86.

[4] It is to be remembered that the Holy of Holies in the temple seen by Ezekiel in a vision is a perfect cube of twenty cubits. Cf. Fritz Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 711 *sq.*

[5] Burton, III, 201, n.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 189 (cf. 188).

[7] *Ibid.*, III, 156.

[8] *Ibid.*, III, 201, n.

[9] On this Oriental Aphrodite, see Roscher, *Lex.*, I, col. 390 *sq.*, where her identification or equation with the moon is pointed out. Here again we find a basis in cultus for the equation of Monday (moon's day) and Friday

altar,[1] it may not be amiss to refer to the famous "Delian problem" of doubling the cube, said to have been proposed to the Athenians to avert a plague. The cube in question was the altar of the Delian Apollo, whom the Homeric *Hymn* to that god calls "Hekatos," an appellative apparently meaning "sixth." [2] The occasional connection of the number five with the Kaaba may be due to disregard of the base of the cube or to other causes of a ritual origin.[3]

But enough of these details. Suffice it to call attention to the fact that, as the second and sixth days of the week possess for the Moslem the greatest sanctity, a doubling of the triduum in the hajj, though not succeeding in establishing itself as obligatory, was apparently inevitable. Thus the sanctity of the sixth day gave rise to a festal term of six days,[4] recognized as a repeated triduum; but under certain circumstances the prolonged term may be reduced from six to five days, just as the Hijra may be dated from Thursday.

We are now prepared to consider the official date of the Hijra, the Mohammedan era, which is said to have been determined by the Caliph Omar with the concurrence of Ali seventeen years after the Flight, or six years after the death of Mohammed.[5] Moslem and Christian chronologists have been perplexed by the date pitched upon, because it does not conform to data which they believe to be assured and which could not well have been forgotten in so short a

(*Ueneris dies*). For the connection of Artemis with the number two, cf. Gruppe, p. 939.

[1] From its roof, we may well believe, offerings were anciently made to the "Queen of Heaven." The number six was sacred to other goddesses with whom the Oriental bride of heaven was identified, notably Ishtar, Artemis, and Hekate.

[2] More of Apollo Hekatos and Hecate hereafter. See Chap. IX, § 4.

[3] Thus Al-Biruni, p. 332, dates the descent of the Kaaba from heaven on the 5th Dhû-alka'da. Those who may be interested will find curious and significant hints in the number of heads under which Moslem theologians lay down their ritual prescriptions; for examples, see Burton, III, 225–234. For the number five, cf. the regard for Thursday (see above, p. 61, and below, p. 66).

[4] Burton, II, 322, mentions a tradition that Mohammed continued in prayer six days in the Mosque el Fazik (near Kuba), where word was received from the Prophet that intoxicating drinks were for the future forbidden. This is characteristic of the fast, and we shall later find it motivated for (Good) Friday by Jesus' refusal of wine on the Cross.

[5] This tradition will seem difficult to accept when the character of the epoch is fully realized. Syrian or Jewish scholars, apparently, alone can have chosen the date: but were there in Islam so early in its history converts capable of such nice calculations?

time. Regarding the historical facts in the case we need not inquire, if indeed it were possible by searching to ascertain the truth among statements quite contradictory. Of greater significance for us is the date chosen by the Oriental chronologists. Ginzel[1] quotes from Abulhassan Kushyar: "The epoch of the Arabic era is Thursday, the beginning of the year in which occurred the Prophet's Flight. That day is the 15th Tammuz of the year 933 of the Seleucid era" (= 15th July, A.D. 622). From Ulug Beg the same scholar quotes: "The epoch of the Arabic era is the beginning of Muharrem of the year in which Mohammed fled from Mecca to Medina. According to the mean lunar revolution this was a Thursday; according to the observation of the moon it was a Friday: we reckon it as Thursday." It is hardly possible to doubt that this date was chosen out of regard for ritual considerations; for it happily satisfies a number of important requisites. The Hijra, like the exodus, was to mark the beginning of an era; therefore it must be a New Year's Day.[2] Since the Moslem year consists of twelve lunar months reckoned from the first appearance of the crescent after sunset, New Year's Day must be the first of such a lunar month.[3] Moreover we have seen the predilection, displayed in the popular tradition of Islam, for the coincidence of the first six days of the week with the corresponding ordinals of the second decad of the month. At the juncture to which the Flight is referred, reckoning the day after the Arabic fashion from sunset, Thursday, the fifth day of the week, coincides with the 15th Tammuz, and Friday with the 16th. The association of the numbers five and six with the Kaaba proves that this was a desideratum. But again one cannot help noting that the Hebrew exodus, to which the Hijra is obviously a parallel, was in Judaism referred to the 14th–15th of the month. In the case of the Jewish festival, the date was determined with reference to the seasons which depend on

[1] I, 258 *sq.* His statement is judicious so far as it goes: it should be consulted for this entire paragraph. Of course he knows nothing of the ritual schemes which the Oriental chronologists sought to satisfy in the date they selected. Cf. Al-Biruni, pp. 34, 176.

[2] The tradition that the Jews of Medina were celebrating the Day of Atonement when the Prophet arrived deserves no more consideration than others. It merely marks the end of the Hijra as falling on a New Year's day; just as *Josh.* IV. 19 dates the conclusion of the exodus six months earlier on the 10th Nisan, New Year's day. Cf. Al-Biruni, p. 326 *sq.*, regarding the 10th Muharram, the first month of the Mohammedan year.

[3] Ulug Beg ought, accordingly, to have pitched upon Friday instead of Thursday.

the solar year; in the Arabic lunar year of 354 days, such a reference is impossible. Hence it makes no real difference in what month Mohammed's Flight was conceived as occurring; for the anniversary of the Hijra, like the set time of the hajj, must compass the round of the seasons in about thirty-three years. Add to this the fact that Pesah was by the Jews reckoned as a fifth or sixth day, and in later Judaism referred (as in Maundy Thursday and Good Friday) to the corresponding days of the week, and we have as close a parallel to the Hebrew Passover as the difference in character of the Jewish and Arabic years admitted. It is difficult to convince oneself that so elaborate an agreement was due to coincidence rather than to the ingenuity of men equally versed in astronomy and ritual. That it necessitated sacrificing popular tradition and even undoubted historical facts may readily be believed; at all events, students of chronology appear to be agreed [1] that the official epoch of the Mohammedan era is not the actual date of the Prophet's Flight. Nor is this at all singular. When we come to consider the dates of various events in Greek history, we shall find abundant evidence of the operation of essentially the same principles. We are repeatedly confronted with the obvious fact that the date handed down by tradition is not that of the actual occurrence but that of its commemoration, which was determined by ritual considerations. Indeed, as in Hebrew and Mohammedan story, we shall meet in Greek and Roman records a large number of fateful events referred to second and sixth, and less frequently to fifth, days. From this survey it appears that the ritual schemes disclosed by a study of the sacred story of Islam were not necessarily borrowed from the Jews, but were a part of the ancient inheritance of the peoples of Western Asia. The particularity of the official chronology of the Hijra, however, suggests that it was directly borrowed from the Jews,[2] though further research may show that even here the

[1] So Ginzel, I, 259, says: *"Die Epoche der* Hidschra *fällt keineswegs mit dem der Flucht Mohammeds zusammen."* He there cites Oriental sources to prove his statement.

[2] But one must not forget that the five-day epact, which brings the transition from year to year on the 5th and 6th days after the close of the preceding twelvemonth, is reported to have been known to the Arabs before Islam; and that, according to Epiphanius *Panar.* li. 22, the birth of Dusares fell on the 5th/6th January in Arabia, at Elusa and Petra. Since Dusares was apparently the god of the Αἰών, the ritual form used in determining the epoch of the Mohammedan era may have been derived from an ancient Arabian tradition.

principles involved found a more general acceptance. Indeed, if the fifth and sixth days are really to be explained by the epact—of which more hereafter—we shall do well to consider the claims of Egypt, where the epact seems to have been formally recognized about 2,000 years before we learn of it elsewhere.

The generic Hebrew name for a pilgrimage is *hag* (plural, *haggim*), identical with Arabic *hajj*. Unfortunately the etymology[1] of this term, which seems to refer to dancing in a circle, throws little light on the essential character of the festivals. The dances in a circle, which are even now a part of the Bedouin festival observances,[2] may be assumed to be somehow associated with the sanctity of those ancient circular cromlechs known by the name of Gilgal, which continued in use as the proper name of more than one place, especially near the Jordan, connected in the sacred story with passover-rites. Of more importance, however, is the fact that the word *hag*

[1] See Julian Morgenstern's "The Etymological History of the Three Hebrew Synonyms for 'to Dance'" (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, XXXVI (1916), 321–332), to which I am much indebted.

[2] Doughty (*Arabia Deserta*, I, 168 *sq.*) describes them at the Bedouin circumcision-festival. The *tawaf*, or circumambulation of the Kaaba, is described by Burton (III, 204 *sq.*, 234 *sq.*); it is not unlike the Easter rite at the Holy Sepulcher (cf. above, p. 63, n. 2). That Mohammed forbade the practice at his tomb (Burton, II, 58) suggests that the rite was proper to the dead god; 1 *Kings* XVIII, 26 *sq.* is quite consistent with this view, for "sleep" may well be here as elsewhere a euphemism for "death." Certainly the behavior of the priests of the Baalim recalls the ἀνακλήθρα of the gods (cf. Pausan. i. 43. 2 and lexica *s.v.* ἀνακαλεῖν) in Greece. In Palestine it is still customary to circumambulate the tomb of a saint seven times. The circumambulation of the altar of Yahweh at Sukkot is well known. Our sources do not agree as to the number of times. See Charles, on *Jubilees* XVI. 31. The miracle of the sacred fire, which we have seen associated with the Easter resurrection, occurs not only at the limping *hag* to the Baalim and Yahweh on Carmel, but also at the consecration of Aaron and his sons, which *Levit.* IX. 1 refers to the 8th day, the *'azeret* or post-festal day of the Priestly code. The Palestinian Targum (p. 170 Etheridge) dates the event on the 1st Nisan, or New Year's day. Horace (*Sat.* i. 5. 97 *sq.*) taunts the Jews on this belief in connection with a similar miracle supposed to occur at Gnatia near Brundisium. Presumably the Roman poet learned of this tenet of the Jews not from a literary source, but from reports of some festival, perhaps Passover or Hanukka. The time of the Resurrection was the transition from the Sabbath to Sunday, and so might be referred to either day. Easter day is 'Omer, the correlate of Pentecost, the day of first-fruits. Jesus, as the first-fruits of them that slept (1 *Cor.* XV. 20) rose again on the day when light was given. The new birth of the sacred fire is regularly associated with New Year and the offering of first-fruits. Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[2], II, 75 *sq.* For circumambulation, see *E.R.E.*, III, 657 *sq.*

bore among other connotations that of grieving, lamenting, wailing.[1] This is quite in keeping with the evidence, which will be presented in detail in connection with the several pilgrimages, that the *hag* proper was observed as a fast. Our analysis of the data will show that with the exception of Pentecost, which was not commonly regarded as a distinct *hag,* all the pilgrimages of the Hebrews were reckoned as falling on second or sixth days, whose associations are now sufficiently known as those of mourning for the departed god. The evaluation of the pilgrimages as second days in the developed calendary scheme of the cultus of Yahweh will be found to be exceptional, though common enough in other indications of the record; whereas the evidence that they were rated as sixth days is unequivocal in the calendary arrangements. This becomes especially significant when we survey the evidence regarding the ritual value of the number six among peoples surrounding the Hebrews, as it is shown in their calendars. It is neither necessary nor desirable here to anticipate the data, which will be cited as occasion requires; but one may refer to the fact that in the Babylonian calendar the sixth month is Ululu[2] =Elul, called "the month of the mission of Ishtar," referring to the descent of the goddess to the nether world in quest of Tammuz. During her absence[3] a strict fast was observed amid much wailing: an observance not unknown among the Hebrews.[4]

Such considerations show that one may not regard the Hebrew pilgrimages as isolated phenomena to be explained by the provisions which the priestly colleges drew up for their observance. These directions, together with the commands of the Levitical law, ceremonial and moral, were conceived in a spirit quite admirable, but they neither abolished nor obscured to the eye of the discerning the immemorial practices of the *haggim,* which continued to be observed among Jews even into the Christian era. One of these practices it is

[1] Morgenstern, *loc. cit.,* pp. 323–324. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2. 12) speaks of the *hag* at Shiloh as a fast attended with mourning.

[2] Morgenstern (*loc. cit.,* p. 331) suggests that *Ululu* may be correlated with Heb. *hūl, hālal;* which is not unlikely. The connection of *malīlu* = "flute" with this root (*ibid.,* p. 330) is suggestive in view of the associations of the instrument. Gr. ἐλελεῦ and ἐλεγεῖον also are presumably related.

[3] Cf. the absence of Demeter from the circle of the Olympians when she and all the world fasted while she sought and bewailed her daughter. Such a figure also was presumably Rachel weeping for her children (*Jer.* xxxi. 15).

[4] *Ezek.* viii. 14.

necessary to discuss because it serves to show not only the general similarity of the Hebrew *haggim* to those of neighboring peoples but also the prevalence of the same ritual schemes which, though somewhat obscured in later times, were not unknown even to the Rabbis of the Talmud.

Modern travelers in Arabia, who describe the festivals still observed, mention the dance executed in a ring as one of its practices.[1] These dances are performed by a chorus of virgins; and such was the practice likewise in Israel and Greece in ancient times.[2] Now a comprehensive study of the use of the term *parthenos* ("virgin") in Greek religion would show that it meant a bride, whether of god or man, or of both, though in the cultus the *parthenos* figures chiefly as the bride of the god. The dance of the virgins was therefore in ancient times a rite of consecration as brides of the god preparatory to marriage with a human mate. As such, the dance and the attendant ritual acts fall within the scheme of the marriage-rite, which was generally triduan in Greece, and among the Hebrews occupied either three or seven days. Among both peoples most festivals, apparently, at one time bore in part the character of a village-marriage, whatever other observances might afford the special occasion for them. Thus, the circumcision-festival of the Bedouin boys described by Doughty turns out to be quite as much an occasion for the marriage of the virgins. The consecration of the bride to the god took the form of a marriage, in which the god might be represented by an authorized human surrogate, whether priest or stranger, who might be regarded as the god in disguise. In various Greek Mysteries, where the god is always a chthonian, or a Mystery-god in his chthonian character, the union of the bride with the god or his representative is called *proteleia* (pre-initiation) and is regularly performed on a second or sixth day.[3] Occasionally among both Greeks and Semites the privilege of thus handseling the bride falls to her future husband; but this was clearly exceptional in the earlier time. In Greece, and no doubt among Semites, this rite was ameli-

[1] E. g., Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 168 *sq.*

[2] Of these rites, especially among the Greeks, I may speak at greater length at another time. As regards the ancient Israelites, see Morgenstern, "Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals," *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.*, VIII, 35 *sq.*

[3] The *proteleia* performed on the third day was exceptional. The Heb. term for the rite is "profaning;" see Morgenstern, "The Etymol. Hist. . . . ," *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, XXXVI, 327, and cf. Philo *De congr. erud. gratia* vii, p. 520 M.

orated with the progress of civilization and became symbolic. The comparison of Yahweh's relation to Israel to that of bridegroom to bride, familiar from the prophets, presupposes this ancient rite, in which the bride, after being chosen and covered by the bridegroom with the skirt, or "virgin-zone," prostitutes herself to others [1] before her husband reclaims her.

Just such a festival was the *hag* to Yahweh celebrated from year to year at Shiloh,[2] the chief sanctuary of ancient Israel, where the Benjaminites procured their wives from among the virgins who danced in the vineyards. Josephus [3] says there were three such festivals in the year at Shiloh; the Mishna [4] speaks of two such dances in the year, on the 15th Ab and the Day of Atonement, and the Gemara [5] identifies the former with that at Shiloh. The practice of intercourse with the virgins on these occasions, which was repeated elsewhere, is attested by the Talmud: [6] "Elijah said to R. Jehudah, the brother of R. Sala the Pious, 'You question inwardly why the Messiah does not come? Today is the Day of Atonement, and many maidens have been deflowered today in the city of Nehardea.' " Since it is unthinkable that the Messiah's coming should be delayed by the sins of Gentiles, it is obviously implied that the objectionable conduct was that of Jews. But the Jews themselves quite clearly connected various stories of the olden time with these rites.[7] Thus the *Testament of Judah* [8] expressly states that when Tamar lay with Judah at the gate of Enaim, she was

[1] In the prophets the bride (Israel) prostitutes herself to other gods; this form of statement might be regarded as due solely to the circumstance that Israel's bridegroom is Yahweh; but see S. A. Cook in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, III, 452 *sq.* The *proteleia* even in Greece belong either to chthonians or to "Heroes," who share in good part the rites of the chthonian gods. In Semitic lands the bride became a *kedeshah,* or hierodule, devoted to the god.

[2] *Judg.* XXI. 19 *sq. The Bibl. Ant. of Philo* XLVIII. 3 identifies the occasion as Passover. Scholars to-day think rather of Sukkot.

[3] *Ant.* V. 2. 12.

[4] *Ta'anit,* Chap. IV (p. 80, tr. Rodkinson).

[5] Morgenstern, "The Etymol. Hist. . . . ," *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.,* XXXVI, 324.

[6] *Yomah,* Chap. I (tr. Rodkinson). One may refer likewise to canon 35 of the Council of Elvira (4th cent.) which forbids women spending the vigils before saints' days in cemeteries, because under pretext of prayer they often commit *scelera.* Such acts are mentioned abundantly in connection with Greek and Roman vigils.

[7] See Morgenstern, "The Etymol. Hist. . . . ," *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.,* XXXVI, 325 *sq.*; also "The Origin of *Massoth* and the *Massoth*-Festival," *Am. Jour. Theol.,* XXI (1917), 283 sq.

[8] XII. 2.

performing a pre-nuptial rite of the Canaanites. The incident is brought into relation with a sheep-shearing, which we know was an ancient festival.[1] The adultery of the sons of Eli with the women of Israel at the door of the tent of meeting at Shiloh was referred by the Talmud[2] to the Day of Atonement, as the opening of the wombs of Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah was brought into connection with New Year's day.[3] One will recall likewise that the *hallel,* sung on the night when a *hag* was consecrated,[4] contains the sentence,[5] "He [Yahweh] maketh the barren woman to keep house, a joyful mother of children." This practice, moreover, may explain the custom of giving names derived from *hag,* the designation of the dance of the pilgrimage. Thus we meet Haggi, son of Gad; Haggiah, son of Shimea; Haggith, wife of David and mother of Adonijah; besides the prophet Haggai, who would thus be, like Samuel, a prophet raised up by Yahweh at a *hag.* One may well compare with these the theophoric names common alike among Greeks and Semites.

The festivals known from later Judaism are dated on the Day of Atonement and the 15th Ab. As to the latter date, it may perhaps be assumed that it was observed because Unleavened Bread, Tabernacles, and other festivals of great sanctity began on the 15th of the month.[6] If that were true, this date would naturally be regarded as a sixth day, for reasons already mentioned and hereafter to be explained at length. The Day of Atonement, in turn, was a New Year's day, and as such regarded likewise as a sixth day, because of the preceding epact, as will be shown hereafter. Again, the appearance of Elijah to R. Jehudah on the Day of Atonement is

[1] I *Sam.* XXV. 11 *sq.*; II *Sam.* XIII. 23 *sq.*; cf. *Gen.* XXXI. 19, XXXVIII. 12 *sq.*

[2] *Yomah,* Chap. I.

[3] *Rosh ha-Shanah,* Chap. I. *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo* L. 2 dates Hannah's visit to Shiloh at Passover. I *Sam* I. 20 would justify either reference. Hippolytus shows acquaintance with a tradition which dated the conception of the Virgin Mary at Passover, which he dates the 25th March, and thus accounts for the 25th December as the date of the Nativity. See Salmon, "The Commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel," *Hermathena,* VIII (1893), and Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace,* pp. 393–398. See also Dowden, *The Church Year and Kalendar,* p. 28, for the Montanist celebration of Passover on the 6th April, which is nine months before the 6th January, the earlier (Eastern) date of the Nativity.

[4] Cf. *Isa.* XXX. 29.

[5] *Ps.* CXIII. 9.

[6] The traditions (see Morgenstern, "Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals," *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.,* VIII, 33 *sq.*) differ, some indicating that the 15th Ab belonged to a term beginning on the 9th, while others suggest a parallel with the *haggim* associated with the exodus.

evidence of the same evaluation, because Elijah was especially associated with certain sixth days, as we shall have occasion to show in the sequel. The sheep-shearing to which Judah was going is in one version [1] of the story dated "after two years," in another [2] "in the sixth year." In view of the frequent substitution in stories of months or years for the days of the rites, these data also are worth considering. As regards the *hag* to Yahweh at Shiloh, we have above noted the days to which it was referred in later Judaism. The account of it in *Judges* affords no direct evidence, but it is brought into relation with the story of the Levite's marriage to his concubine, which does contain time-references. Here it is clear that the day on which the bride was exposed to the lusts of the men of Gibeah is the sixth.[3] The story bears much resemblance to that of the treatment of the daughters of Lot on the night preceding the destruction of Sodom,[4] which the Rabbis [5] date on the 16th Nisan. If the violation of these espoused virgins was supposed to be referred to the 15th Nisan, the date of the *hag* of Unleavened Bread and Passover, we should have still another equation of the same sort.[6]

[1] *Test. of Judah* XII. 1.

[2] *Jubilees* XLI. 8. In the same document (XVI. 12) it is said that the Lord visited Sarah in the middle of the 6th month (cf. *Luke* I. 26, 36), and (XVI. 15) that the angel visited Abraham in the 6th year, announcing that he would beget six sons (cf. I *Sam.* II. 21). Again (*ibid.* III. 17), it reports that Satan tempted Eve in the 2d month on the 17th day, bringing the curse and the announcement of coming death.

[3] *Judg.* XIX. 1 *sq.*; cf. Josephus *Ant.* V. 2. 8 *sq.* Perhaps another indication of the scheme may be found in the accounts of the antediluvian patriarchs (*Gen.* V), whose connection with rites and calendars has been pointed out by various scholars. Epiphanius, for example, reckons (1) Adam, (2) Seth, (3) Enoch, (4) Cainan, (5) Melaleel, (6) Jared. The possible or even probable connection of "Jared" with "festival" has been suggested by several scholars; hence it is interesting to find Epiphanius (*Panar.*, p. 172, ed. Holl) saying *ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο ἡ κακομηχανία ἐν κόσμῳ . . . νῦν δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ τοῦ Ἰαρὲδ καὶ ἐπέκεινα φαρμακεία καὶ μαγεία, ἀσελγεία μοιχεία τε καὶ ἀδικία.* Epiphanius, however, probably regarded "Jared" as derived from *yārad*, "descend," as did I *En.* VI. 6, CVI. 13; II. *En.* XXXIV. 1–2; *Jubilees* IV. 15, 22 *sq.*

[4] *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo* XLV. 2 apparently marked the connection, referring here to Lot and Sodom.

[5] See *J. Enc.*, XI, 424 *b*.

[6] In *Gen.* XIX. 3, Lot entertains his angel-guests with a symposium and unleavened bread; with which compare *Judg.* VI. 20. Cf. *Nah.* II. 7, where Nineveh is compared to a bride ravished *on the day of Yahweh's preparation* (II. 3): "she is uncovered, she is carried away; and her handmaids moan as with the voices of doves, beating upon their breasts." Is the day of Yahweh's preparation a parasceve (= Friday)? Cf. John the Precursor, and Clem. Alex. *Pro-*

We shall subsequently see that generally in the Scriptures a fast is proclaimed for the morrow, thus making it fall on a second day. Aaron, for example, proclaimed the *hag* at which Israel worshiped the golden calf, saying,[1] "Tomorrow shall be a *hag* to Yahweh." It was on this day that Moses, after communing with Yahweh on Sinai and receiving the two tables of the Law, seeing the calf and the dancing, waxed hot with anger, and casting the tables out of his hands broke them at the foot of the mount. Now the Rabbis[2] brought this into relation with the statement that the cloud of glory covered the mount six days, implying that Moses descended on the last day of this term; and, as Yahweh had earlier called Moses out of the midst of the cloud on the seventh day,[3] so Moses again went up to Yahweh on the morrow after the *hag* for the golden calf. This certainly points to the conclusion that the day of this *hag* was both a second and a sixth; and in fact the Rabbis with few exceptions regarded the Law as given on the sixth day. More will be said of this hereafter, when it will be shown how the numbers two and six are involved in the rabbinical traditions regarding the Law. Again, anticipating once more what must be touched on later, one cannot dissociate the *hag* to Yahweh for the golden calf from the cultus of the golden calves which Jeroboam is said to have instituted at Bethel and Dan, ordaining[4] "a *hag* in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the *hag* that is in Judah."

One more story may here be cited, though it contains no mention of a *hag,* but of a sacrifice on a high-place.[5] This very fact, however, may give it added significance both because the sacrifice and the pilgrimage follow in general the same forms and because an indication regarding the ritual forms of the sacrifices on high-places may afford a clue to the schemes in vogue before the elaboration of the centralized cultus of Yahweh. It is related that Saul, after seeking the asses of his father and failing in his quest, was about to return home, but turned aside to consult the seer Samuel, whom he found about to offer a sacrifice on a high-place. Now on the day

trep. i. 7, p. 8 P. The scene is sufficiently like that of the rape of Persephone and of the Sabine women. The latter occurred at the Consualia, of which more will be said below.

[1] *Exod.* XXXII. 5.

[2] *Sukkah,* Chap. I.

[3] *Exod.* XXIV. 16. Thus the third day would once more coincide with the seventh.

[4] 1 *Kings* XII. 32 *sq.*

[5] 1 *Sam.* IX. 5 *sq.*

before Saul's arrival Yahweh had given Samuel a revelation, saying, "Tomorrow about this time I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin, and thou shalt anoint him to be prince over my people Israel; and he shall save my people out of the hand of the Philistines." This apparently makes the sacrifice fall on a second day, which can hardly be accidental; because the anointing of Saul as the saviour-king is referred to the following (third) day,[1] when Saul returns home. This same scheme we shall find repeated in essentials in regard to one of Saul's successors.

We find, therefore, the sacrifice on the high-places and the *haggim* generally referred to second[2] and sixth days. Thus far we have considered such only as do not belong to the centralized cultus of Yahweh. In subsequent chapters we shall review the available evidence regarding the great pilgrimages of Israel and certain other observances clearly connected with them. In the course of our inquiry we shall find the amplest proof that the same ritual schemes dominated the Priestly arrangements both as regards the pilgrimages and the ordering of the sacral calendar.

One would like to know how many pilgrimages were commonly held at the local shrines in the course of a year. Unfortunately there is no satisfactory evidence on this head. Josephus, as we have seen, reports that there were three celebrated at Shiloh; but this statement can hardly serve as unimpeachable testimony regarding the practice

[1] *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo* LVI. 6 reports that Samuel said to the people, "Behold, the king shall come unto you after three days. And lo, Saul came."

[2] Subsequently we shall point out the opinion of the Greeks regarding the Semitic deities and the association of these divinities with the evil days of the fast. Attention will be called also to various indications that Eli was (at least by some and at times) regarded as a god. In view of these considerations the call of Samuel (1 *Sam.* III. 1 *sq.*) is especially interesting, particularly as interpreted by *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo* LIII. 4–5, where Eli says to Samuel: "In thee do I behold the sign that men shall have from this day forward forever, that if one call unto another twice in the night or at noonday, they shall know that it is an evil spirit. But if he call a third time, they shall know that it is an angel. . . . In those two voices wherewith God hath called thee, he likened himself to thy father and to thy master [i. e., to Eli], but now the third time *he will speak as God.*" That the incident is connected with incubation, and that the divinities who reveal themselves by this means are generally chthonians, are facts well known. The shift of the day of Yahweh (who is now first revealed to Samuel in the third voice) to the third day and the Sabbath from the second and sixth days seems from all the indications to involve a change in the conception of the god of Israel. In *Exod.* III. 1 *sq.* (cf. Etheria, *Pilgrim.*, Chap. II), Yahweh called twice to Moses from the burning bush.

in early Israel. If it were true of the oldest period, it would be a most interesting datum, since the importance of the shrine at Shiloh in early Israel might explain the repeated direction of the Torah that Israel shall appear before Yahweh three times in the year.[1] But it is obviously quite possible that the report of Josephus is itself influenced by the provisions of the Torah, which in turn are not above suspicion. In such matters the findings of the higher critics, even when they are quite agreed, may be open to question; for the indications of the Hebrew tradition are far from being unequivocal. The Torah regards the three times as Passover-Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, and Tabernacles; but, not to speak of Passover and Unleavened Bread, which are now treated as one *hag,* now as two, it is known that *Ezekiel* makes no provision for Pentecost, which is sometimes indeed called a *hag* and treated as a separate pilgrimage, but is generally regarded as the closing day of the harvest-festival beginning in Passover-Unleavened Bread. Even in quite late times, as we shall see, Jews pilgrimaging to Jerusalem for Passover tarried as a matter of duty until after Pentecost. Thus the three times actually became two. Moreover in later Judaism, amid the multiplicity of fasts observed, it appears that generally two were singled out for special emphasis, though the choice did not always fall on the same two. But there is another and more important consideration, which has received less attention than it deserves. The calendar can never be safely disregarded in any matter that relates to the festivals. Now it is true that little light has hitherto been shed on the calendar of the early Israelites, but obviously we must have recourse to such calendars of neighboring and related peoples as are in a measure known; and in essentials the Babylonian calendar, which we may be sure was closely related to that of Israel, is sufficiently known.

The most ancient Hebrew records place the festivals at the turn of the year, and Passover always retained its character of a New Year's festival. But the Jewish calendar, like the Babylonian, reckoned from a double epoch, dividing the year into two parts of six months each, from either of which one might count. Because of the superior sanctity of Passover-Unleavened Bread, the month Nisan was generally accounted as opening the sacral year, though

[1] *Exod.* XXIII. 14 (E?); XXIII. 17 (RE?); XXXIV. 28 *sq.* (J?). The statements in I *Kings* IX. 25 and II *Chron.* VIII. 13 are not certainly historical.

the Jubile year was reckoned from Tishri, and the Day of Atonement, falling on the tenth day of that month, is even yet felt to be a New Year's day. Tabernacles completely balances Unleavened Bread in the calendar, and Pentecost alone, the position of which as a separate *hag* is doubtful, has nothing corresponding to it in the other half-year, finding its mate in 'Omer-day, which is immediately linked with Passover-Unleavened Bread. When we add to these considerations the further fact that in many cults demonstrably akin to those of the Hebrews, the general practice, when there was more than one festival, was to observe two, six months apart, the presumption in favor of three *haggim* in a year as the traditional order tends to disappear. In the sequel we shall draw attention to certain data which suggest the connection of the pilgrimage with an intercalary epact. If this conclusion should prove to be warranted, we should have further reason for regarding two as normally the maximum number of *haggim* in the year; for though in isolated instances intercalation at a third point is attested among the Babylonians, their practice, like that of the Jews, commonly limited intercalation to the two points which mark the close of the semesters. Of all this, however, we shall have to speak more at length in discussing the Hebrew calendar.

CHAPTER III

Passover

We begin our survey of the Hebrew pilgrimages with Passover. Considering the complexity of the problems which confront the student who begins his inquiry at this point, one might well be tempted to follow a different order, which would postpone this most difficult subject until a review of simpler observances had in a measure prepared the way for the ritual analysis. But Passover naturally comes first, not only because of its historical importance as presumably the oldest pilgrimage of the Hebrews, but because it falls at the beginning of the sacral year. Why it should occupy this position will soon become apparent; it is certain, however, that it did so not because of any necessary connection with the spring-time, in which it generally falls; for the Jews had in fact two epochs from which they dated the beginning of the year, and that which is reckoned from the autumn was likewise marked by a Passover. So *Ezekiel* does not distinguish between the observances in the first and seventh months, providing for both the same sacrifices and apparently calling them by the same name, Passover; and when, presumably under the influence of the Seleucid calendar, the Sebuæans adopted the autumnal epoch, they celebrated Passover in that season.[1]

When one mentions Passover, one thinks involuntarily of the festival associated with the departure of Israel from Egypt, the account of which is given in *Exodus*. But this account is far from simple; for apart from the circumstance that it duplicates the occasion and provides the basis for a second observance—the Feast of Unleavened Bread, likewise known as Passover—it relates the celebration of a first and a second Passover in the wilderness, and *Joshua* recounts the observance of the first Passover of Israel in Canaan, after the people had passed over Jordan. Other writings, Jewish and Christian, contribute to the long tradition regarding

[1] Epiphanius i. 204, 15 *sq.* Holl.

this festival, all which must be surveyed if one would do justice to the subject. But even so, one has taken account of hardly more than half of that which belongs of right to the consideration of Passover. The festivals thus far mentioned derive their name Pesah from the verb *pāsah*, to "pass over." There remain other passovers hitherto all but unrecognized, though they must once have played a rôle by no means inconsiderable in the religious life of Israel, deriving their name, if they may now be said to have one, from another verb, *'ābar*,[1] likewise meaning to "pass over."

Before proceeding to set forth in detail the tradition, which by reason of its complexity hardly admits of being so presented as to enable one at all times to see one's way, it seems advisable to anticipate a few points by way of orienting the reader and helping him, while keeping his bearings, to take in the significance of particulars which must be brought to his attention. First of all, it is necessary to recall that the sacred story reflects the forms and the sacred suggestions of the rites. This does not of course imply that there is not some basis of historical fact underlying the narratives; but it does suggest that ritual patterns and practices supplied the mold that shaped whatever of fact may have been handed down by tradition from the fathers. These ritual schemes were the skeleton-forms of the Hebrew pilgrimage, or *hag*, which consisted of a departure succeeded by a return after an interval which may fitly be called a *période de marge*. This is the time-form; but the same rites may be viewed as concerned with passing over a dead-line or neutral march separating not periods of time, but topographical units. Such are, as we have remarked, the *rites de passage* which play an important rôle in primitive society. Now the Hebrew Passover is beyond question in its origin a *rite de passage*, as indeed its name sufficiently suggests; and in the course of its long history it served as the nucleus about which many observances belonging to this category gathered, as the record clearly shows. To some of

[1] Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes* (*Laubhüttenfest*) (1912), p. 53, n. 43, notes a few examples of the technical use of *'ābar* in relation to the pilgrimages. No attentive reader of the service of the synagogue can fail to observe the obvious significance of the repeated use of *'ābar* in various senses fraught with sacred associations with Passover and *rites de passage*, such as "passing through" (the Red Sea), "passing over" (to save and spare Israel and smite her enemies), "passing by" or ignoring (pardoning transgressions, as in *Mic.* VII. 18; *Amos* VII. 8, VIII. 2; *Job* VII. 21; II *Sam.* XII. 13, XXIV. 10), or "entering" (a covenant with Yahweh, as in *Deut.* XXIX. 11).

these, such as circumcision, translation of the ark, flight and return of the king, we shall have occasion to refer more or less incidentally; but there are others of so central significance for the character of the Passover-rites that to ignore them is to close one's eyes to the significance of the whole. Among these are the emancipation of the bondman, and the passage over a bourn, whether of time or place. Of the release from the toil of the bondman it is not necessary now to speak at greater length, because there is little likelihood of missing its relation to the scheme of Passover, once its form is disclosed; but the other factors, though exceptionally prominent in the story and occasionally noted by scholars, are apparently far from being duly appreciated. We must therefore emphasize the fact that the whole tradition associates Passover with the transition at the turn of the year, clearly marking it as a New Year rite, and the further fact that the sacred story connects it with crossing certain boundary marks, as of Egypt, of the Red Sea, of the Jordan.

The connection of Passover with crossing a frontier or limit has received some attention since Trumbull discussed *The Threshold Covenant*;[1] its relation to the transition from year to year was significantly pointed out by Van Gennep,[2] who has given us the first comprehensive discussion of the many kinds of *rites de passage*. There is reason to suspect that among the Semites the latter aspect of these practices was the more important, though both are clearly discernible in the tradition. In this respect it is worth noticing that in Neo-Hebrew the name for intercalation, which falls at the nodes of the annual cycle, is derived from the verb *'ābar,* which we shall find playing fully as important a rôle in the accounts of Passover as *pāsah,* just as our own "leap-year" presumably alludes to passing over the bissextile day.[3] Possibly the association of ideas is even

[1] For the door and threshold of the house, cf. *Exod.* XII. 7, XXI. 6; *Deut.* VI. 9, XI. 20; 1 *Sam.* V. 5; *Isa.* LVII. 8; *Zeph.* I. 9; *Ps.* CXXI. 8.

[2] *Les rites de passage.* For Passover, see *ibid.,* p. 56; for circumcision, p. 102 *sq.*; for crossing boundary-lines, Chap. II; for New Year, p. 254 *sq.*; for the translation of *sacra* and the flight and return of the king, p. 266.

[3] We shall point out later that, in the old Roman and Julian calendars, intercalation falls at a point calculated to set off the last five days of February as an epact, making New Year (1st March) a sixth day. The Dutch *schrikkeldag* ("intercalary day," *bissextus*) suggests that the day was, like the day of Yahweh (likewise a sixth day), a *dies iræ* or day of terrors. One may compare the fears and initiation-practices of seamen on "crossing the line" (equator). Readers of *Arthur Bonnicastle* may recall the breathless terror which the juvenile hero felt as he performed this feat on a map under the guidance of an old tar. The epact, as intercalary days passed over in the

more intimate and of wider application in matters of chronology than one might at first incline to think; for, according to Sethe,[1] the Egyptian name for "hour" and "time" derives from a radical meaning to "pass over," which was from early days represented by the figure of a star, presumably because the passage of time was measured by the transit of the celestial luminaries. Whether there exists a cognate Hebrew term for "time" seems to be doubtful;[2] but the transitory nature of time is in itself so obvious and so likely to impress a primitive people, that one cannot be surprised at finding the stated times of the Hebrew festivals, all possibly passovers in the earlier period, associated without certain exception with the turn of the year.

Of the scheme of days disclosed by the analysis of the records of Passover we shall not speak at present; it will be better to await the results as they appear. It cannot be without interest, however, to remark that we find among other peoples not a few rites, akin to the Hebrew passovers, falling on days precisely corresponding to the latter. These indications, together with such as come from the associations of the several cult-practices,[3] create a strong presumption in favor of the view, already commended by the general similarity of the Hebrew *haggim* to the widely distributed *rites de passage,* that the passover, and in general the cultus of Yahweh, did not differ fundamentally from religious practices observed among other peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin.

Beginning with the lesser Passovers, we note that the Priestly code says[4] that Yahweh spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai

reckoning, was in Egypt a period of special devotion; among the Mayas these five days at the close of their 52-year cycles were thought to have concentrated in them all the evil of the period and to presage the end of the world; in Loango, says Nilsson (*Primitive Time-Reckoning,* p. 248), the intercalary thirteenth month "is the evil time when the wandering spirits are at their worst." In view of the widespread association of evil with the Passover, this may well be the root of the ominous suggestions of the number 13.

[1] Kurt Sethe, "Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ægypter im Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker," *Götting. Nachr., phil.-hist. Kl.,* 1920, *Heft.* 2, 111, derives *unūwet* from *wnw = praeterire.* Cf. the use of *'ābar* in *Cant.* II. 11; *Jer.* VIII. 20; and Neo-Heb. *sheneth ha-'ibbūr,* "leap-year."

[2] Semitic scholars appear to favor the derivation of *'ēth* from *'anāh.*

[3] This study is not concerned with origins. The reader who is interested in this question will find valuable suggestions in Morgenstern's "The Origin of *Massoth* and the *Massoth*-Festival," *Am. Jour. of Theol.,* XXI (1917), 275–293, and in Eerdmans's "Das Mazzoth-Fest" in *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke . . . gewidmet* (1906), II, 671 *sq.*

[4] *Num.* IX. 1–14.

in the first month of the second year after the departure from Egypt, bidding Israel keep the Passover in its appointed season according to all the statutes and ordinances. The *hag* was accordingly kept on the 14th day at even. There were, however, certain men ritually unclean, for whose behoof a second Passover [1] was appointed in the second month on the 14th day at even. In neither case is it indicated when the *hag* was proclaimed or the paschal victim selected; but the Hebrew tradition dated the latter observance on the 14th Nisan, except in the "Egyptian" Passover, when it fell on the 10th.[2] Since in the "Egyptian" rite the 10th Nisan is reckoned the first day of the festival, we are justified in regarding the 14th in the same light in the shorter Passovers.[3] The victim was to be sacrificed at even, or "between the two evenings," and eaten after nightfall with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; none of it was to be left until morning, nor a bone of it broken.[4]

It cannot be doubted that these provisions [5] were drawn up in view of the practice observed at the great Passover commemorative of the departure from Egypt; for they obviously presuppose the detailed law of Pesah, enjoining that the *hag* be kept at its *mo'ed* according to all its statutes and ordinances. This shows at once the significance of the command that the paschal victim shall be eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, no separate festival of Unleavened Bread being contemplated. Passover, unleavened cakes, and bitter herbs are here all conjoined and eaten together. This is true of the Seder observed among Jews to-day, except that the lamb is omitted; it would seem, however, that there is a pretense of dividing this repast into two parts, presumably out of deference to the order which distinguished between Pesah proper and the *hag* of Unleavened Bread.[6] These Passovers of Sinai, inevitably associated

[1] With the second Passover cf. the Athenian Epidauria and the Lesser Mysteries held at Agra for the behoof of those who required purification or arrived too late to be initiated in the Eleusinia.

[2] *Ezek.* XLV. 21–22; *Pesah.*, Chap. IX; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 11. p. 455 P.

[3] *Deut.* XVI. 4.

[4] On this last provision, see Morgenstern, "The Bones of the Paschal Lamb," *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, XXXVI (1916), 146–153.

[5] Cf. *Exod.* XII. 8.

[6] See *J. Enc.*, XI, 142 *b sq.* The play with the *afikomen* seems designed to divide the repast into two parts. Similarly scholars have seen indications of a twofold repast in the account of the Last Supper, noting, e.g., the repetition of the phrase "as they were eating" in *Mark* XIV. 18, 22; *Matt.* XXVI. 21, 26.

with the sacrosanct Law there given,[1] may be assumed to possess a sanctity hardly if at all inferior to that celebrated in Egypt. We must therefore attend sharply to the time-references contained in the Torah. And first of all we note that both observances are dated in the second year, and the second in the second month. We shall presently see that the paschal supper is referred to the second day, which by its place in the calendar is likewise a sixth day. These numbers have ritual significance, not only in relation to the Sinaitic Law,[2] but also with reference to the character of the second and sixth days as proper to fasts.[3] That bitter herbs go with the fast will seem not unnatural; that unleavened bread has similar associations will presently appear.

We noted above that the second Pesah was said to have been instituted for the behoof of those who were ritually unclean or on a journey. On this view one might well ask why every Passover observed between the departure from Egypt and the arrival in Palestine[4] should not have been of this character; for all Israel was certainly on a journey, and the *hag* itself was a going-forth and a return, during which time one did not bathe and was regarded as unclean, as was always the case during a fast. As one might expect, cleanness and uncleanness were associated with certain numbers:

Beer (*Pesachim,* p. 104) regards this as evidence that the text is conflate, but the traces were, he thinks, erased by *Luke.* This explanation is hardly satisfactory.

[1] We shall presently point out that the giving of the Law was connected with various passover-rites.

[2] *Exod.* XVI. 1 states that the Israelites came to the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the 15th day of the second month after their departure from Egypt. This is, strictly, the day of the second Passover; but it is also the time of the quail-Passover. The stay there is one year and five days (*Num.* X. 11). This, as we shall later point out, suggests an epact of five days. According to *Exod.* XIX. 1, Israel arrived in the wilderness of Sinai (on the 1st day of) the third month. Conflation perhaps accounts for this duplication, occasioned by the incident of Meribah and Massah.

[3] That every *hag* proper began with a fast will be sufficiently shown in the sequel. This fact has been emphasized and in part explained by Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Massoth* . . . ," *Am. Jour. of Theol.,* XXI (1917), 283–285, and "Two Anc. Israel. Agric. Festivals," *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.,* VIII (1917), *passim.*

[4] No others are mentioned—a fact of prime importance in judging the character of the record. Excepting the "second" Passover and the quail-manna Passover, the latter significant because of its connection with Sinai and the institution of the Sabbath, the Passovers are grouped at the departure from Egypt and the "return" to Canaan.

uncleanness, with the number two,[1] cleanness with three and seven.[2] Moreover the fast and the eating of unleavened bread, the food of the fast, are clearly connected with the journey and the desert.[3] The Koran likewise provides that men on a journey shall have a dispensation from the fast of Ramadan; they shall "fast to the number of days omitted and hallow the month, at their homecoming."[4]

These considerations suggest that, while it was no doubt customary among Semites to postpone the fast to the following month in case they were on a journey or were otherwise ritually incapacitated, a Passover held in the second month was not at all out of place. So far as concerns the second Passover of the exodus, there is slight ground for regarding it as historical: it seems merely to express the sense of ritual fitness in the minds of those who drew up the Priestly code. But one may well suspect that there were those who regularly observed a fast in this month. Be that as it may, it is interesting to note that in the Hagiographa[5] there is an account of a Pesah and *hag* of Unleavened Bread celebrated at Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah, which was apparently called for the first

[1] In *Gen.* VII. 2, the unclean beasts enter the ark two by two; the clean beasts in groups of seven pairs.

[2] Cf. *Levit.* XIII. 6; XIV. 7; XV. 13, 28; XVI. 14; *Num.* XIX. 12, 19. Naaman becomes clean by washing in the Jordan seven times (II *Kings* V. 10). The same notions obtained among the Greeks; cf. Suidas: ἀπὸ δὶς ἑπτὰ κυμάτων, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐπὶ φόνοις καθαιρομένων· οὗτοι γὰρ δὶς ἑπτὰ κύμασι πλύνουσι τὰ ἱμάτια. For Islam, see Burton, III, 282, and for a Babylonian parallel, see Jeremias, *Das alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients* (1906), p. 201, n. 2. Juvenal (vi. 522 *sq.*) refers to the practice of washing oneself *three* times in the Tiber.

[3] See Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Massoth* . . . ," *Am. Jour. of Theol.*, XXI (1917), 292 and n. 4; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta, passim.*

[4] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 519 *sq.* So far as I am aware there is no reason to derive this provision from the Jewish Passover. It is probably an ancient Semitic practice. It is of interest, however, to find the principle applied to the great fast of Islam, which seems to have been instituted in imitation of Jewish and Christian practice.

[5] II *Chron.* XXX. An interesting provision occurs in the *Targum of Palestine* on *Num.* IX, p. 366 Etheridge. Those who are ritually unclean or on a journey "in the Pascha of Nisan may eat unleavened bread, but not perform the oblation of the Pascha on account of their defilement; but in the Pascha of Ijar being purified they shall offer it." This obviously regards the Passover of the second month as specifically a Pesah rather than a *hag* of unleavened bread. The tract *Pesah.* (p. 203, tr. Rodkinson) regards both the Egyptian and the second Pesah as lasting but one day, thus separating it completely from Mazzot.

month,[1] but was held in the second, because the priests had not sanctified themselves in sufficient number and the people had not gathered themselves together, being presumably on the journey. The story, being connected with the supposed religious house-cleaning of Hezekiah, can scarcely be true to history; but it obviously reflects a late stage of Jewish practice, as it implies among other things the employment of the priests in sacrificing the paschal victims,[2] which is unknown to the older tradition. The Chronicler, however, clearly had in mind the second Pesah of the Priestly code, in representing the postponement as due to the uncleanness of priests and people and to the latter's being on a journey. But in regard to the form of the festival, which is at first called Pesah and later the *hag* of Unleavened Bread, he clearly departs from the older model. He reports that they killed the Passover on the 14th of the second month and kept the *hag* of Unleavened Bread seven days. They ate (presumably paschal victims[3]) throughout the festival for the seven days, offering sacrifices of peace-offerings and giving thanks, while the Levites and the priests sang hymns of praise to Yahweh day by day to the accompaniment of loud instruments. This festival is then repeated for other seven days with gladness. Surely this is the order we know to have been followed in the time of the second temple, as we learn it from Josephus and Philo. The older provision for the Pesah at Sinai did not contemplate a *hag* of Unleavened Bread as a separate and distinguishable observance. Furthermore the Priestly author of *Numbers* certainly did not have in mind a festal term of seven days, but rather (as we may reasonably infer) of six; for, as we have seen, he directs[4] that Pesah be kept in the second month on the 14th day, and later relates[5] that "it came to pass in the second year, in the second month, on the 20th day of the month, that the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle of the testimony, and the children of Israel set forward." Whether we take this as merely an itinerary or as an indication that another *hag* was to begin on the 20th, it is plain that a six-

[1] v. 3: "For they could not keep it at that time." See below, p. 200 *sq.*

[2] Philo (*De septen.* cxlvi, p. 292 M.) says of the Passover in Egypt, ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν περιχαρείας ἔθυον, ἱερεῖς οὐκ ἀναμένοντες, projecting a practice of later times into the past; cf. II *Chron.* xxx. 17; xxxv. 4, 10 *sq.*; I *Esdras* i. 5 *sq.*

[3] As in II *Chron.* xxxv. 7 *sq.*

[4] *Num.* ix. 14.

[5] x 11. Cf. above, p. 81, n. 2.

day term is the maximum. We shall subsequently find other indications of a six-day Passover at Sinai, which justify us in assuming that the Priestly writer here had this scheme in mind; for not only was the seventh day of Passover in the older time an *'azeret,*[1] or post-festal day, but in *Exodus*[2] a (new) *hag* is appointed for the seventh day.

It is possible, indeed, to take the view that these lesser Passovers really occupied two days; a shorter term seems to be quite out of the question. Pesah is regularly dated the 14th Nisan, but it is from very early times associated with the exodus from Egypt, which was never, in the Priestly code, dated otherwise than on the 15th. It is in fact just this double nature of the Passover that made inevitable the coupling of Pesah proper with the *hag* of Unleavened Bread, the *mo'ed* of which is the 15th Nisan. Now there is in the early tradition of Israel a story[3] which seems to display this very form, and it is more than probable that it relates to a local Passover-rite. When Saul sought the life of David, the latter besought the aid of Jonathan. On the morrow it would be new moon, and he should not fail to sit with the king at meat; but David plans to absent himself, hiding in the fields until the third day at evening, pretending that he has gone to Bethlehem for the annual sacrifice for all his family. That it is an annual affair falling at new moon certainly suggests that it was the turn of the year. Saul meanwhile has his own observance, and when David's place is seen to be empty the king says nothing, but thinks "Something hath befallen him, he is not clean; surely he is not clean." When on the second day David fails to appear, the king asks "Wherefore cometh not the son of Jesse to meat, neither yesterday, nor to-day?" and determines to kill him.[4]

[1] *Deut.* XVI. 8.

[2] XIII. 6. See below, p. 112 *sq.*

[3] 1 *Sam.* XX. 5 *sq.*

[4] This suggests that one might be excused from observing the first Passover on the plea of being unclean or on a journey, but that if one absented oneself from the second "that soul shall be cut off from his people" (*Num.* IX. 13), for which penalty one occasionally finds death as an alternative. This suggestion, which is tempting, raises the question whether the "second Passover" may not be merely the ritual development or equivalent of the second Passover day in the primitive rite. It is to be noted that Judith also (*Jth.* VIII. 6) abstained from fasting for two days at new moon, to wit, the eves of the new moons and the new moons, just as in modern Judaism two new-moon days are observed following full months (of thirty days). In the later times of the second temple, all Jewish festivals were observed as feasts, which has led to the current use of "feast" in rendering the Heb. *hag*. According to

On this second day Jonathan fasts,[1] as David too has presumably fasted both days. On the morrow, the third day, David is supposed to have returned from the annual rite at Bethlehem, and at Saul's court also the ceremony is clearly at an end: Jonathan gives David the stipulated warning by the sign of the arrows, and the latter departs. Thus there is a triduum, in which the third day is one of expected return, which becomes in fact the beginning of a flight. One sees how closely this scheme reproduces that of a first and second Passover, but the term is two days instead of the six provided for in *Numbers*. The third day is precisely like the seventh in the latter scheme.

It were idle to pretend that one may thus explain all the details of the story, or that there was a ritual pattern of rigid design strictly adhered to in stories of this sort; but as in the folklore collected by modern inquirers clearly discernible forms constantly recur, so in the narratives of their national heroes the Hebrews embodied schemes which certainly originated in ritual. This being so, it may repay us to attend to the sequel of the incident last mentioned, in which we recognized a triduum. As we have seen, David departed on the third day, and came[2] to Nob to Abimelech the priest, and, pretending that he was on a journey on which he set out in haste[3] under commission from the king, asked for five[4] loaves of bread, or whatever the priest might have under his hand. He declared that his young men had kept themselves from women (which, with the importunate demand for bread, implies a fast) for three days,[5] and received the shewbread. Because of the practice of profaning the shewbread on the Sabbath[6] in later Judaism,

Etheria's *Pilgrimage*, Chap. XXVII, Lent was observed at Jerusalem eight weeks, omitting Sabbaths (except Holy Sabbath) and Lord's days.

[1] Ostensibly, because he grieves for David.

[2] 1 *Sam.* XXI. 1 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* XXI. 8. One recalls the haste of the flight from Egypt, by which the eating of unleavened bread was explained.

[4] This is doubtless significant. One recalls the five loaves and two fishes with which the multitudes were fed in the wilderness. Whether it suggests a connection with a fifth day it is not necessary to determine.

[5] Continence for three days occurs also in *Exod.* XIX. 15; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 11, p. 543. The same term is found in the cult of Hecate and Artemis; cf. Eurip. *Hippol.* 135, and Menander *Epitrep.* 221 *sq.*, ed. Capps. In the cult of Isis (at least at Rome), the period was ten days; cf. Propert. ii. 28, 61 *sq.*

[6] *Levit.* XXIV. 8.

Christian documents, doubtless following Jewish sources, identify the third day of this triduum as a Sabbath.[1] But, if the two stories be really connected, this third day is either the fifth or the sixth, depending on the precise point from which the triduum is reckoned.[2] Now, as we shall subsequently point out, the shewbread, as being unleavened, is in substance and in respect to ritual equated with the *mazzah* of the *hag* of Unleavened Bread, and, like it, is inseparably connected with the Passover on the (fifth or) sixth day. Here again we should then have a double, but possibly overlapping, triduum, yielding a term of five or six days, and on the last of those David once more fled. The possible significance of these time-references will become evident as we proceed with the analysis of the data regarding the great complex of passover-rites associated with the flight from Egypt.

We have before remarked that the story of the exodus of Israel from Egypt to Canaan owes its form and manifold suggestions to the fact that it was intended to give, ostensibly as a record of the institution of the most sacred memorial pilgrimage of Israel, the Law of Pesah or rather the *rationale* of the large number of *rites de passage* which came in time to constitute the observance known as Passover. The frame of the narrative, as we find it in *Exodus, Numbers,* and *Joshua,* is furnished by the departure from Egypt, made on the occasion of the *hag* due to Yahweh in the wilderness, and the "return" of Israel to Canaan, which is achieved by passing over the Jordan "on the 10th day of the first month," when Israel encamped at Gilgal on the east border of Jericho, and kept the Passover on the 14th of the month at even in the plains of Jericho.[3] That this was not a mere coincidence, but was of the essence of the Law of Pesah, is clear from the command of *Exodus*;[4] and we shall presently see the significance of the dates, with which we are not for the moment concerned. The going-forth and the return are of the essence of the *hag:* but the return was not to be to Egypt, as Pharaoh obviously expected, but to Canaan, whence the patriarchs had come. Whatever may have been true of the patriarchs, this mo-

[1] This is implied in *Matt.* XII. 1 *sq.* and parallels, and expressly stated by Tertullian *Adu. Marc.* iv. 12.

[2] That is to say, whether the three days' continence of David's companions is reckoned from that day or the morrow. Cf. the hajj at Mecca, above, p. 61 *sq.*

[3] *Josh.* IV. 19, V. 10.

[4] XII. 25, XIII. 5.

tive is essentially mythical and due to the exigencies of the *rites de passage,* as the striking parallel of the Return of the Heraclidæ suggests.[1] Between the exodus and the return lies an interval of uncertain duration, which is regarded as a continuous fast. Extra-canonical sources, as we shall see, report that Israel reached the Promised Land at the end of six days; the Torah, however, reports that the people were led by a longer way, which required forty years, lest they should repent and return to Egypt,[2] probably implying that the other tradition was known. In the accounts of Moses' stay on Sinai there is found a similar variation of six and forty days,[3] the latter being a favorite term for a fast. The longer interval was of course favorable for the rich embroidery of legend with which the sacred story was to be adorned, affording ample scope for details which doubtless have some basis of fact in the history and cultus of Israel.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the narrative with a view to discover the ritual forms, it is desirable to point out certain details which show the relation of the story to various *rites de passage* and to customs observed at festivals among Hebrews and other peoples. Among the Bedouins at their festivals it is a common practice that the virgins who take part in the circular chorus shall borrow raiment or bits of finery from other women for the occasion,[4] as, among us, brides are wont to wear some article loaned by a woman happily married. This custom obviously obtained in the rites of ancient Israel, and characteristically it is enjoined as one of the directions of Yahweh for the exodus from Egypt.[5] Since the Israelites did not return the borrowed articles, this reported act of deceiving and despoiling the Egyptians became in time a scandal, which called for explanation. Similar acts of deception constantly recur in Greek

[1] See below, p. 187 *sq.*

[2] *Exod.* XIII. 17 *sq.*

[3] *Exod.* XXIV. 16 (P), XXIV. 18 (E?), etc. Israel's entire exodus and "return" to Canaan is said to have lasted forty years.

[4] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* I, 168 *sq.* Cf. Eurip. *Electra* 190 *sq.* G. F. Moore (*Judaism,* II, 61) speaking of the Day of Atonement, says, "The women of Jerusalem used to go out dressed in newly washed white garments, all borrowed for the occasion in order that those that owned no festal attire might not be put to shame." The suggested motive is of course an afterthought. It was an ancient custom in many lands to exchange garments at *rites de passage.* It has been conjectured that it was, like the kindred practice of wearing masks, intended to deceive the spirits then abroad; but it is merely one form of metamorphosis characteristic of the rites.

[5] *Exod.* III. 21 *sq.,* XI. 2, XII. 35 *sq.* (E?).

myths based on Apaturian rites, and they likewise were felt in time to be scandalous. According to the story, indeed, the departure itself was an act of deception. Moses pleads with Pharaoh to permit Israel to go three days' journey into the wilderness to hold a *hag* to Yahweh which of course implied a return; and Pharaoh bids Moses not to go far away.[1] But the departure of the Israelites takes on the form of a flight—they become runaway slaves. The haste of the departure and of the exodus as a whole is indeed one of its marked characteristics. But this motive is crossed by another. The Israelites were bondmen, indeed, to the Egyptians; but the slave was of course temporarily released from his work and burdens on occasion of a festival.[2] Permanently he was released by manumission. Unfortunately we appear to have no direct evidence of the ceremony observed on such occasions among the Hebrews, though there is every reason for the belief that it was commonly done at a festival. Of the time-scheme and its relation to that of the Hebrew *hag* we shall speak hereafter; but one can hardly doubt that the story of the exodus contains suggestions of such a rite of manumission. That the Israelites at their departure went forth from the house of bondage is often repeated;[3] what strikes one as passing strange in view of the reluctance of Pharaoh[4] is that it is quite as often insisted that they were driven out of Egypt,[5] and that Pharaoh said[6] to Moses, "Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in the day that thou seest my face thou shalt die. And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face no more." Here one thinks of the form of *manumissio* in the old Roman *ius ciuile*, in which the slave's *assertor in libertatem*[7] laid his staff on him and claimed him for a free man, whereupon the owner acknowledged his freedom, turned the slave round, and thrust him forth, the latter act giving rise to the technical term *manumissio*.[8]

[1] *Exod.* VIII. 28.

[2] *Exod.* V. 4, 5. For the emancipation of slaves and the liberation of prisoners at the *hag* and on 6th days, see below, p. 389 *sq.*

[3] *Exod.* XIII. 3, 14; XX. 2; *Deut.* V. 6; VI. 12; VIII. 14; XIII. 5, 10; *Josh.* XXIV. 17, etc.

[4] Whose heart is hardened (*Exod.* VII. 3, 13; VIII. 15, 19, 32; IX. 7, 12; X. 1, 27), as Israel's was continually in the wilderness. This is obviously a motive of the fast.

[5] *Exod.* VI. 1; X. 11; X. 25–28; XII. 31, 33, 39. According to Manetho also (Josephus *C. Apion* i. 26), Israel was expelled from Egypt.

[6] *Exod.* X. 27, 28.

[7] Compare the Hebrew *gō'ēl.*

[8] See Hadley, *Roman Law*, p. 112.

May one not assume that something like this primitive rite of release or emancipation was present to the minds of the writers of the sacred story? The rod of Moses, which figures in the narrative principally as a magician's wand, may have been originally the *uindicta* of the *assertor in libertatem,* who, according to Roman law, had to be a citizen; and it is to be remembered that Moses, as the son of Pharaoh's daughter, is certainly thought of as having the status of an Egyptian, and thus meeting such a requirement of the law, if it obtained among Semites. The threat [1] to slay Moses, if he returned, is certainly reported as justifying his departure. Now the manumission of a slave, as involving a change of status, was certainly a *rite de passage* properly to be performed at a holy place and on a sacred occasion.[2]

Passover seems from early times to have been an occasion for the dedication of the first-born. Even in modern Judaism the first-born sons (and daughters) are understood to have a special relation to this festival.[3] Among the ancient Semites the rite of passing the first-born to the gods, whether as actual human sacrifice or by a simulated making-over to the god through a vicarious victim, was clearly a passover-rite. The demand that all the first-born, all that openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast, shall be caused to pass over unto Yahweh, either actually sacrificed or redeemed by a vicarious sacrifice, is part of the Passover-law.[4] When Yahweh bids Moses go before Pharaoh, it is with the plea,[5] "Israel is my son, my first-born," who is to be let go, that he may serve Yahweh—by a *hag* of Passover, of course, in which he is to pass over to Yahweh. On the night of Passover, as Yahweh promised,[6] the first-born of Egypt are slain, but the first-born of Israel are passed over (redeemed).[7] What is here ascribed to Yahweh is elsewhere attributed to evil spirits. The *Book of Jubilees*

[1] Cf. Homer *Il.* xxi. 452.

[2] Of manumission at the *hag* more will be said below. The records of emancipation (by sale to the god) on the retaining wall of Apollo's temple at Delphi are among the most interesting human documents. Under Constantine, emancipation in a church by a priest was legalized. Cf. Pauly-Kroll, *Real-Encyc.,* VII, 95 *sq.*

[3] See Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Massoth* . . . ," *Am. Jour. of Theol.,* XXI (1917), 284 and n. 1.

[4] *Exod.* XIII. 2, 12 *sq.*

[5] *Exod.* IV. 22–24.

[6] *Exod.* IV. 23.

[7] *Exod.* XI. 4–5; XII. 12–13, 29.

represents Mastema as slaying the first-born of Egypt, and *Nahum* says,[1] "Keep thy *haggim,* O Judah, perform thy vows; for Belial shall no more pass over thee; he is utterly cut off." From this it is plainly to be seen that both the rites and their religious associations were common to the Israelites and their Semitic neighbors.[2] There can hardly be a doubt that the paschal victim was regarded at least in part as a surrogate for Yahweh's first-born,[3] thus redeemed. Among Christians from the earliest times the Passion, accomplished at Passover, has been accepted as the vicarious sacrifice of God's first-born and only-begotten Son, redeeming all mankind. The Church has, moreover, observed a festival commemorative of the dedication of Jesus at the temple,[4] as was proper in the case of a first-born.

But there are other observances of the *hag* to which the sacred story alludes. The Mohammedan pilgrim assumes *ihram,* the garb which symbolizes his separation from all that is profane; a similar custom was observed by Christian pilgrims and palmers, who thereby became holy. It seems quite possible that Yahweh's peculiar people, whom their God chose [5] and set apart at the Passover by the distinction [6] made in the visitation with successive plagues between Goshen, the home of the Israelites, and the remainder of Egypt, saw a special significance in the general cry of the Egyptians,[7] "Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee;" for Yahweh also bade Israel depart.[8] What sacred associations these words had for an

[1] I. 15 (II. 1).

[2] Especially interesting is the comparison of *Ezek.* XX. 25–26 with *Jer.* XXXII. 35; cf. *Deut.* XXVI. 14.

[3] The sacrifice of Isaac was a Passover-rite. Christian Fathers saw in Isaac a type of Christ, slain at Passover; and Jewish tradition in part dated it on the 15th Nisan (see below, p. 147, n. 3). Al-Biruni, p. 268, reports that the Jews date it on the 1st Tishri (Rosh ha-Shanah); cf. *Jubilees* XVII–XVIII, where it seems to be dated on the 14th–15th Nisan (Passover). See above, p. 49 *sq.*

[4] Etheria (*Pilgrimage,* Chap. XXVI) speaks of it as *quadragesimæ de epiphania,* on the occasion of the purification of Mary, and likens it to Easter. The date was February 14th/15th. In the Church it is variously called the Presentation or Hypapante. It marks Jesus as a Nazirite from the womb, for obvious reasons; but it likewise signifies his priesthood. *Num.* III. 12 *sq.* represents the Levite, dedicated to the service of Yahweh, as a surrogate for the first-born that opens the womb among the children of Israel.

[5] For emphasis on the setting-apart of Israel in the observance of Seder, see *J. Enc.,* XI., 146 *b.*

[6] *Exod.* VIII. 23, XI. 7, XXXIII. 16.

[7] XI. 8.

[8] XII. 21. Note the repetition of *yāzā'.*

Israelite is obvious from Paul's reference,[1] "Come ye out from among them, and be ye separate;" and *Deutero-Isaiah,*[2] to whom he refers, makes certain the connection of the thought with Passover: "Yahweh hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God. Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; cleanse yourselves, ye that bear the vessels of Yahweh. For ye shall not go out in haste. neither shall ye go by flight; for Yahweh will go before you; and the God of Israel will be your rearward." This stirring call is one to renewed devotion, fraught with all the sanctities of the immemorial pilgrimage: in a word, it is a call to *ihram.* As the Egyptians exhort Israel to the sacred *hag,* Pharaoh repeatedly bids Yahweh's people go serve him.[3] Incongruous as this may sound in our ears, one cannot doubt the emotion with which the Jew in all the centuries has heard the words of Pharaoh, "Go now, ye that are men, and serve Yahweh." Impossible as history,[4] it is great as poetry, calculated to rouse the fervor of the Israelite as the *Persians* of Æschylus stirred the heart of the Athenian.

With the pilgrim garb of separation from all that is unclean goes the practice of girding the loins,[5] which reappears not only in undertaking a journey of whatever sort, but in the dress of the high priest, when he enters the Holy of Holies, and in that of the Nazirite. In

[1] II *Cor.* VI. 17; cf. *Rev.* XVIII. 4.

[2] *Isa.* LII. 10–12. Here the suggestions include not only the immediate departure from Egypt but the entire exodus.

[3] X. 8, 10, 11; XII. 31. Possibly there is here a reference to emancipation in the form of consecration to a god, so well known from Greece. Cf. Herod. ii. 113 for Egypt, and Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* [2], p. 227 *sq.*

[4] One may note also that Pharaoh asks for the prayers (*Exod.* VIII. 28) and the blessing (XII. 32) of the Israelites, as one bespoke the prayers of a palmer; that he gave his blessing is not stated, but is apparently implied. The blessing and the curse are constant motives of the *hag.* At the close of the *Encænia* of Solomon's temple, when the people "went unto their tents," they blessed the king (I *Kings* VIII. 66); and when Joshua dismissed the trans-Jordanic tribes he "blessed them, and sent them away, and they went unto their tents" (*Josh.* XXII. 6). Cf. also *Gen.* XXXI. 55. These instances of blessing at the close of a festival are of course related to the *apodosis* or *apolysis* of the Greek and to the *octave* of the Roman Church (see below, p. 278, n. 9), no less than to the *missa.*

[5] *Exod.* XII. 11. The pilgrim, like the warrior and the Nazirite, wore the girdle of chastity. Such also was the Homeric μίτρη. On another occasion I hope to show their relation to the διάζωμα of the competitor in the *agōn* and to the "virgin zone." The male virgins of the Christian tradition suggest an interesting study in this connection. See p. 119, n. 3.

the Gospels it is mentioned twice at Passover;[1] and in the form of sackcloth it is the regular accompaniment of fasting and mourning.[2] No Hebrew or Mohammedan pilgrimage would be possible without circumcision, which accordingly is mentioned.[3] Moreover a Semitic pilgrimage is hardly conceivable without its reference to the tomb of the founder. The Mohammedan pilgrim, though not permitted to circumambulate the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, ought at least to visit it for prayer. *Exodus*[4] relates how Moses took the bones of Joseph with him from Egypt, and *Joshua*[5] how they were buried in Shechem and became the inheritance of the sons of Joseph. The removal of the patriarch's remains is a clear case of the translation of *sacra,* a recognized form of the *rite de passage,* and comparable to the removal of the ark.

This does not exhaust the practices of the pilgrimage to which the sacred story refers for the purpose of justifying and explaining them; others of a more special sort, more particularly connected with the observances of Pesah or Unleavened Bread, will be mentioned hereafter. There is, however, one peculiarity of the record as a whole to which attention should here be drawn. No careful reader of the Biblical account, even if he follow it in translation where the exigencies of the other tongue inevitably somewhat obscure this characteristic, can fail to be struck by the repetition of certain words used in different senses in a context which marks them as peculiarly significant. In the foregoing we have had at least two such instances: one ringing the changes on the word "depart," the other on the expression "pass over." That these words are used in allusion to the

[1] *John* XIII. 4; *Mark* XIV. 51–52. The high priest functioned especially on the Day of Atonement, which, like Passover, was a New Year's day. Al-Biruni, p. 209, relates that Frêdûn (Feridun) commanded the Persians to gird themselves with Krustîks at the Great Mihrajân (a New Year's day) out of gratitude for the subduing and binding of Azi-Dahhâk (Satan), and says that the practice was continued by their posterity.

[2] Philo (*Legg. alleg.* iii. 154, p. 117 M.) so interprets *Exod.* XII. 11. There is good reason for associating this practice with the required chastity of the fast, the *hag,* and the military campaign.

[3] *Exod.* XII. 44, 48. *Josh.* v. 2 *sq.* refers the institution of circumcision to the Passover at Gilgal.

[4] XIII. 19.

[5] XXIV. 32. My colleague, Professor Dutcher, calls my attention to the "pilgrimage to the tomb of Moses" held in Palestine by the Mohammedans at Easter, and said to have been instituted to offset the Christian Easter and the Jewish Passover. Of the circumambulation of the Holy Sepulcher at Easter and the extension of the Christian pilgrimage from Jerusalem to the Jordan, mention was made above.

fact that the exodus is a "departure" and the *hag* a "passover" is beyond all question. But the practice extends beyond the mere repetition of the same vocable to harping on the same string in a series of synonyms.[1] Biblical commentators have in fact emphasized the existence of such recurrent motives, which resembles a musical theme repeated in ever-new combinations and variations. In the case of "pass over" (whether *pāsah* or *'ābar*) it is especially noteworthy. The first impulse on noting this practice may be to regard it as amusing and even vulgar, because it has all the appearance of a trifling play on words; but so to regard it were a grave mistake. Quite apart from the fact that one may miss valuable hints for the interpretation of the record, one would thus treat with scant respect what to the Hebrew was certainly sacred. The *Mishnah*[2] states that R. Gamaliel used to say that he who has not pronounced the words *pesah* (paschal lamb), *mazzah* (unleavened bread), and *maror* (bitter herb) on Passover-night, has not fulfilled his duty. Furthermore he "who talked the most of the departure from Egypt" was always deemed most worthy of praise.[3] This feeling clearly dominated those who

[1] The Talmud (see *J. Enc.*, XI, 144 *a*) justifies the statement of the *Mishnah* that even the poorest man should not drink less than four cups of wine at Seder by referring to the four words used in *Exod.* VI. 6–7 for the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. The cup of salvation (*Ps.* CXVI. 13) is familiar in the Greek τὸ τρίτον τῷ σωτῆρι. In Jewish ritual, the fourth cup falls after the close of Seder. The relation of the "cup" of Jesus to the cup of the Passion and to that of the paschal supper is sufficiently clear; from 1 *Cor.* X. 21 it is obvious that similar rites existed in pagan cults ("the cup of demons"). Memorial rites, we know, were observed for Heracles and Prometheus, both "saviours" of mankind. For the prophets and seers, the cup of God's wrath is a Passover-cup, likewise, to be visited on the unfaithful and the idolater, just as "the day of Yahweh" is one of salvation to his faithful people, but a day of wrath for the enemies of God and his people. Cf. *Matt.* XXVI. 39, 42.

[2] *Pesah.*, X, 5.

[3] *J. Enc.*, XI, 146 *b*. Interesting survivals of this practice are found in the *Haggadah* for Passover in the poems, sometimes alphabetic, whose verses end regularly in the words "night" or "Pesah," or in the refrain, "It was midnight" or "Let us speak of the *hag* of Pesah," as I learn from M. Moïse Schwab (*Le manuscrit hébreu no. 1388 de la Bibl. nationale* [Imprim. Nat., Paris, 1904], p. 11) who quotes from M. Derenbourg in *Jour. des savants*, November, 1898. The service of the synagogue for the festivals abounds in similar examples, e. g., the prayer of Hoshana Rabba for the seventh circumambulation of the synagogue, with its continual reference to "fire," or the song which couples the repeated mention of "water" with the prayer for rain in allusion to the water-rite at the Feast of Tabernacles. In the same service a silent prayer combines the following topics proper to the occasion: prophets, circumambulation of the synagogue, forgiveness of sins, the covenant, sealing in the book of a happy life, repentance, and the giving of rain.

wrote the sacred story of Pesah, repeating the several terms for "depart" and "passover," and may account in part[1] for the repetition of the demand of Moses to let Israel depart, which is motivated by Pharaoh's refusal, and for the equally marked repetitions in the narrative of the actual departure. Similar phenomena reappear in the narratives of other events which we shall subsequently discover reason for pronouncing passovers.

The Talmud, of course, explains the repetitions in the rite as due to those of the narrative; but this natural assumption is clearly wrong, the rite here also antedating the sacred story. When we come to consider the account of the flight of David to the Jordan during the interregnum of Absalom, we shall find the best of reasons for regarding it as reflecting a passover-rite; but the event is represented as an amazing series of marches and countermarches, which would hardly be intelligible except for the details given in the *Pilgrimage* of Etheria regarding the processional evolutions of Holy Week at Jerusalem. These, in turn, can be explained only on the assumption that they are in the main patterned after the Jewish Passover-observances.[2] For the moment we may confine our attention to the observance of Good Friday, or Passover-day, in the Martyrium at the Veneration of the Cross. The bishop behind a table covered with a linen cloth sits in his chair encircled by the deacons and holding in his hands the wood of the Cross. Meanwhile the people, entering at one door and going forth at another,[3] file past one by one,

In fact the ritual consists essentially of nothing else than a skilful grouping of topics and motives appropriate to the festival.

[1] However much may be explained by "contamination" of sources, there is a clear surplus which still calls for explanation. See below, p. 407, for the daily departure of the car of Anu to the *bit-aqitu* in the New Year festival at Uruk from the second to the seventh day.

[2] Among the *Psalms* are many processionals, e. g., XXIV, XLVIII, LXXXVII, XCV, C. One may still in part identify the topography of certain hymns; cf. J. P. Peters, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIX (1920), 52 *sq.* Festivals in Greece and other lands were similarly marked by processions. As interesting as any, because of their ritual forms, are those of Artemis at Ephesus.

[3] In this service the doors of the church were of course ajar. Cf. *Ezek.* XLVI. 9. Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. 2. 2) says that during the night of Pesah the doors of the temple were left open after midnight, presumably to facilitate the transit of the people. Beer (*Pesachim*, p. 52, n. 5) cites Ewald for the opinion that this was a very old custom, which he connects with the διαβατήρια. This is doubtless correct. Beer (*ibid.*) mentions the Jewish custom of leaving the house-door ajar on Passover-night. The wonderful hymn of Joseph bar Jacob for the seventh evening of Passover says that the doors of the Israelites were open to Yahweh when he passed over in Egypt at Passover. Everything is calculated to expedite the "passover." Cf. below, p. 298, n. 4, and p. 391.

bowing and kissing the Cross after touching it with their foreheads and eyes. In describing this ceremony Etheria [1] uses the expression "pass through" five times: will any believe this repetition accidental? If so, let him observe the practices of the Mohammedan hajj as described by Burton.[2] After assuming *ihram* the pilgrims exclaim:

"Here I am! O Allah! here am I—
No partner hast thou, here am I:
Verily the praise and the beneficence are thine, and the kingdom—
No partner hast thou, here I am!"

This is called Talbiyat, or "exclaiming;" Burton adds, "We were warned to repeat these words as often as possible, until the conclusion of the ceremonies." When the priests of Baal on Carmel called on their god saying "Oh Baal, hear us," from morning even until noon,[3] they followed the same practice which Jesus forbade:[4] "And in praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking." This had clearly been the wont of the Hebrews from early times; and it became consecrated in the ritual, which still retains the practice of ordering the service of the day with special regard to its sacred associations, selecting lections, psalms, and prayers which ring the changes on particular words or ideas. One who reads the Talmud with intelligence will soon see that this principle underlies the whole method of interpreting Scripture. In the East the Christian Church

A story told by Al-Biruni (p. 288) implies that the Syrian Christians believed that on a certain important occasion the church-door opened of its own accord to the true believers, while it remained closed to the Arians. This occurred on the 1st Kanûn II., i. e., the 1st January. The night before Cæsar's death (he died on the Ides of March = full moon of Nisan?) the door of his bedchamber opened of its own accord (Suetonius *Diu. Iul.* lxxxi; Plutarch *Iulius* lxiii). Various traits of the story suggest that Cæsar was regarded as a Saturnalian king. Suetonius says that the Jews especially mourned his death. In view of the certain connection of the Saturnalian king and the Pharmakos with the turn of the year, it is important to note that the day of Cæsar's assassination, the 15th March, was the day of Anna Perenna, an old New Year's day, and that on the eve of it, the Mamuralia, Mamurius (Veturius) was driven out from Rome as a scapegoat. These facts doubtless explain the traits of the legendary tradition.

[1] *Pilgrimage,* Chap. XXXVII; *pertranseant . . . transit . . . pertranseant . . . pertransierint . . . transit.* Nothing of the kind occurs elsewhere in her narrative.

[2] III, 125.

[3] I *Kings* XVIII.

[4] *Matt.* VI. 7.

from the beginning followed the Jewish practice; in the West, where ritual was little understood, it was not at once followed. Etheria in the fourth century continually remarks on the appropriateness of the canon for the day as something new to her; and it is said that in the Gallican ritual the principle was not applied before the middle of the fifth century. Thus we may be sure that far more of the sacred story than is commonly supposed is haggadic in origin, intended to explain and commend the real *sacra* of Israel, the rites and observances received from the immemorial past.

To consider Passover without regarding the fact that it relates to the deliverance [1] or salvation of Israel were to omit Hamlet from *Hamlet*. Of course the salvation of Israel is interpreted in accordance with the times and circumstances,[2] being referred to the liberation of the slave or to deliverance from the hand of the enemy. Such were the saviours of Israel of whom we read in the *Exodus* and in the time of the *Judges,* and even in later times. Just so the Greek freedman hailed his liberator as Saviour (*sōtēr*). As we might expect, the sacred story of the exodus abounds in references to the salvation of Israel, and Pesah is appointed [3] a memorial day to keep the people in remembrance of their salvation: "And thou shalt tell thy son on that day, saying, It is because of that which Yahweh did for me when I came forth out of Egypt." This is clearly not intended as a reference to a mere historical event. With good reason does the *Mishnah* [4] quote R. Gamaliel as enjoining the memorial service as something personal, each Israelite taking to himself the salvation of Israel: "It is therefore incumbent on every person, in all ages,

[1] Cf. above, p. 95, n. 1.

[2] In early Hebrew documents "saviour" and "save" are conceived in a material way, as sin is a material taint. Spiritual values came late to consciousness; but with their coming salvation too became redemption of the spirit. This becomes most evident in Philo and Paul. The former (*De septen.* cxlvii. II, p. 292 M.) says of Passover: *οἷς δὲ τὰ ῥητὰ τρέπειν πρὸς ἀλληγορίαν ἔθος ψυχῆς κάθαρσιν αἰνίττεται τὰ διαβατήρια. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν σοφίας ἐραστὴν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν παθῶν διάβασιν.* This of course suggests Plato, who not only represents death as a migration of the soul (*Apol. Soc.,* p. 40 C) to the better spirit-world, but the philosopher as seeking the release of the soul from the body and its passions (*Phædo,* p. 61 B *sq.*). But these ideas are older, being Orphic-Pythagorean; and it is not certain that they have not Semitic affiliations. Cf. Gomperz, *Gr. Denker,* I, 107–110. In any case they are connected with Mystery-rites. They explain, moreover, Paul's words in II *Cor.* v. 14–19, which relate to the Passover and the Passion. A different spiritual interpretation of Mazzot occurs in I *Cor.* v. 7–8.

[3] *Exod.* XIII. 8.

[4] *Pesah.,* p. 242, tr. Rodkinson.

that he should consider it as though he had personally gone forth from Egypt." Among the Greeks the conception of the *Sōtēr* (Saviour) from the earliest times developed in connection with certain *rites de passage*, which in due course came to be known as Mysteries; and among the Hebrews likewise, it is plain to see, the hopes and thoughts of the Messiah and the salvation he should bring to Israel were wholly bound up with the festivals and their suggestions. One may see from the Talmud that Passover, as well as the other festivals, which appear one and all to have developed from passover-rites, was not complete without a reference to Messiah, who should come at the end of the times. That this was true of the Feast of Ingathering, later identified as Tabernacles, a duplicate of Pesah, may be inferred, among other indications, from the words of *Jeremiah:* [1] "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved." Judah had hoped for salvation then, but it had not come; it must await the acceptable year.

Let us now take a somewhat closer view of the sacred story and Torah of Passover with special reference to data which promise to yield something of value in determining the significance of the rites. In doing so we shall take some account of the generally accepted results of the criticism of the sources, though they are not such as to solve the main problems. Beginning with the oldest document (J), we find that Yahweh, the "God of the Hebrews," bids Moses [2] say to Pharaoh "let us go three days' journey into the wilderness that we may sacrifice." The title "God of the Hebrews" occurs only in connection with the departure from Egypt; [3] and since the name

[1] VIII. 20.

[2] *Exod.* III. 18; cf. v. 3, VIII. 27.

[3] *Exod.* III. 18; v. 3; VII. 16; IX. 1, 13; X. 3. Cf. I *Sam.* XIII–XIV. Georg. Sync. (p. 99 *c*), after Africanus, derives "Hebrew" from the fact that Abraham crossed the Euphrates. The Latin Fathers regularly interpret the ethnic name, as well as "Heber," as *transitor*. That the Hebrews were understood to be "Passover-people" is clear from *Mic.* v. 7 (8) and the Passover-hallel in *Exod.* xv. See below, p. 176 *sq.* In like manner Yahweh, the "God of the Hebrews," was conceived as the Passover-god; cf. the significant use of *'ābar* in *Mic.* VII. 18 and *Deut.* IX. 3, where the moral and festal suggestions of the term are equally prominent. In view of the connection of the Passovers with the transition from year to year, at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, one asks whether there may not underlie this complex of conceptions a definite, though remote, kinship between Yahweh and Marduk-Nibiru, for whom see Weidner, p. 20, where the god Nibiru appears as the patron of the month Tishri: *"Siebenter Monat: Jupiter = ᵈ Nibiru. Nibiru von ebêru* [= Hebrew *'ābar*] *'überschreiten' heisst vielleicht mit Jensen* (Kosmologie, *S. 128 f.*) *'Fähre.' Jupiter wird so genannt als 'Ueberschreiter der Himmelsmitte,' d. h. Durchschreiter des Meri-*

"Hebrew" derives from the radical *'ābar,* which so constantly recurs with unmistakable significance in connection with the Passovers, we may be sure that it is employed with a purpose.[1] The Hebrews, it seems, are Passover-people, and their national deity a Passover-god.[2] Of equal interest is the term appointed. Three days was evidently a recognized term for a *rite de passage* among the Passover-people;[3] but, since the *hag* involved a return as well as a departure, and Israel was clearly expected to return to Egypt, we cannot be sure that a total of six days was not contemplated.[4] In fact this will presently be found to be the festival-period almost certainly presupposed by the sacred story.

This same document refers the departure of the *hag* to the new moon of Abib.[5] Though we have no direct evidence on this point, we may safely assume that this month was (like Nisan) the first of the year. The hour of Yahweh's going forth into the midst of Egypt is given as about midnight;[6] unquestionably this time is related to the order of the rite. We know of two important schemes of dividing the day into hours among the ancients, both reckoning from sunset. Of these the Egyptian, which divided both day and night into twelve hours each, was far more widely accepted than the Babylonian, which reckoned twelve double hours, popularly running from sunset to sunset, astronomically from midnight to midnight. Assum-

dians . . . und zweitens als 'Ueberschreiter der Jahresmitte,' also im Monate Teshrit." See *ibid.,* p. 41: *"Es handelt sich also um den Planeten Jupiter-Marduk, dem der Ostpunkt im Kosmos, der Frühlingspunkt im Kreislauf zueignet."* Though the astral associations of Yahweh and his cultus are far from pronounced, the connection of his major festivals, like those of Marduk, with the equinoxes is so obvious that it must be reckoned with; cf. the use of *'ābar* with reference to time, *Cant.* I. 11; *Jer.* VIII. 20. If there is a relation between the Babylonian god Nibiru and the Passover-god of the Hebrews, it becomes an interesting but extremely difficult question just what the relation is and how one is to account for the obvious differences between them.

[1] Cf. below, p. 179, for Jacob's name "Israel," obtained at the Passover of the Jabbok.

[2] See above, p. 99, n. 3.

[3] See above, p. 61 *sq.,* for the Arabs. May *'ārab* be a metathetic variant of *'ābar?* If that were so, "Arab" would be akin to "Hebrew;" which would be interesting as well as natural. As to the festival term, it was doubtless the practice that gave rise to the Torah. If *'ārab* and *'ābar* be both connected with Passover, *'ēreb* (*Exod.* XII. 38 and elsewhere), which is commonly translated "mixed multitude," may have had a more special meaning relative to the *rites de passage.*

[4] See below, p. 112.

[5] *Exod.* XIII. 4. Most critics refer this to the redactor.

[6] *Exod.* XI. 4.

ing that critics are right in attributing the "passover" of Yahweh at the midnight hour to the Judean document, it remains to be seen what significance it may have. According to the Babylonian astronomers, it would be the intersection between days—possibly between years, if the observance was from the first a New Year's rite; which is indeed practically certain. According to the Egyptian reckoning, midnight is the *hora sexta,* as is midday, the *sixth hour* at which Jesus was crucified at Passover.[1] This, as the "last hour," is a most important point of time, and one at which spirits are much abroad,

[1] The midday Crucifixion is doubly significant, not only falling on the sixth day, but at the sixth hour, according to both Egyptian and Babylonian (astronomical) time. Midnight and midday were equally important as seasons when Hecate and her crew of spirits were abroad. The Greek and some other churches assign the Resurrection to midnight, though all the hours mentioned in *Mark* XIII. 35 are represented in the list of observances. Hence Jerome *in Matt.* XXV. 6 is of interest: *"Traditio Iudæorum est Christum media nocte uenturum in similitudine Ægyptii temporis, quando Pascha celebratum est et exterminator uenit et Dominus super tabernacula transiit et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecratæ sunt."* The Jews, like the Christians, expected the Messiah at the end of the times; but they likewise associated his coming, as we see, with Passover. It is altogether likely that *Matt.* XXV. 6 actually has the Jewish tradition mentioned by Jerome in mind. The Bridegroom's coming is not only referred to the general resurrection of the dead on the last day, but also to the Resurrection, which the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and the Greek Church set at midnight. The Ambrosian hymn *"Mediæ noctis tempus est"* connects the midnight Passover with the midnight coming of the Bridegroom. The parable of the virgins, like the Passover and the night of the Last Supper, likewise contains a suggestion of a vigil. See below, p. 135. So in St. Bernard's hymn: *"Hora nouissima, tempora pessima sunt, uigilemus."* How fully these schemes were applied is shown, e.g., by an extract from Stephanus Gobarus (made by Photius [*Bibl. 287 b.* 41 *sq.*]), who records a Christian tradition that the Virgin Mary conceived in the Month of First-Fruits (Abib), which the Jews call Nisan (= April) and gave birth to our Lord after nine months at midnight on the 5th January, which is the eighth day before the Ides. Thus the Annunciation is set at Passover, the Nativity at the midnight hour which marks the passover from year to year at Epiphany, and this Lord's day is made the eighth by being brought into relation with the Ides. Similarly Christmas is A.D. VIII *Kal. Ian.* That the Nativity was dated on the night of the 5th/6th January or the 25th/26th December at midnight marks midnight as the line of demarcation between the fifth and sixth days, or New Year's eve and New Year's day. Where cockcrow was the dividing line, that was the hour of the Nativity, as in the Coreion at Alexandria, at Petra in Arabia, and at Elusa, as related by Hippolytus. This difference regarding the hour of beginning the day would lead to disputes regarding the day on which the Saviour was born, some referring it to the fifth, others to the sixth. As Moslem chronologists disputed (see above, p. 66 *sq.*) whether the Hijra, or exodus, of Mohammed fell on Thursday or Friday, Syrian Christians differed regarding the day of the Nativity. Most said it was a Thursday (Al-Biruni, p. 287). It is at bottom the same question as whether the Last Passover began with Maundy Thursday or with Good Friday.

especially when the intersection between the days coincides with that between years.[1] But there is a distinct *période de marge* indicated in the Torah. This is common at the turn of the year, as M. Van Gennep[2] has pointed out. The Judean prescription bids Israel depart,[3] taking the paschal victims according to families, and kill the *pesah;* the lintel and jambs of the doors shall be sprinkled with blood by means of a bunch of hyssop, and none shall go out of the door of his house until the morning.[4] The order to depart marks, of course, the beginning of the *hag.* As to the sprinkling with blood, travelers in Arabia emphasize this rite as very common there, it being understood to ward off evil spirits,[5] which are abroad. In the passover of the Jordan, the red cords marking the house of Rahab take the place of the blood on the door in the departure from Egypt. We shall see that that occasion also was a New Year's day. M. Van Gennep calls attention to the New Year's rites at Pekin, where the gate between the Tartar and Chinese quarters is decorated with bits of red paper. A *période de marge* is there observed of varying length; in the Judean account it is clearly supposed to extend from midnight to morning—probably cockcrow. At all events, that is the hour later observed, and during this period of danger[6] no Israelite is to pass the door of his house. Thus while the *hag* begins with the selection of the paschal victim, the flight from Egypt cannot, in accordance with these directions, be conceived as beginning before the following morning.[7] But precisely the same time is obviously set likewise for the passage of the Red Sea.[8] Unfortunately there occurs

[1] Among many peoples New Year's day is supposed to be the time when the graves open and the dead come forth. See Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris,* p. 306 *sq.*; cf. *Matt.* XXVII. 52, XXVIII. 2, and below, p. 298, n. 4, and p. 391 *sq.*

[2] *Les rites de passage,* p. 255 *sq.* Such a period occurs in modern Judaism from Tishri 1st to 10th: which seems to be somewhat akin to the Chinese sealing and opening the seals at New Year. According to *Rosh ha-Shanah* (p. 14 Rodkinson), liberated slaves belonged neither to their former masters nor returned to their homes at this time, and estates (in the Jubile year) were apparently neutral at this time, which was a sort of Saturnalian festival. See below, p. 133, n. 3, for the period of ten days.

[3] *Exod.* XII. 21–22.

[4] The injunction to avoid going out of the house occurs in Babylonian hemerologies for the nights of the 28th and 29th days of the month—the dark of the moon (Landsberger, p. 144). Egyptian hemerologies (see Chabas) contain many similar notations for nefast days, e. g., for the 15th Phaophi.

[5] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* I, 136 and *passim.*

[6] Ghosts, that begin to walk abroad at midnight, take warning and flee at cockcrow. See below, p. 139.

[7] Cf. *Num.* XXXIII. 3 (P?).

[8] *Exod.* XIV. 13, 21, 24.

in this document no other indication of the day on which the real flight of the *hag* takes place; but from this we may safely conclude that it is in some sort a second day, whatever the calendary scheme may have made it.

The Ephraemite document (E) contains few details regarding the exodus. Here also occurs the appeal to Pharaoh to let the Israelites go that they may hold a *hag* to Yahweh in the wilderness,[1] the term of which is not indicated.[2] In the plague of darkness, however, we hear of a period of three days during which the Egyptians did not rise from their place, whereas the Israelites had light in their dwellings.[3] It is possible that this story reflects a triduan festival of the Hebrews; for not only did they observe the lighting of the Sabbath lights, but the lights of the Feast of Tabernacles and its duplicate the Encænia, also known as "Lights" (Phota), are well known. The Egyptians and Greeks likewise had festivals of this sort. It is deserving of note also that this narrative provided for the crossing of the Red Sea after a detour through the wilderness,[4] and it is entirely possible that the scheme of days which appears in the Priestly code is implied in this account.

[1] *Exod.* v. 1.

[2] E is notably deficient in time-references.

[3] *Exod.* x. 22–23. Israel is said to have been driven out because of the plagues (*Exod.* xi. 1). Pagan writers emphasize the same thought; but while Scripture represents the Egyptians as afflicted by them, Apion and Tacitus say they were visited on the Jews. Besides, in Greek as in Hebrew religion, a plague is a frequent motive for instituting a rite (cf. 1 *Kings* viii. 37 *sq.*). Apion (Josephus *C. Apion.*, i. 34 [307–309]) related that Bocchoris ordered his soldiery to lead the afflicted Jews, like scapegoats, into the wilderness, and to cover the leprous with sheet-lead, and drown them in the sea. "After the leprous and scurvied had been drowned," he says, "the remainder were collected in the wilderness and exposed for their destruction. Coming together, they took counsel about their situation and when night supervened, *lighting a fire and lamps they held watch;* but the following night [?] after a fast they propitiated the gods to save them. The next day a certain Moses counselled them to make common cause and journey together." The scheme is not quite clear, but seems to be triduan. That Apion had a festival practice in mind can hardly be doubted. There is here a vigil after the passover of the Red Sea (cf. below, p. 135) on the first night, on the second day a fast followed by propitiatory rites, and on the third day an assembly, at which the trek is determined (and, perhaps, at once begun). If, as some hold, the translation of the ark was the central rite of the passover, or διάβασις, of Yahweh, 1 *Sam.* vi, 4–10 is a close parallel to the exodus from Egypt.

[4] *Exod.* xiii. 18. The Heb. here seems vague: LXX, εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, cf. *Josh.* xxiv. 6. I suspect that *Exod.* xiii. 17 has suffered from redaction because of the long itinerary of *Numbers*. The roundabout way contemplated was originally that which took Israel to Baal-zephon, where they were apparently tempted to return to the gods of Egypt. See below, p. 447 *sq.*

The so-called J decalogue, about which critics have not been able to reach an agreement,[1] presents some difficulties in regard to the *hag* connected with the exodus. As has already been said, at a point so vital to the cultus as the major festivals, the temptation to revise the Torah in order to bring it into line with existing practice was well-nigh irresistible. As the text stands,[2] it is quite impossible, and critics are divided regarding the remedies to be applied. Thus while W. R. Arnold[3] holds that Pesah as a national feast distinguished from Mazzot is unknown to both J and E, Steuernagel assigns Pesah to J and Mazzot to E. The probability is rather that all the significant details, which might shed light on ritual forms and their significance, are redactorial and of post-exilic origin. The single datum that the exodus and the *hag* fell at the new moon of Abib[4] is doubtless old and may well have been common to J and E. As to other details, it is to be observed that the so-called J decalogue provides for the Feast of Weeks, which was apparently unknown to *Ezekiel,* and the status of which as a separate *hag* was always doubtful, and ordains a Feast of Unleavened Bread for seven days, the term observed in post-exilic times; whereas *Deuteronomy* obviously knew of its observance for six days only. An analysis of the narrative of the Priestly code will show that even in the early post-exilic period the forms here appointed are not presupposed. We shall therefore do well to disregard the questionable data furnished by this so-called decalogue. The same objections apply to the ritual prescriptions embodied in the Code of the Covenant.[5] The command that the blood of Yahweh's sacrifice shall not be offered with leavened bread,[6] though applicable to Pesah, if it was observed, is apparently to be understood as applying to all sacrifices on the altar. It serves however to refer the paschal victim and the unleavened bread to the same ritual position, which found expression in the appointment for Pesah.

Deuteronomy marks for us a most important stage in the history of the cultus of Yahweh. Here we first meet somewhat definite

[1] See the summary of Brightman, *The Sources of the Hexateuch,* p. 96 *sq.* Morgenstern ("The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* IV [1927], 54 *sqq.*) offers an interesting and detailed analysis of this code.

[2] *Exod.* XXXIV. 18–25.

[3] *Jour. Bibl. Lit.,* XXXI, 9.

[4] *Exod.* XXXIV. 18; cf. XXIII. 15; *Deut.* XVI. 1.

[5] *Exod.* XXIII. 14–17.

[6] *Exod.* XXXIV. 25, XXIII. 18.

indications of the ritual. It is hardly credible that in the earlier times, from which the oldest documents date, the cultus was less regulated by definite forms; for our acquaintance with primitive religion in other lands and the acknowledged connection of religion with magic strongly suggest that in Israel also the cultus was bound to fixed occasions, the festivals embodying certain ritual schemes. Why the earliest documents, which no longer exist in their original form and extent, contain so few traces of these ritual patterns we cannot tell; but one is tempted to conjecture that the cause lies in the different practice at different times and perhaps at different places. In the earliest period the cultus was performed at numerous shrines, and it would not be surprising if in Israel, as in Greece, worship of the same god followed different forms in different places; for we know that the high-places were the seats of worship before the coming of Yahweh, who may have taken over the ritual as well as the altars. But again, though the evidence is not sufficient to decide this point, it is possible that for reasons unknown to us new forms were introduced in the later period, which made it inexpedient to preserve the records of the ancient ritual, when the redactors worked over the older documents as the Torah for the cultus. The ideal of the Deuteronomists, which contemplated the unification and centralization of the cultus of Yahweh at Jerusalem, favored or rather required a codification of the prescriptions which, though not immediately achieved, must have appeared from the first as the chief task of the priesthood. Even so, however, the result, as we shall see, was not uniform, because the work was not done once for all by an authoritative commission, but the Torah, growing with the gradual introduction or adoption of new observances into the Church Year, reflects the changes to which the ritual practice was subject in the course of time. Nevertheless the Deuteronomic order must from its very nature have marked an epoch in the cultus, though it was destined to be largely superseded by the regulations of the Priestly code. Among the requisites of the conditions contemplated by the Deuteronomists was a common calendar; for if all the devotees of Yahweh were to assemble periodically at Jerusalem, the "fixed times" would have to be determined with reference to a definite calendar.

In a later chapter we shall take up the important questions connected with the calendar of Israel. Here it will suffice to say that *Deuteronomy*, presenting a program of reform rather than a detailed

code of regulations for the cultus, seems in the matter of the calendar to have followed the old order, dating the festivals of immemorial observance in the same way as they had been appointed in the oldest documents; the new calendar, which henceforth was to fix the sacred "times and seasons," was the creation of priests working at a somewhat later date in what they conceived to be the spirit of the Deuteronomists.

Deuteronomy[1] refers Pesah to the *hodesh* of Abib, which is doubtless reckoned the beginning of the year; "for at the *hodesh* of Abib Yahweh thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt by night." "Thou mayest not sacrifice *pesah* within any of thy gates . . . but at the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose . . . thou shalt sacrifice *pesah* at even, at the going down of the sun, at the *mo'ed* when thou comest forth out of Egypt." In this prescription one thing is strikingly evident—the intended parallel between the departure from Egypt and the observance of Pesah, which commemorates that event of sacrosanct associations in the history of Israel. The time-references relating to the exodus are meticulous, and must correspond to the intended time of the observance of Pesah; it becomes at once evident that the celebration of the commemorative festival cannot have been referred generally to "the month of Abib," as modern versions, following the LXX, render "the *hodesh* of *Abib*." Here, it would seem, we must take *hodesh* in the sense of "new moon," as certain notable scholars have suggested; for the new moon, visible at sunset, marks the beginning of a lunation and, in a lunar or lunisolar year, will likewise mark the beginning of the year. The fact that *hodesh* in this context came in time to be understood as meaning the "month" is easily explained, when one recalls that in later Judaism Passover fell at full moon. Of this change and the calendar that gave rise to it we shall hereafter have to speak at length.

Like all passages in the Old Testament, in which the pilgrimages and the Sabbath are mentioned, the text of *Deuteronomy* regarding Pesah is open to the suspicion of much revision and interpolation. Though critics are agreed that there are here intrusive elements dating from later times, there is no agreement among them in regard to

[1] XVI. 1. Here and elsewhere LXX renders the name μὴν τῶν νέων, "the month of firstlings and first-fruits," which naturally would be the first of the year, when first-fruits were habitually offered. Passover was always associated with the firstlings.

details. At the risk of exposing ourselves to the cross-fire of these critics, let us propose a tentative separation between older and younger elements of the provisions, inclosing the latter in brackets.[1] "And thou shalt sacrifice *pesah* unto Yahweh thy God, of the flock and the herd, in the place which Yahweh shall choose, to cause his name to dwell there. Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it;[2] [seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of affliction;[3] for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste: that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life. And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days;] neither shall any of the flesh [which thou sacrificest the first day[4] at even] remain all night until the morning. Thou mayest not sacrifice *pesah* within any of thy gates, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee; but at the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose, to cause his name to dwell in, there thou shalt sacrifice *pesah* [at even, at the going down of the sun, at the season when thou camest forth out of Egypt]. And thou shalt boil and eat it in the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose: and thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy tents. † Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread; and † on the seventh day shall be an *'azeret* to Yahweh thy God; thou shalt do no work therein."[5]

Of that which we thus assign to later times it is perhaps unnecessary to say more than is contained in the accompanying notes. The direction that the paschal sacrifice shall be eaten in the temple is of course Deuteronomic; and we may be fairly confident also that the sunset hour, when the new moon would first appear, was the precise time set for the killing of the victim, and was assumed to be that of the immediate preparation for the exodus, the first stage of which was accomplished by night. What chiefly arrests one's attention is the group of time-references at the close, which call for somewhat detailed consideration.

[1] Steuernagel (§ 43, 9) says "In xvi. 1–17 the mention of Mazzot is secondary: vv. 6 *sq.* know only a festival of one day; hence vv. 3–4 (with the possible exception of 3 *b β* and 4 *b*, but not 'the first day'), v. 8 and v. 16 *sq.* [cf. *Exod.* xxiii. 14 *sq.*, xxxiv. 18 *sq.*] are additions." Regarding 7 *b* and 8, see below.

[2] Cf. *Exod.* xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25. For *Exod.* xiii. 6, see below, p. 108.

[3] This marks unleavened bread as the food of the fast.

[4] This designation is due to the later practice of calling the 15th Nisan the first day of Mazzot.

[5] *Deut.* xvi. 2–8.

"Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread; and on the seventh day shall be an *'azeret* to Yahweh thy God." This statement is puzzling, especially after the earlier one, "Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith . . . neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, remain all night until the morning." How inconsistent these several statements are is at once apparent; and it is certain that we have before us a rude attempt to bring things together which have no proper connection. Seven days of Mazzot are intelligible: that is the regular term. Pesah limited to one night also is intelligible, and, so far as we can see, the ancient order. The suggestion that the paschal victim shall be eaten with unleavened bread for seven days apparently finds no parallel except in distinctly late sources, and may be ruled out as impossible for *Deuteronomy*. On the other hand, that there should be a term of six days, however observed, followed by an *'azeret,* is a distinctive scheme quite out of keeping with later practice, and therefore not to be credited to the Priestly code. In *Exodus*[1] there is a direction which calls for comparison, "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a *hag* to Yahweh." Here also we have seven days of Mazzot, but the seventh day is set off as a distinct observance, a *hag*. It seems clear that in both cases Mazzot is an intruder and that the term is six, and not seven days: the seventh day is in addition to the term indicated, as becomes obvious when it is called an *'azeret,* which is always a post-festal day. Even when it is characterized as a *hag,* we have no right to assume that it is merely the high-day of an hebdomadal festal term.

If we rule out the intrusive references to Mazzot, the question arises what may have stood in the original text of *Deuteronomy*. Of course, any suggestion which we may offer must be pure conjecture, and should be so regarded; but there are certain data which may be said to constitute the known quantities of the problem. First of all, Pesah was dated by *Deuteronomy* on the new moon (1st) of Abib; add to that the fact that the 7th of that month was appointed an *'azeret,* which implies at least that the 6th was observed as some sort of festal day, and *may* imply a term of six days. We may, therefore, assume as given the celebration of the 1st, 6th, and 7th days of the lunar month beginning about the time of the vernal equinox. Now in the course of our study we shall find ourselves

[1] XIII. 6.

led to certain conclusions which, though they cannot be justified here, we may briefly anticipate. As we have already remarked, we believe that the Passovers form the nucleus of the Hebrew ritual, and that the development began with Pesah. Eventually the week, with the cyclical Sabbath, became the sacred ritual pattern; the week did not, however, exist as such from the first, but came about as the result of a long development. Its origin—speaking only of Israel—was from the festival-term of the New Year celebration, which we call Passover. A significant reference to the Sabbath is in the account of the quail-manna Passover, where, as in the hexaëmeron of creation, the Sabbath is clearly the addendum or prolongation of a term of six days—precisely the scheme which *Deuteronomy* here shows, *if the days from the 1st to the 6th Abib constituted a recognized term.* Whether they were so regarded is not certain, but even if not formally kept as a single observance, the intervening days, especially since they fell at the beginning of the year, would almost certainly be treated as the intermediate days were in the festivals of later Judaism.[1] The analogy of the New Year festivities of neighboring peoples will support this view. Most interesting of all is the obvious suggestion that the form of the observance presupposed by the provision of *Deuteronomy* is connected with the phases of the moon. It will be recalled that the Hebrew prophets repeatedly couple new moons and Sabbaths in ways that hardly admit of dissociating them, while the Sabbath is unmistakably distinguished from the new moon. Now we shall later find in the Babylonian *Epic of Creation,* which reflects the form and the rites of the Zag-muk, or New Year festival, a term of six days with an added seventh distinctly indicated in the beginning of Nisan, the month of Passover in the Priestly code. This term is that from new moon to the first quarter, when the lunar disk appears to be cut in two.[2] Here then, it seems, we have the explanation of the new moons

[1] In the service of the synagogue, provision is made for the blessing of the *Kiddush* on the seventh and eighth evenings of Passover, but not for the other six; and for the first, second, eighth, and ninth evenings of Tabernacles, but not for the intervening five days. If *Kiddush* is omitted on the evening of Pesah for the same reasons as on the Day of Atonement, as one may well assume because of the close analogy between them, there remain, as at Tabernacles, five intermediate days, which certainly suggest the epact.

[2] The dividing of the moon presumably had the same solemn suggestions as the cleaving of the Rock and the division of all the *sacra.* See below, p. 382, n. 5.

and Sabbaths and of the observance which we may with confidence attribute to *Deuteronomy*.

Thus far we have conjecturally explained the emphasis on the 1st, 6th, and 7th Abib. The 7th became the "Sabbath" *par excellence*, as the High and Holy Sabbath (Holy Saturday) is the "Sabbath" *par excellence* of Christendom. But there still remains considerable uncertainty about the days of this hebdomadal period. The 7th, as we have seen, was an *'azeret*, and gave rise to the Sabbath, or rather *was the Sabbath:* what, then, was the character of the 6th? Owing to the extensive revision and gradual expansion of the Deuteronomic code, this question is not easily answered. The answer must, however, satisfy certain definite demands which arise from statements which appear to be Deuteronomic because they manifestly do not belong to the scheme of the Priestly code. Pesah is to be kept at night, because Yahweh brought Israel out of Egypt by night, and none of the flesh of the sacrifice shall remain until the morning. The Israelite shall turn in the morning and go to his tents. We shall see presently that this last provision is susceptible of various interpretations. It may be mandatory, or again it may be permissive: in either case it is inconsistent with the view, which prevailed in later Judaism, that Mazzot was the *hag* commemorative of the departure from Egypt. *Deuteronomy* dates that event "by night;" the Priestly code,[1] on the 15th Nisan, characterized as the morrow after Pesah. Efforts were made, but with questionable success, to harmonize this view with one manifestly older, which called for an 'Omer-day on the morrow after Pesah. The result was a hybrid day of twofold character and observance.[2] One sees at once that the 'Omer-day on the morrow after Pesah is own brother to the *'azeret* on the 7th Abib, which clearly suggests that the 6th was of like character with Pesah on the 1st (new moon). What name may have been given to the 6th we do not know, but it is not impossible that it too was called Pesah,[3] because the 'Omer-day on the morrow after Pesah was sometimes, and by preference, assigned to the last day of the New Year-Passover term. That this day was called an *'azeret* in *Deuteronomy* and a *hag* in *Exodus* is quite consistent with the varying designations of Pentecost. That it was a seventh day

[1] *Num.* XXXIII. 3.

[2] *Josh.* v. 11.

[3] Cf. the scheme of the Babylonian and old Persian New Year festivals, below, p. 405 *sq.*

agrees, as we shall see, with the Deuteronomic scheme for Shabu'ot. But how shall one account for the duplication of the morrow after Pesah and the morrow after the 6th Abib? Whether the direction "thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy tents" is mandatory or permissive, matters very little: the real question is whether it implies that the entire observance is at an end, or whether it is a command or a permission to keep another festival. That it may bear the latter sense is shown, not only by the review, presently to be instituted, of the cases in which Israel is said to betake itself to its tents, but also, and this is significant, by the fact that it was clearly so interpreted by the Priestly school, when it provided for beginning Mazzot on the morning after Pesah. As has been pointed out, the older order called for an *'azeret,* or 'Omer-day, for that time; the substitution of Mazzot for that observance led to the incongruous situation reflected in *Joshua,*[1] "And they did eat of the produce of the land on the morrow after Pesah, unleavened cakes and parched grain in the selfsame day." The explanation seems to be given by several stories told in *Deuteronomy* and *Joshua,* to be presently considered, which unquestionably reflect the passover-rite. They describe a twofold passover at the Jordan, each transit being followed by a day of rest: after the second all Israel, trans-Jordanic as well as cis-Jordanic, enjoys the rest promised to the chosen people of Yahweh. That is certainly the Sabbath-rest, which follows the completed Passover—the 7th Abib. If that be correct, the 6th Abib is another Passover, whether called Pesah or by whatever name.

How the 6th Abib was observed under the Deuteronomic order remains to be considered. There is no specific evidence; but there is perhaps enough basis for a conjecture. We have seen that the provisions for Mazzot have been foisted into the Deuteronomic account of Pesah; but does that justify one in ruling out all reference to unleavened bread? Had the two passover-rites of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms nothing in common except that they both marked the transition from year to year? It seems reasonable to suppose that the command that no leavened bread be eaten with the paschal sacrifice was already recognized: that hypothesis would account for the awkward attempt to combine the two observances, and the fact remains that unleavened bread was clearly a food of the fast among Semites generally. This granted, one surmises that the second Passover implied in the Deuteronomic scheme was observed

[1] v. 11.

by a ritual eating of unleavened bread, whatever other practices may have obtained. This would explain how Mazzot, a festival with a fixed term of seven days kept in the Northern Kingdom, could so easily be adopted as a second *hag* and combined with Pesah into a single festival-term.

The result of our analysis of the Deuteronomic Torah for Passover is that we obtain a twofold passover-rite with a term of six days plus an *'azeret*. Of these two rites the second *may* not have been regarded as of obligation, but that is not certain, and in view of the fact that the *'azeret* became in time the sacrosanct Sabbath, it is perhaps more probable that it was actually observed from ancient times. The Mohammedan hajj with its two tridua, the first obligatory, the second optional, may be cited as a perhaps significant parallel. We shall find in the calendary arrangements of the Priestly code for Mazzot and Sukkot a kindred, but not identical, pattern by which the *mo'adim* of Mazzot and Sukkot become sixth days. In discussing the history of the calendar of Israel it will be pointed out that this plan seems to have been adopted under Egyptian influence; whether the Deuteronomic scheme had the same origin is uncertain, but the *'azeret* on the seventh day makes against the assumption. Though no definite parallel has yet been found elsewhere, what we know at present inclines one rather to look to the Babylonian Zagmuk as the most likely complex to disclose an analogous pattern.

To return, after this detailed discussion, to the text of *Deuteronomy,* the conjecture to which we are led is that the final provision for Passover read somewhat as follows: "On the sixth day thou shalt eat unleavened bread; and on the seventh day shall be an *'azeret* to Yahweh thy god; thou shalt do no work." [1] The corresponding passage in *Exodus* may have had originally a similar tenor.

Several points anticipated in the foregoing discussion may now engage our attention. First of all let us consider the direction "thou shalt . . . go unto thy tents."

To the Hebrews of the Holy Land the nomadic life was a memory

[1] If this day is *the* Sabbath proper, one understands why, when the week became established and the preceding six days came to be workdays instead of days of religious observance, the blessing of the *Kiddush* on the Sabbath should emphasize not only the distinction between the sanctity of the Sabbath and the sanctity of the festival, but also the distinction beween the holy Sabbath and the profane six days of work. Whether called *hag* or *'azeret,* the seventh day (Sabbath) is sharply distinguished from the preceding term of six days.

of the distant past:[1] for them dwelling in tents meant either a military expedition or a *hag*. In the Torah the life of Israel in the wilderness falls within the limits defined by the departure from Egypt and the return to Canaan: that is to say, by the successive passovers of the exodus, amplified and embroidered with legend. In later times those who, like the Rechabites, continually dwelt in tents and observed the customs and abstinences of the *hag*, might be held up before the half-hearted people as shining exemplars who lived a life peculiarly acceptable to Yahweh. "To your tents, O Israel," therefore, suggested thoughts fraught with solemn and most sacred association, whether as a call to a holy war or to mustering for the exodus of a *hag*. Indeed the going-forth and the coming-in of an army are often indistinguishable from the *exodus* and the *nostos* of the festival. As Israel in the exodus is represented as in panoply and marshaled in military order,[2] so the abstinences of the campaign are identical with those of the *hag*.[3] We are told that Israel went forth from Egypt armed, though ostensibly setting out to hold a *hag* to Yahweh in the wilderness and expected to return: armed, the people likewise pass over Jordan, when they "return" to Canaan. The latter case is better motivated, as Israel is to dispossess and exterminate the Canaanites in a holy war; but the scene at Ed[4] shows that the motivation is not essential. The camp of Israel during the exodus is that of an army in the field; yet when Balaam beholds it and exclaims,[5] "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, thy tabernacles, O Israel," one instinctively feels that the Israelites

[1] This is the probable meaning of *Neh.* VIII. 17, though it is commonly interpreted as referring specifically to Sukkot.

[2] *Deut.* III. 18; *Josh.* I. 14; IV. 12; VI. 7, 9, 13; *Exod.* XIII. 18; *Num.* XXXI. 5; XXXII. 17 *sq.*; I. 3 *sq.*

[3] Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*[2], p. 455. II *Sam.* XI. 11 is especially important.

[4] *Josh.* XXII, which relates to a memorial passover at the Jordan performed under arms. With the affair at Ed compare that at Galeed-Mizpah (*Gen.* XXXI. 43–XXXII. 1), where Jacob and Laban set up a heap of witness covenanting not to "pass over" to one another for harm. Jacob offers a sacrifice in the mountain and invites his brethren to eat bread at a feast which is followed by an all-night vigil. In the morning Laban and Jacob depart, the latter to the passover at the Jabbok, where he meets Esau and is reconciled with him, and in the "agōn" with God acquires the limp of the *pāsah*-passover. *Jubilees* XXIX. 7 dates the feast of Jacob for Laban on the 15th of the third month and identifies it with Shabu'ot.

[5] *Num.* XXIV. 2–5. The service of the synagogue by its frequent quotation of the words in connection with the festivals leaves no doubt as to the interpretation which Judaism has put on them.

understood his words as referring to the booths of the *hag;* for it hardly admits of question that the story of Balaam is connected with an ancient passover-rite celebrated at the fords of the Jabbok and the Arnon.[1] Thus there is no outward token by which one may certainly distinguish between a festival and a campaign. The day of battle, like that of the *hag,* is one of Yahweh's going forth in wrath. Moreover, defeat would probably mean the scattering of the army, the men returning to their homes; while victory would almost certainly be followed by a festival. In either event the people might be said to return to their tents.

If one canvasses the passages which mention a return to the tents, one readily sees that they relate to one or the other of these situations, though it is not always possible with certainty to distinguish between them.[2] When Gideon had chosen his band of 300 to fight against the Midianites,[3] and when King Saul had selected 3,000 from the forces of Israel, they sent away the remainder, each to his own tent.[4] This appears to mean that the men were mustered out and sent home. Again, after the defeat and death of Absalom,[5] after the slaying of Sheba,[6] and after the disastrous rout of the Edomites by Joram,[7] who passed over to Zair, the people are said to have fled[8] to their tents. Of these three cases the first two, as will be pointed out in the sequel, contain in their story suggestions which make it not improbable that they were in the popular mind associated with a passover-rite celebrated at the fords of the Jordan; and it is not impossible that the defeat of Edom was celebrated by a similar rite on the border at or near Zair. Again, when Jehoahaz fell away from Yahweh and caused the people to sin, Israel was delivered into the hand of Hazael, king of Syria, "and Jehoahaz besought Yahweh, and Yahweh harkened unto him; for he saw the oppression of Israel, how that the king of Syria oppressed them. And Yahweh gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians; and the children of

[1] See below, p. 177 *sq.*

[2] *Josh.* XXII. 8 is from its context especially interesting.

[3] *Judg.* VII. 8.

[4] I *Sam.* XIII. 2.

[5] II *Sam.* XVIII. 17; XIX. 8.

[6] *Ibid.,* XX. 1, 22. Here it is done at a signal from a trumpet, as when a *hag* was announced; and there is a suggestion of rebellion.

[7] II *Kings* VIII. 21.

[8] One recalls that the *hag* also is a "flight."

Israel dwelt in their tents as beforetime."[1] Can one doubt that this story relates to a passover commemorating the deliverance of Israel from bondage to the Syrians? We have in fact as nearly as possible a replica of the exodus from Egypt under the saviours Moses and Joshua, which was commemorated in after times by the *hag* of Pesah as the salvation of the people, who dwelt in tents. During the Babylonian captivity the prophets mourned because the people of Israel could not keep their trysts with Yahweh: after their deliverance they would surely observe their *mo'adim*. So in the days of Jehoahaz the people, dwelling in their tents as beforetime, may be assumed to have been celebrating a commemorative *hag* for their deliverance. It is possible that *Chronicles*[2] implies the like when it is said that "in the days of Saul they made war with the Hagrites, who fell by their hand; and they dwelt in their tents throughout all the land east of Gilead." In all these cases there is either a reference to festivals celebrated by the people dwelling in booths, or there is a crass anachronism; for Israel by this time, surely, dwelt ordinarily not in booths but in houses.[3] The supposition of an anachronism is unlikely; on the other hand, the prayer of Solomon[4] at the dedication of his temple sufficiently shows that such occasions as the foregoing were those on which Israel was expected to appoint a *supplicatio* or procession to the temple, which was the form assumed by the *hag* in later times.

This conclusion is borne out by a consideration of other passages in which mention is made of the tents of Israel. The sacred story frequently refers to Israel as rebellious and murmuring in their tents against Yahweh and their rulers. In general the references occur in the narrative of the exodus, which, as we have pointed out, of itself connects these motives with the *haggim*.[5] The later tradition

[1] II *Kings* XIII. 4–5. The Passover was always to the Hebrew suggestive of the saviour and the Messiah.

[2] I *Chron.* V. 10.

[3] See Driver on *Deut.* XVI. 7.

[4] I *Kings* VIII. 33, 37, 46. Greek and Roman practice was the same.

[5] The *hag* was properly a fast; hence, although the Hebrew fast was shorter and therefore less severe, it is of interest to compare Burton's account (I, 109 *sq.*) of the fast of Ramadan at Cairo: "Like the Italian and Greek fasts, the chief effect of the 'blessed month' upon true believers is to darken their tempers into positive gloom. Their voices, never of the softest, acquire, especially after noon, a terribly harsh and creaking tone. The men curse one another and beat the women. The women slap and abuse the children, and these in their turn cruelly entreat and use harsh language to dogs and cats. You can scarcely spend ten minutes in any populous part of the city without hearing some violent dis-

brought the typical incident, localized at Meribah, into relation with the Feast of Tabernacles;[1] but the association with the tents is far more ancient. "And ye murmured in your tents," says *Deuteronomy*,[2] "and said, Because Yahweh hated us, he hath brought us forth out of the land of Egypt;" and in the *Psalms*[3] we read that they "murmured in their tents, and harkened not unto the voice of Yahweh." Such thoughts belong naturally to the *hag*, which was of old a fast and fell on the day of God's displeasure, when Yahweh's departure was the signal for the exodus of Israel;[4] for, as *Deuteronomy*[5] quaintly says, Yahweh "went before you in the way, to seek out a place to pitch your tent in." It is at the fast of the *hag* that Israel rebels and tempts God, and God in turn tempts the people and departs in anger. Hence one readily comprehends how the exhortation "To your tents, O Israel" could become the call to rebellion.[6] Consideration of this fact may yield a suggestion as to the scheme of days. When Rehoboam went to Shechem, whither all Israel had gathered to make him king and petition him to lighten their burdens, he bade them depart and return the third day for his reply.[7] At the appointed time Jeroboam and all the people returned; but receiving a harsh answer, instead of making him king they rebelled, crying, "To your tents, O Israel." These details are not accidental; for, as we pointed out above,[8] Saul was anointed king on the third day of a triduum, the

pute. The 'Karakun,' or station-houses, are filled with lords who have administered an undue dose of chastisement to their ladies, and with ladies who have scratched, bitten, or otherwise injured the bodies of their lords. The Mosques are crowded with a sulky, grumbling population, making themselves offensive to one another on earth, whilst working their way to heaven." Doughty speaks in the same strain, though less at length.

[1] Of this more below.

[2] I. 27.

[3] CVI. 25.

[4] Again *Josh.* XXII is extremely suggestive. The trans-Jordanic tribes, celebrating their passover, are understood as rebelling and departing from Yahweh.

[5] I. 33; IX. 3 ("Yahweh thy God is he who goeth over [*'ōbēr*] before thee as a devouring fire") seems directly to characterize Yahweh as the Passover-god.

[6] I *Kings* XII. 16; II *Chron.* X. 16; cf. II *Sam.* XX. 1.

[7] I *Kings* XII; II *Chron.* X.

[8] P. 74 *sq.* In view of the evidence elsewhere adduced that the ancient term of six days was regarded as a repeated triduum, it may be significant that tradition (quite possibly supported by the practice of later times in the royal palace) represented Solomon's throne as resting on a base approached by six steps each supporting two flanking lions (I *Kings* X. 19–20; II *Chron.* IX. 18–19). When the third (high) day came to be associated with the Sabbath, it was natural that the kingdom was associated with the seventh day. In the

second day of which had been appointed for a sacrifice on a high-place followed by a repast, quite possibly a passover, to be shared by those who were bidden. In the account of the proposed anointing of Rehoboam there is no mention of a sacrifice or a repast, and it is not said that they went to their tents on the first day; but in view of the circumstances all these acts are more or less probable. As the people departed and returned on the third day, they cannot have gone to their homes; booths there must have been to shelter them. The "kingdom" is thus once more brought into relation with the third day. Later Judaism connected it by preference with the Sabbath, while early Christians, wavering between the observance of the Sabbath and the Lord's day, referred the topic either to the seventh or the eighth day. Mention was made above[1] of the passage in which Tertullian, obviously following Jewish authorities, associated the resurrection, the rest, and the kingdom with the hebdomad; in the same spirit *Jubilees*[2] says, "Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day . . . a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days forever;" and on the Day of Atonement, which a late stratum of the Priestly code represents as a Sabbath, the ritual response to the confession of the high priest was, according to the Talmud,[3] "Blessed is the name of His kingdom's glory forever." Since, as will later be shown, the Sabbath was anciently the *'azeret*, or post-festal day, and only in post-exilic times lost that character to the eighth day, one is not surprised at finding among Christian writers, who adopted the eighth as the Lord's day and Hilaria, the glory of the kingdom coupled with the ogdoad.[4] Analogy clearly

Secrets of Enoch, the seer beholds God seated on his throne in the seventh heaven; in the sixth, bright angels are seen singing at his footstool (XIX. 1 *sq.*). It seems clear that God was here thought to be enthroned in the seventh heaven; but in an extravagant effort to exalt his majesty the throne is raised to the tenth, the (seventh?) eighth and ninth being left vacant.

[1] P. 31.

[2] L. 9. Cf. Joash, made King on a Sabbath in the seventh year, II *Kings* XI.

[3] *Yomah,* Chap. IV. A logion of Jesus, found in 1904, says: "Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest." That these ideas are based on a ritual scheme must be evident.

[4] E. g., Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 16, p. 815 P.), who refers to a text of *Ps.* XC. 10 somewhat like LXX, but interprets δυνασταία as βασιλεία. The older Hebrew scheme connected the joy or jubilation with the Sabbath and with the Jubile year, which was either the seventh Sabbath of years or the following 50th. For the connection of the kingdom with joy (χαρά), cf. *Matt.* XIII. 44; for the Lord's day as Hilaria, see *Epist. of Barn.* XV. 8–9.

suggests that the third day of anointing the king, of rest, of rebellion, when the people betook themselves to their tents, was properly a post-festal day or an *'azeret,* which might however mark the beginning of a new departure or *hag.*[1] That this was anciently true of the Sabbath will presently become clear.

An interesting confirmation of this scheme occurs in the earlier part of *Deuteronomy,*[2] where Moses relates the story of Israel's journey from Horeb to the land of Arabah, and speaking to the trans-Jordanic tribes repeats the directions given on the mount: "And I commanded you at that time, saying, Yahweh your God hath given you this land to possess it: ye shall pass over armed before your brethren the children of Israel, all the men of valor. But your wives and little ones . . . shall abide in your cities[3] which I have given you, until Yahweh give rest unto your brethren . . . then shall ye return every man to his possessions, which I have given you." It is plain that this cannot represent what the trans-Jordanic tribes did at the entrance of Israel into Canaan; for it is unthinkable that a tribe, having just completed the conquest of a territory, should depart leaving behind wives, children, and possessions, while assisting other tribes to win their destined abodes. It is certain, on the contrary, that the sacred story reflects the practice of a passover-rite and the truce of God preceding and during a festival celebrated at the fords of the Jordan. But the passover is obviously twofold: the cis-Jordanic tribes pass over and find rest; then the trans-Jordanic people pass over and return to their possessions. The rest following the passover is a Sabbath of rest,[4] though hardly such as was observed by later Judaism; for it seems to mark the beginning of a second passover. The same scheme is repeated in *Joshua,*[5] where the successor of Moses says to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the divided tribe of Manasseh, "And now Yahweh your God hath given

[1] Compare the interesting and important words of Philo in *De septen.* clvii. II, p. 293 M., where he speaks of the first and seventh days of Mazzot as being days of transition, standing in the twofold relation of end of the preceding and of beginning of the succeeding terms. This, as will be shown later, was characteristic of the Sabbath in the older view, having no relation to the cyclical hebdomadal week, in which the seventh day was necessarily the last day and could not possibly be at the same time the first of the succeeding week.

[2] III. 18 *sq.*

[3] Presumably having regard to the command (*Exod.* XXIII. 17; *Deut.* XVI. 16) requiring the males only to appear before Yahweh.

[4] So *Heb.* IV. 8 *sq.* clearly understood it; cf. *Levit.* XXV. 1

[5] XXII. 4 *sq.*; cf. IV. 11.

rest unto your brethren . . . therefore now turn ye, and get you unto your tents, unto the land of your possessions. . . . So Joshua blessed them, and sent them away; and they went unto their tents." [1] The Sabbath of rest immediately follows the passover, as *Deuteronomy* [2] and later Judaism [3] derived the observance of the Sabbath from the deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt.

The reader who has followed the foregoing discussion, intricate and bewildering though it may seem, will comprehend that the direction of *Deuteronomy* that the Israelites shall turn and go to their tents on the morning after Pesah may well be taken to mean that one passover has been completed and another is beginning. Whether this Torah comes unchanged from the "book of the covenant" one may perhaps question, because we should expect the latter to appoint not the morning, but the morrow, after Pesah for the Sabbath of rest, which should form the prelude to the new *hag,* if there was to be one. That *Deuteronomy* regarded Pesah as falling on a sixth day, succeeded by a Sabbath-*'azeret,* we may be quite sure. In later strata of the Priestly code, Mazzot occupies the place of honor as being the real Passover commemorative of the exodus. Hence Israel is represented as setting forth from Rameses on the morrow after Pesah and encamping at Succoth, which marks the first stage of the *hag.*[4] At Succoth, whose name is identical with that of the booths

[1] Here going to their tents clearly includes the passage over the Jordan, a passover.

[2] v. 15.

[3] E. g., Philo *De septen.,* lxv *sq.,* p. 283 M.; lxxxiv, p. 286 M. For the relation of the Sabbath to the term of six days in creation and the term of six years of servitude, and the Sabbath of the land, see above, p. 44 *sq.* The return of the ark of Jerusalem (a *hag,* cf. I *Kings* VIII. 2; II *Chron.* v. 3) in the time of David is interesting (II *Sam.* VI. 1 *sq.*). It is effected in two stages separated by an interval of three months. Of the second it is said (VI. 13) that when they that bare the ark had gone six paces (stations?) David sacrificed an ox and a fatling and danced before Yahweh girded with a linen ephod, as the Israelite girded himself at Passover (see above, p. 93 *sq.*). Michal, his bride, seeing him, despises him in her heart. The character of the occasion as a *hag* is more strongly marked in *Chronicles,* but the scheme has disappeared. The sacrifice and dance at the sixth station are not mentioned either in *Chronicles* or in II *Sam.* VI. 13 LXX; the latter mentions seven bands (ἑπτὰ χοροί) bearing the ark, and I *Chron.* XV. 26 mentions a sacrifice of seven bullocks and seven rams—a characteristic later substitution of seven for six. The same has happened in the account of the taking of Jericho, likewise reflecting a passover-*hag,* in *Josh.* VI. If the *hag* in the preëxilic period consisted chiefly, from the ritual point of view, of the translation of the ark and the sacrifice, the six paces, or stages, are of the utmost importance as showing the form of the rite.

[4] *Num.* XXXIII. 3; cf. *Exod.* XII. 37.

of the pilgrimage-festival, the law of Pesah was given; there also the Israelites first baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt.[1] One cannot doubt that all this is said from the point of view which regarded Mazzot as the real *hag* of the exodus and as beginning on the day following Pesah, when, as we read in *Deuteronomy,* the Israelites were bidden to turn and go unto their tents. The fact that this is set not on the morning but on the morrow after Pesah, the 15th Nisan, shows that Pesah had definitely been assigned to the 14th Nisan. The Torah of *Deuteronomy,* however, represents an earlier phase of ritual prescription.

Without presuming to decide the question of priority as between the Code of Holiness and *Ezekiel,* we may well ignore the former in our discussion of Passover, because its directions are quite certainly due to a Priestly redactor. Of *Ezekiel,*[2] however, we are bound to take account, because of its importance for Hebrew ritual. *Ezekiel's* position as a representative of the exilic period would give special significance to its directions for the observance of the festivals, if we could with certainty determine their genuineness. The Rabbis, being long unable to reconcile its prescriptions with the practice formulated in the Priestly code, were for excluding it from the canon. That it was finally admitted it owed to the favor of vigorous interpretation, and possibly to revision at points of special importance. At one point the Masoretic text and the Septuagint show a marked difference.

According to the received text, *Ezekiel*[3] directs: "In the first month, in the 14th day of the month, ye shall have Pesah, a *hag* of seven days; unleavened bread shall be eaten. And upon that day shall the prince prepare for himself and for all the people of the land a bullock for a sin-offering. And the seven days of the *hag* he shall prepare a burnt-offering to Yahweh, seven bullocks and seven rams without blemish daily the seven days; and a he-goat daily for a sin-offering. And he shall prepare a meal offering, an ephah for a bullock, and an ephah for a ram, and a hin of oil to an ephah. In the seventh month, in the 15th day of the month, in the *hag,* shall he do the like the seven days; according to the sin-offering, according to the meal

[1] *Exod.* XII. 39–49. Etheria, *Pilgrim.,* Chap. VII: *"Socchoth . . . hic est locus, ubi accepta est lex paschæ."*

[2] It is here assumed that the traditional date of *Ezekiel* is correct. If, as some believe, it is a pseudepigraphon of the third century, its data regarding the festivals become difficult to account for.

[3] XLV. 21–25.

offering, and according to the oil." It will be acknowledged that this prescription is very puzzling. Herrmann regards it as certainly genuine; Steuernagel pronounces it secondary and due to a redactor; Arnold [1] holds that the word "Pesah" is interpolated. Into this difficult question we cannot go in detail; but it is important for our purposes to direct attention to several points. Apart from the daily burnt-offering of seven bullocks and seven rams, which seems to find its analogue only in relatively late times,[2] there is a twofold provision for a sin-offering: one (a bullock) is appointed for the first day of the *hag,* the 14th; another (a he-goat) is required daily for the seven days. If the 14th is reckoned as one of the seven days, there is here a duplication not altogether easy to explain; [3] furthermore, if we take the view that the 14th Nisan is included in the seven days, we have a marked departure from the scheme of the Priestly code, unless one is to reckon from sunset to sunset, and hence really to begin with the 15th Nisan; which, in the absence of the required time-references, is scarcely permissible. Furthermore, the precise parallel with the *hag* of the seventh month in other respects would lead one to expect that the *hag* of the first month also would begin on the 15th, which is always the *mo'ed* of Mazzot. If, then, Arnold be right in declaring the word "Pesah" an interpolation, we should be clearly forced to regard "the 14th day" also as due to interpolation or revision.[4] We should have expected the 15th to be here mentioned; and that we might well do so is further suggested by the words of the prophet: "It came to pass also in the twelfth year, in the 15th day of the <first [5]> month, that the word of Yahweh came unto me, saying, Son of man, wail for the multitude of Egypt . . . They shall fall in the midst of them that are slain by the sword: she is delivered to the sword." This reference to Egypt clearly alludes to Passover-night, when the first-born were slain at the exodus; that the prophetic message is dated on the 15th Nisan is significant, for it implies that this was the time of Passover. But since the slaying of the first-born of Egypt is associated throughout the tradition with

[1] *Jour. Bibl. Lit.,* XXXI, 10.

[2] *Num.* XXIII. 29 (redactorial), XXIX. 32; I *Chron.* XV. 26; II *Chron.* XXIX. 21; *Job* XLII. 8.

[3] See below, p. 152, n. 10.

[4] Morgenstern ("The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *The Hebrew Union College Annual,* I [1924], 61 *sq.*) regards the entire specification of date for Passover and Sukkot as bungling additions of late (Priestly) origin.

[5] Omitted in the Heb. text (XXXII. 17), but given by LXX. There can be no doubt that the first month is intended.

Pesah, it seems to follow that Pesah, and not Mazzot, was dated on the 15th. If this inference is valid, the reference of Pesah to the 14th must be regarded as due to the redactor; and one may then reject as of like origin all that relates to Mazzot in the text of *Ezekiel*. The ritual directions for the *hag* of the seventh month necessarily go with those for Mazzot.

What remains, then, is the appointment of pilgrimage festivals on the 15th of the first and seventh months. This date, quite different from that of *Deuteronomy,* calls for explanation. We shall have to deal with the problem of this change in the sacral calendar at length in a subsequent chapter, and must refer the reader to that discussion for the larger questions raised by this innovation; but it is proper here to anticipate a point which relates to the ritual scheme implied in the dates of the *haggim*. This datum is certainly to be connected with another likewise given by *Ezekiel,* which dates New Year's day on the 10th of the first month, implying a calendar of very different character from that which appears in the earlier documents. What especially interests us is the fact that the *hag* thus falls on a sixth day, with which the provision for a sin-offering well accords. If Passover is, as it seems always to have been, a New Year's day, we have two such days separated by an interval of five days, as in several other calendars of the ancient world. This arrangement, we shall later suggest, is due to the five epagomenal days; but it accords well with the festival-term of six days seen in *Deuteronomy,* since this commonly goes with the epact.

Whether *Ezekiel* really appointed a *hag* of seven days when unleavened bread should be eaten cannot be determined with certainty. What stands out clearly is the relation of the ritual to the *mo'adim,* both sixth days, with which, as we shall later point out, the sin-offering and the unleavened bread are especially connected. The text seems to suggest that the prescription of seven days is a later addition; but this question may well be left to others.

When one approaches the Priestly code, the problems multiply and become more complicated. Ezra no doubt brought a code with him on his return to Jerusalem; but how much of what we conveniently call the Priestly code belongs to "the book of the law of Moses" from which he read there, and how much is due to later accretions, it is perhaps impossible to say. As regards the celebration of Passover, we have two data by which we might hope in a measure

to check the statements of the *Hexateuch*. The *Book of Ezra*[1] relates that "the children of the captivity kept Pesah on the 14th day of the first month . . . and kept the *hag* of Mazzot seven days with joy;" but obviously even this account was exposed to the possibility of revision. No such suspicion attaches to the papyrus found at Elephantine in Egypt. It is the letter of one Hananiah and is dated in the fifth year of Darius (II), i. e., in 419 B.C. It directs:[2] "Now ye thus shall count fourteen . . . and from the 15th day unto the 21st day [of Nisan] . . . be ye clean and guard yourselves. Work ye shall not [do] . . . ye shall not drink, and all which is leavened ye shall not [eat] . . . from the going down of the sun unto the 21st day of Nisan . . . take unto your rooms and seal between the days of . . ."

The striking fact connected with the Passover prescribed by the papyrus of Elephantine is that it makes no mention whatever of Pesah, and gives directions solely for Mazzot to be observed seven days, reckoned from sunset of the 14th to sunset of the 21st Nisan; in other words, the festival covers the seven sacral days from the 15th to the 21st Nisan, and the 14th is mentioned solely as the calendar-day. Clearly this order leaves no room for a separate observance of Pesah, and the measurements show that the lacuna cannot have given directions for it. Before the festival the Jews are bidden to make themselves ceremonially clean and to be fully ready, which of course implies that a part at least of the 14th Nisan was treated as an *'ereb* of the festival. A season of rest is enjoined, but the details of the prescription are lost in a lacuna. Furthermore, some (clearly, fermented) beverage, at other times permitted, is forbidden: no doubt because to drink it would violate the command to

[1] VI. 19, 22.

[2] The translation is that of G. A. Barton (*Archæology and the Bible*, p. 390). Professor Barton kindly gave me a minute estimate of the possible length of the lacunæ, where they can be measured, and referred me to the critical discussions of the papyrus by W. R. Arnold (*Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXI, 1–33) and H. J. Elhorst (*ibid.*, 147–149). The former likewise (p. 4) offers a translation, which does not materially differ from Barton's. Professor Arnold's article is admirable, though I am not able to accept all his conclusions. One point of difference concerns the prohibition ". . . ye shall not drink," which Arnold, following a suggestion of Professor G. F. Moore, takes as prohibiting the use of Egyptian beer, while I, for reasons that will be given below (p. 137, n. 2), incline to the view that wine is meant. As both wine and beer are fermented, the prohibition might relate to either, so far as it concerns the exclusion of all that is leavened.

abstain from all that is leavened. This prohibition indicates that the solemnity was recognized as a fast; especially would this be emphasized if the forbidden beverage was wine.

Now this is a most startling revelation; for it can hardly be questioned that the letter of Hananiah to the Jews of Elephantine truly represents the practice at Jerusalem about 420 B.C. If that be true, it follows first of all that at that time neither the Deuteronomic Torah nor the practice reported in *Ezra* was observed. The former throws all the emphasis on the sacrifice of the paschal victim and the repast in the temple and presumably omits Mazzot; while the latter represents the celebration of Pesah as followed by Mazzot, and obviously regards the occasion not as a fast but as a joyful festival. The disagreement with *Ezra* is not surprising; for it is now generally held that the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah were edited and revised at a much later time. We may therefore disregard the latter at present; but it calls for remark that the Deuteronomic order is entirely ignored, though at a later time Pesah was actually celebrated in the temple, as we may gather from *Jubilees*.[1] We have here a mass of contradictory evidence which it is perhaps impossible to disentangle.

Let us now turn to the Priestly code itself, and examine its directions for Passover in conjunction with its account of the exodus. As we might expect, it bears all the marks of being conflate in both matters. We shall make no attempt to correlate all the redactorial elements which were in course of time introduced into the text of older documents, though considerations of completeness would require that this be done.

The directions for Passover are given in connection with the fifth[2] plague of the Priestly code, the slaying of the first-born of Egypt. This fact is possibly significant, because the day is the 14th of the first month, which is the fifth reckoned from that on which the paschal victim is to be selected, the 10th of the first month. The month is appointed as the beginning of months—the beginning of the year. It is not improbable that originally it was stated, as in *Ezekiel*,

[1] *Jubilees* XLIX. 15–20 directs that the Passover shall be eaten in the court of the temple; the *Mishnah* permitted it anywhere within the limits of Jerusalem. See Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 257. Philo *De septen.* cxlv–cxlix, p. 292 M., like the Gospels, represents it as having been eaten commensally in the several houses. Here *Jubilees* may indeed merely display, as it frequently does, a preference for the older order.

[2] The critics tell us that it was the fifth plague in E also; but in J it is the seventh. If the critics are right, it is interesting, as Pesah was in quite late times reckoned a Sabbath.

that the 10th was New Year's day; for, as we have seen, the Septuagint has omitted the statement in *Ezekiel,* and there was reason for obscuring or deleting the reference to the New Year here also. But elsewhere [1] the indication of the turn of the year is certain, though somewhat obscured by the received rendering: "Now the time that the children of Israel dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the self-same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of Yahweh went out from the land of Egypt. It is a watch-night unto Yahweh for bringing them out of the land of Egypt: this same night is a watch-night unto Yahweh for all the children of Israel throughout all their generations." That this is a watch-night on New Year's eve must be clear to every thoughtful reader. It is obviously set on the fifth day of the year, which may be assumed to be the end of the epact. In the gospels likewise there is unmistakable evidence of a vigil or watch-night observed after the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday. If one asks at what hour this vigil began and ended, there is no evidence available in the Priestly code, but from the gospels one may infer that it extended from midnight to cockcrow.[2] According to the analysis of the critics, the references to midnight in regard to Passover belong to the Judean document. However that may be, there is a conflict between the time-references and other directions of the Priestly code which testifies to the difficulties which the priests had in harmonizing the whole. Obviously the direction which appointed a watch-night after Pesah, requiring that the paschal victim be sacrificed on the 14th day, eaten that night in the home, and the remnants burned before the morning, belongs with the other data regarding Pesah proper, such as the statement that Yahweh would pass through Egypt in that night and smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, while noting the blood on the doors and passing over or sparing Israel. For this Torah midnight or morning is the division between days; the Torah which bids Israel sacrifice the Passover between the two evenings [3] logically goes with the directions for Mazzot, for which

[1] *Exod.* XII. 40–42.

[2] See below, p. 138 *sq.*

[3] E. g., *Exod.* XII. 6, etc. We need not concern ourselves with the later Jewish interpretations cited by Gesenius and the commentators. The important thing to note is that the expression certainly denotes the epoch from which the sacred day is reckoned. I should regard *zoharayim* ("midday") as a similar dual. In Greek we have *μέσαι νύκτες* and *μέσον νυκτῶν* for midnight. Midnight and midday were alike *hora sexta, hora nouissima* to the ancients, and so (like the close of the sixth month in the Babylonian and Jewish

sunset on the calendar-day of the 14th marks the beginning of the sacral day of the 15th, the *mo'ed* of the festival. Yet this was precisely the hour appointed by *Deuteronomy* for Pesah and the exodus, as the Priestly code says [1] "ye shall observe the Mazzot; for in this selfsame day have I brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt." The adjustment effected, as we have already remarked, resulted in the relegation of Pesah proper to the 14th and of Mazzot to the 15th Nisan, regarding the festivals as distinct and successive, separated by a somewhat vague *période de marge,* during which no man might safely leave his dwelling because the evil spirits were abroad; for at the dividing points of time, whether midnight, midday, or the end of the year, the world parts asunder and the spirits are free to range abroad. This will appear more clearly as we proceed.

The Priestly code embodies all the more important directions [2] regarding the Passover contained in the earlier documents. The Passover is to be eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; and the communicants shall partake of it with loins girded, with shoes on their feet, and staff in hand, in haste or trepidation. As for these provisions, apparently so singular, it is not possible to explain their origin; but their associations are in general fairly clear. That unleavened bread, as the bread of affliction,[3] is proper to a fast is obvious; as hasty bread it goes well with the hasty departure and flight of the hijra or exodus; of other ritual uses and associations we shall presently have to speak more at length. The eating of herbs, also, especially bitter herbs, just as certainly characterizes the rite to which it belongs as properly a fast.[4] We pointed out above the con-

calendars) proper epochs for reckoning time. Cf. the Ambrosian hymn *Ad sextam: "Iam sexta sensim soluitur Ter binis hora cursibus* [an expression due to the Babylonian double hours], *Diesque puncto æquabili Utramque noctem respicit."* For an illuminating and convincing discussion, see Kurt Sethe, "Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ægypter im Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker," *Götting. Nachr., phil.-hist. Kl.,* 1920, *Heft* 2, pp. 114, 124 *sq.* It may be significant also that Islam appoints two prayers at midday.

[1] *Exod.* XII. 17.

[2] *Exod.* XII. 3 *sq.*

[3] Cf. I *Kings* XXII. 27 (= II *Chron.* XVIII. 26). *Zech.* X. 11 suggests the passage of the Red Sea. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 15 [317]) regards the eating of unleavened bread as a reminder of want during the exodus.

[4] Here IV *Ezræ* IX. 23–25 is interesting: "But if thou wilt separate thyself yet seven days more—thou shalt not, however, fast in them, but shalt . . . eat only of the fruit of the field: and thou shalt taste no flesh and drink no wine, but eat only the fruit." Box *ad loc.* asks whether this is regarded as a substitute for fasting proper, as a form of half-fasting. This may be right, since vegetarianism in ancient times (cf. Porphyry *De abstinentia*) was

nection of girt loins with fasting; but one girded oneself also for a journey. The practice of wearing shoes (hardly consistent with a Passover eaten in the temple proper [1]) and having staff in hand may have no other significance than marking the communicant as a pilgrim or passenger (Hebrew?). In later times Passover was connected with the barley-harvest, the first-fruits of which were offered on 'Omer-day, while the first sheaf of the wheat-harvest was offered at Pentecost. *Exodus* [2] mentions the fact that when the plague of hail was sent, "the flax and the barley were smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was in bloom. But the wheat and the spelt were not smitten; for they were not grown up." As for the directions regarding the removal of leaven, it cannot well be doubted that Dr. Morgenstern [3] is right in connecting it with the practice of an agricultural festival, in which the leaven, as containing a remnant of the old crop, was to be destroyed before the new grain was enjoyed. Thus the prescriptions as well as the sacred story reflect the festival practice. If little light thus falls specifically on the practice of eating the paschal lamb, we have no reason to be surprised. It was a rite of such antiquity among the Hebrews and its meaning to them was so obscure that its associations with their life in historical times were solely with the turn of the year. Hence, while the ritual place of Mazzot was constant, that of Pesah was shifting.

The Priestly code is notoriously characterized by the abundance and particularity of its time-references. That they are significant is unquestionable, though scholars appear to have regarded them chiefly as a curiosity. We have had occasion several times to point out differences between the literary strata of the Biblical text, and also to suggest that specifications once contained in the record were either omitted or changed. It seems certain that such revision was far more extensive than is commonly suspected. Nevertheless, despite the importance of these matters for Judaism, which was preëminently

clearly a kind of fasting; but one must bear in mind that all the ancient fasts of Israel, though in general preserving the old observances, were later regarded as joyful festivals.

[1] There, as on holy ground, the shoes would be removed; but when Passover was directed to be eaten in the temple, the court was probably meant.

[2] IX. 31–32. Is this P?

[3] "The Origin of *Massoth* . . . ," *Am. Jour. of Theol.*, XXI (1917). 1 *Cor.* v. 6–8 shows that the leaven belongs to the old crop, though it receives a new interpretation. Removing the old leaven is synonymous with driving out the evil (as in the Pharmakos-rites), which was commonly believed to be concentrated in the last days of the year or cycle.

ritualistic, complete harmony in the record was not attained. This was presumably due to the absence of an authoritative and consistent effort at revision, and to the existence in Judaism of different schools. As regards Passover, we need not enter into much more detail; but it is important to emphasize the difference in respect to the days of Pesah and Mazzot.

As has been said, the older Torah appointed Mazzot for the seven days 15th to 21st Nisan, reckoned from sunset to sunset.[1] Its beginning thus coincided with that of Pesah, and consequently from ancient times the Passover was appointed to be eaten with unleavened bread, which has all its specific associations with sixth-day fasts. But we have already remarked that the *hag* of the exodus, which in later times was Mazzot, was dated either on the morning or on the morrow after Pesah. Since Mazzot in the Priestly code is certainly referred to the 15th Nisan, the morrow after Pesah, the latter observance had to be dated definitely on the 14th. The older data make their *mo'adim* coincide; but later sources give a different scheme. Here Pesah is dated on the 14th in sharp and obvious distinction from Mazzot, which is dated on the 15th Nisan.[2] Then the rites of Mazzot are said to begin in the morning, quite certainly with an offering of unleavened bread to Yahweh. This rite, not referred to in the Scriptures, though we might have guessed it, is mentioned by the so-called *Biblical Antiquities of Philo*.[3]

It should not be overlooked that another influence was at work tending to shift the limits of the days. The Talmud speaks of the

[1] *Exod.* xii. 18–19; and particularly the letter of Hananiah, above, p. 123. Cf. the direction for the Day of Atonement, *Lev.* xxiii. 32. Especially significant is *Exod.* xvi. 1, where the quail-Passover, which will presently be shown to duplicate Pesah and Mazzot, is dated the 15th of the second month. *Jubilees* likewise (cf. below, p. 132), which generally retains the older order, dates the Passover supper on the 15th.

[2] *Num.* xxxiii. 3; xxviii. 16–17; *Levit.* xxiii. 5; II *Chron.* xxx. 15, 21; xxxv. 1, 17; *Ezra* vi. 19, 22; Philo *De septen.* cxlix (where Pesah is referred to the 14th, ἥτις ἐκ δυοῖν ἑβδομάδων συνέστηκεν, and is clearly regarded as a Sabbath) and cl, pp. 292–3 M.; Josephus *Ant.* iii. 10. 5.

[3] xiii. 4–5: "Ye shall sanctify me . . . at the Feast of the Unleavened Bread, and *set bread before me*, keeping a feast of remembrance because on that day ye came forth out of the land of Egypt. And in the Feast of Weeks ye shall set bread before me and make me an offering for your fruits." It will be shown below that the pot of manna and the shewbread are analogous offerings. In Josephus *Ant.* xvii. 9. 3, ἐνστάσης δὲ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ Ἰουδαίοις ἄζυμα προτίθεσθαι πάτριον, the meaning is ambiguous, since προτίθεσθαι may apply to food to be eaten by the Jews as well as to an oblation to be set before Yahweh.

practice of adding from the profane to the holy, or beginning an observance before the stated time in order to insure that the Torah is fully kept. Thus the Talmud [1] directs that all the leaven shall be removed by the sixth hour on the 14th Nisan; and Philo [2] says that the Jews sacrifice the paschal victims "beginning at noon until evening." Yet among the Rabbis the *mo'ed* was of such importance that the principle was laid down by R. Zera in the name of R. Nahman that in every case of doubt about the holy day one must postdate, but never antedate; [3] in other words, if two days are to be observed, one should begin on the calendar-day of the *mo'ed* and continue on the next, as was the practice in keeping the second days of the festivals.

We must now turn our attention to the beginning of the exodus and the itinerary of its first stages. As given in *Numbers,*[4] it is clearly a very artificial construct, giving forty stages in all, as the journey is represented as lasting forty years, though the sojourns are not timed accordingly. Israel, as we have already seen, journeyed from Rameses to Succoth on the 15th, encamping there; the second stage is from there to Etham; and in the third stage the Israelites turn back to Pi-hahiroth, which is before Baal-zephon, encamping before Migdol by the sea. Of the obvious significance attached to Succoth, as the booths of the *hag,* we have already spoken.[5] Critics are not agreed about the documents from which these details are derived, though most of these are referred to the Priestly code. That there are three stages is at least suggestive in view of the prayer addressed to Pharaoh to permit Israel to go three days' journey into the wilderness to hold a *hag* to Yahweh; and Josephus [6] remarks that the Israelites arrived at Baal-zephon on the third day. If that were true, one triduan *hag* would have been accomplished; and *Exodus* [7] reports that they went three days in the wilderness of Shur after crossing the Red Sea and came to Marah. But this scheme did not satisfy later Judaism, as we shall presently see; and the Biblical text gave occasion or opportunity for elaboration, unless indeed the confusion in the record is due to an attempt to eliminate difficulties pre-

[1] *Pesah.,* Chap. I.
[2] *De septen.* cxlv, p. 292 M.
[3] *Rosh ha-Shanah,* p. 37 Rodkinson.
[4] xxxiii. 3 *sq.*; cf. *Exod.* xii. 37; xiii. 20; xiv. 1–2, 9; xiv. 15.
[5] P. 120.
[6] *Ant.* ii. 15. 1. The Passover-service of the synagogue takes the same view.
[7] xv. 22; *Num.* xxxiii. 8 calls it the wilderness of Etham.

sented by other traditions.[1] After the second stage, Yahweh bids the people turn back, and they go to an encampment defined in a most unusual way by four points—Pi-hahiroth, Baal-zephon, Migdol, and the sea;[2] furthermore Pharaoh regards the Israelites as confused, and perhaps as marching confusedly back and forth.[3] Finally Yahweh bids them go forward,[4] and pass through the sea. Such was certainly the view taken of their movements at the beginning of the Christian era. In all this marching and countermarching, characteristic of the processions of the *hag,* Baal-zephon plays an important rôle.[5] Of this

[1] In that event the case would be similar to that of the revision of the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah.

[2] *Exod.* XIV. 1 *sq.*; cf. *Num.* XXXIII. 7.

[3] *Exod.* XIV. 3 and the Targums.

[4] *Exod.* XIV. 15.

[5] The story of the exodus seems to imply that the Israelites wavered and halted, worshiping Baal-zephon, according to the custom (see below, pp. 180 *sq.* and 183, n. 3) of offering a farewell service to the gods of the land one left. Paul (*Gal.* IV. 8–9) apparently had this in mind. The Rabbis said that at the exodus-Passover, when all other Egyptian gods were destroyed, Baal-zephon alone remained. The hymn for the seventh day of Passover sung in the synagogue says that the Israelites camped "before Baal-zephon, the last of their idols, spared as it were for their own undoing." *Exod.* XIV. 10 (cf. *Josh.* XXIV. 7) says that when the Israelites at Baal-zephon saw Pharaoh pursuing them, they cried out unto Yahweh. Etheria (*Pilgrimage,* Chap. VII) recalls this fact and calls the place "Ioebelsefon." Did her guides, remembering an ancient tradition, tell her that the Israelites cried out Ἰαὼ Βελσεφών, "Yahweh is Baal-zephon"? *Exod.* XII. 12 and *Num.* XXXIII. 4 bring the destruction of the idols into immediate relation with the *hag* of the exodus, Pesah or Mazzot. Putting away or destroying the idols is a common theme of the prophets (*Isa.* II. 18–21; X. 11; XIX. 1; XXXI. 5–7; *Jer.* L. 2; *Ezek.* VI. 6; *Mic.* I. 7; *Zech.* XIII. 2), brought into a definite relation with the "day of Yahweh" or with Passover (see *Isa.* XXXI. 5). In the historical books, Asa (1 *Kings* XV. 12; cf. II *Chron.* XV. 8) and Josiah (II *Kings* XXIII. 24; cf. II Chron. XXXIV. 7) are reported to have put away the idols, and the latter holds a Passover (1 *Kings* XXIII. 21 *sq.*; cf. II *Chron.* XXXV. 1 *sq.*) in connection with his religious house-cleaning. The great overthrow of the worshipers and the destruction of the images or sacred pillars of Baal by Jehu as "a great sacrifice to Baal" was accomplished at an *'aserah* for Baal (II *Kings* X. 18 *sq.*). This must have been a New Year celebration. Cf. *Exod.* XXIII. 24, XXXIV. 13, both parts of the law of the *haggim.* Christian tradition, embodied in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* XXIII, relates that at the Flight into Egypt the idols fell down and were broken upon the advent of Jesus, and cites *Isa.* XIX. 1. This Flight was clearly conceived as a passover. The Greek Church holds that the visit of the Magi fell exactly one year after the birth of Jesus (which of course begins the new era), and that the Flight to Egypt began the following day—the second day of the second year. These facts sufficiently suggest that we are here dealing with a constant motive of the turn of the year; for Judaism expects the utter overthrow of the idols at the end of the world. Nor was this association of ideas confined to the Hebrews. Foucart (*E.R.E.,* III, 101 *b sq.*) shows that the breaking of idols was a custom of Egyptian

god and his relation to Yahweh we shall have to speak later; for the moment we are concerned only to point out that the later Jews and early Christians believed that Israel was at this stage turning back to the gods of Egypt, and presumably holding a *hag* in honor of Baal-zephon. Etheria [1] quaintly says, "I hope that your affection will believe me [when I say that], as far as I could see, the children of Israel marched in such a way that as far as they went to the right, so far did they turn back to the left; as far as they went forward, so far did they return backward, journeying thus until they reached the Red Sea." This, as we cannot doubt, reflects a tradition that the early stages of the exodus belong to a *hag* beginning with the departure from Rameses on the 15th of the first month; and *Jubilees* [2] puts the matter quite beyond question when it says, "Ye celebrated the feast (Mazzot) with haste when ye went forth from Egypt until ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it." *Jubilees* apparently means that Mazzot, which it appoints for seven days, was completed at Marah, which would thus be reached on the seventh day.[3] On this assumption the three days in the wilder-

festivals; and Cosmas of Jerusalem (*P.G.*, XXXVIII. 342 *sq.*) tells of the overthrow of the images of the gods upon the epiphany of Dionysus, which we know occurred at New Year. It is presumably to be connected with the age-old thought that every new era is presided over by a new god. Hence the erection or dedication of new temples on New Year's day. Al-Biruni says that when Feridun renewed the Persian religion on New Year's day he bade the people destroy the temples and *not rebuild them that day,* showing that this would have been regarded as the natural thing. Frazer somewhere refers to an African tribe that thought "a new heaven"—I take it this means a new pantheon—came into existence on New Year's day. Of course, the notion that a new heaven, as well as a new earth, will arise at the beginning of each æon is a common thought. Paul (II *Cor.* VII. 17) says, "Wherefore if any man is in Christ, there is a new creation: the old things are passed away; behold all things [cf. *Rev.* XXI. 5] are become new." The downfall of Dagon (I *Sam.* V. 1–5) is connected with the rite of leaping over his threshold and with the coming of the ark of Yahweh (a *rite de passage*), as the similar downfall of Eli (I *Sam.* IV. 12–18) is connected with the departure of the ark on a terrible day of Yahweh's wrath. The two incidents are obviously connected and regarded as balancing each other. Eli was then understood to be a "god." With the renunciation of the old gods at the Passover one may compare the rite of renouncing Satan in the early Christian rite of initiation by baptism, performed on Easter-day (Duchesne, *Christ. Worship* [3], p. 304), associated with "giving the law," and the stoning of the Great Satan at the Mohammedan hajj.

[1] Chap. VII, 114, tr. McClure and Feltoe. One inevitably thinks of the *sa'y* at Mecca between Safa and Marwa. See above, p. 60, n. 1.

[2] XLIX. 23.

[3] The synagogue-service for Tabernacles in the Hoshanoth obviously takes this view in referring the law of the Sabbath to Marah. This is one more in-

ness of Shur (or Etham) would be the 5th–7th of Mazzot, i. e., the 19th–21st Nisan. *Numbers*[1] clearly implies that the passage of the Red Sea was included in this triduum, and fell on its first day. If that were true, we should have four days' march preceding, leaving one day unaccounted for in the reckoning of *Exodus* and *Numbers*. Whether this should be explained by a shift in scheme from a six-day to an hebdomadal term we cannot say; but we have elsewhere in *Jubilees*[2] a most detailed statement of the ritual pattern of Pesah and Mazzot, which will repay examination. It begins with the 14th Nisan, on which the women of Israel borrowed the finery of the Egyptians for the festival, thus clearly marking the day as a paraseeve or *'ereb*. On that day[3] Mastema, as Satan is regularly called in this treatise, was bound lest he accuse them. The paschal lamb was slain before nightfall on the 14th, and eaten on the night of the 15th (after sunset on the 14th). *Jubilees* commonly attributes to Mastema, as other Jewish writings do to Satan or Beliar (Belial), acts of a certain character which the Torah ascribes to Yahweh. These references are important, especially when they single out particular days on which the evil powers are abroad. Referring to the 15th Nisan, *Jubilees*[4] says: "For on that night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy—ye were eating the Passover in Egypt; when all the powers of Mastema had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt;" and again:[5] "On the 14th day and on the 15th and on the 16th and on the 17th and on the 18th Mastema was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. And on the 19th we let him loose that he might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel." Thus Mastema was at large on the 15th and 19th Nisan, on the former addressing his malign attentions to the Egyptians, on the latter to the Israelites. On the 19th, then, he aided the Egyptians

dication that Judaism regards the seventh day of Passover as the Sabbath *par excellence*. The third day and the seventh (Sabbath) would thus again coincide. Cf. *J. Enc.*, VIII, 318*a*: "The Talmud says that at Marah three laws were added to the seven commands already given to Noah—those regarding the institution of tribunals, Sabbath-observance, and obedience to parents (*Suk.*, 56*b*)." Does the first of these laws refer to *Num.* v. 11 *sq.*, because of the water of bitterness?

[1] XXXIII. 8. *Exod.* XIV. 22–23 is not so clear.

[2] XLVIII–XLIX.

[3] XLIX. 2.

[4] XLIX. 2.

[5] XLVIII. 15–16. See below, p. 426, n. 1.

in pursuing Israel;[1] but this can refer to nothing else than to the time when Israel was passing through the divided sea.[2] To discover the scheme of days underlying this account one has only to remember that *Jubilees* reckons Pesah both from the 10th and the 14th Nisan: it may be represented thus:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
					=				=
				(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

Accordingly (omitting the higher numbers, the values of which, if determined, are not known[3]) the days of Mastema are the second and the sixth,[4] which we have elsewhere found commonly linked together. These days are likewise the most usual *mo'adim*,[5] and their

[1] So also in the *Mechilta* on *Exod.* XIV. 3. See Charles on *Jubilees* XLVIII. 18.

[2] See above, p. 99 *sq.* Al-Biruni (p. 275) reports a Jewish tradition God destroyed Pharaoh on the 21st Nisan, the last day of Unleavened Bread. The dividing of the waters at the passovers of the Red Sea, of the Jabbok, and of the Jordan was brought into relation to the work of the second day of creation (*J. Enc.*, IX, 50 *a*). That this act was associated with the wrath of Yahweh seems clear from *Hab.* III. 8: "Was Yahweh displeased with the rivers, Or thy wrath against the sea, That thou didst ride upon thy horses, Upon thy chariots of salvation?" Cf. *Rev.* VI. For the Passover as a day of Yahweh's wrath, see *Deut.* I. 26; *Isa.* L. 2; *Ps.* CXIV. 3, 5. Of the rite of dividing the waters at Sukkot we shall speak later.

[3] It may be noted, however, that the day of crossing the Red Sea is the tenth, reckoning from the 10th Nisan, and that there were ten plagues in all visited on the Egyptians, a fact on which *Jubilees* XLVIII. 7 insists. On the Day of Atonement the conductor of the scapegoat halted at ten mansions or booths on the way to Beth Hadudo. As the Day of Atonement marked the final salvation of the righteous Israelite, so the passage of the Red Sea might be regarded as the final salvation of Israel. See below, p. 293, n. 3. For the period of ten days see above, p. 102, n. 2 and below, p. 338, n. 3.

[4] The demons are especially connected with the sixth day. *J. Enc.*, X, 589 *b*: "God was about to create bodies for the demons whose souls He had fashioned when the Sabbath came and prevented the execution of the intention (*Gen. R.* VII)." *Ibid.*, 595 *b*: "Another reason for abbreviating the service (on the eve of the Sabbath) was that evil spirits were said to roam about on this evening in greater numbers than on other evenings (cf. Rashi, *Sefer ha-Pardes, Pes.* 112 *b*)." In the Christian world the scheme has changed, and we have the "Witches' Sabbath." In this connection it may be noted that, in keeping with the later Jewish tendency to transfer to the seventh day (Sabbath) what was earlier referred to the sixth, rabbinical tradition dated the crossing of the Red Sea on the seventh and last day of Passover (Mazzot). It, like other festivals, was plainly regarded as a Sabbath. See Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Massoth* and the *Massoth*-Festival . . . ," *Am. Jour. of Theol.*, XXI, 284, n., and Al-Biruni, pp. 275, 328.

[5] For the sixth day it is hardly necessary to give references; for the second

character corresponds to that which the prophets regularly ascribe to the day of Yahweh.[1] In particular they are the days of Yahweh's Passover, when the God of the Hebrews goes forth, passing over Israel unto salvation and over their enemies and oppressors unto destruction.

According to this scheme, which reckons from the calends of Pesah, the 19th is, like the 15th, a sixth day. But, as we have seen, there was another which dated Pesah definitely on the 14th,[2] while continuing to reckon from the 10th, and thus referred that observance to the fifth day. Now in the passage just quoted, the night of the 15th is called the beginning of the festival of Mazzot; and since the festival which was completed at Marah was Mazzot, we must look at the 19th from this point of view likewise. Thus considered, the day of the passage of the sea is the fifth day of the festival; and again we have a complete duplicate of Pesah. We may then be sure that both days are Passovers. *Exodus* clearly shows that this view is not fanciful. At the departure from Egypt on the morrow after Pesah [3] Israel went out with a high hand; so also did it at the crossing of the sea.[4] The salvation of Israel and the deliverance from Egypt are brought into relation both with Pesah and with the passage of the Red Sea;[5] and both are timed as occurring by night.[6] Moreover, as Pesah was

also, abundant examples will be found in the course of this study. One may refer, however, to *Exod.* IX. 5, 6, and to the many instances where an observance is appointed for the morrow. The plagues are regularly so announced.

[1] Of this more below.

[2] One may see the competition of the schemes in many texts. Thus in *Jubilees* XLVIII. 18, one ms. reads "15th" for "14th." It is noteworthy that the 14th plays no rôle in any Passover except Pesah, and there solely in a later stratum of the Priestly code. In Holy Week likewise, it is a question whether Maundy Thursday or Good Friday is to be called Passover-day. We called attention above to the ingenious reckoning by which the epoch of the Hijra was so determined as to give one the choice between Thursday and Friday.

[3] In *Deut.*, as we saw, it was coincident with Pesah.

[4] *Num.* XXXIII. 3; *Exod.* XIV. 8. For the interpretation, cf. *Num.* XV. 30.

[5] *Exod.* XIV. 13, 30; XII. 17, 51.

[6] *Exod.* XI. 4; XII. 29; XIV. 20, 21. By the morning watch (XIV. 24, 27), the passage of the Red Sea is accomplished; compare *Jubilees* XLIX. 10, where the paschal supper is appointed "from the third part of the day to the third part of the night." The Rabbis directed that it be concluded by midnight (*Pesah*, Chap. X.). This is because of *Exod.* XII. 12, with which cf. II *Kings* XIX. 35, *Ps.* XXX. 5 and XLVI. 5. The passage over the Jordan also was evidently effected by night; as crossing Jordan suggested not only death but resurrection, note the time of the Resurrection, *Matt.* XXVIII. 1–13; *Luke* XXIV. 1 *sq.*; *John* XX. 1. For the passover-feast of Jacob for Laban, see above p. 113, n. 4. See below, p. 165 *sq.* Since the time of the Messiah's coming was expected to coincide with that of the Passover, one should compare also *Mark* XIII. 35, *Luke* XIII.

followed by hallel and a vigil, so also was the passage through the sea.[1] The latter passover, however, is expressed not by *pāsah,* but by *'ābar.*

These considerations amply explain how there could be two Passovers following one another in rapid succession, and why, when Mazzot was supposed to begin on the morrow or the morning after Pesah, it could be regarded as a Passover and almost supplant Pesah. But that does not complete the tale; for in later Christian usage Pascha came to be applied even to the morrow after Mazzot, or Easter Sunday, once more duplicating the scheme. It would not be profitable to pursue this matter farther at present: it must suffice to have drawn attention again to the almost mechanical application of the ritual pattern. This process would produce or at least favor the growth of a series of weeks, though it must be evident that such patterns as we have disclosed do not presuppose the cyclical week ending in a Sabbath, but are in fact quite unintelligible if it existed and possessed the sanctity which it is commonly supposed to have had. All the evidence points rather to the conclusion that the cyclical week was of late origin and exerted practically no influence on Hebrew ritual until it reached its very latest phase.

We have seen that later Judaism by preference referred Pesah and Mazzot to successive days, but called both by the name of Passover. This has led to a great deal of discussion in Christendom; for the Passion is always connected with Passover, though in quite different ways. First of all, Jesus was thought of as the paschal lamb

25, and *Matt.* xxv. 12, all connected with the vigil—perhaps originally the watch for the appearance of the new moon.

[1] For the song in the night when a *hag* is hallowed see *Isa.* xxx. 29. For Pesah, see *Mark* xiv. 26, *Matt.* xxvi. 30 and commentaries. For the vigil of Pesah, see *Exod.* xii. 42; *Mark* xiv. 41–42; *Matt.* xxvi. 45–46 (above, p. 101, n. 1; p. 113, n. 4; p. 125). After describing the *débâcle* of the Egyptians overwhelmed in crossing the Red Sea, Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 16. 4) says that the Israelites, "having thus themselves escaped the peril and beheld their enemies punished in a manner unexampled in history, fell to singing hymns and making merry all the night, and Moses composed for the occasion in hexameters a song of praise and thanksgiving to God for his mercy," referring of course to the songs of Moses and Miriam (*Exod.* xv. 1–22), which were certainly composed and used for Passover-hallel. We shall presently see that the other song of Moses is likewise a Passover-hallel. The sequence of hymns later so used had no doubt a similar origin, as did *Ps.* lxxvii, which significantly refers to "the song in the night" and celebrates the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. Cf. also *Ps.* cv. 43 and *Jubilees* xlix. 6. The Hebrew "song in the night" passed from the *hag* to the Sabbath liturgy, and thence into the Christian liturgy for the vigil of the Lord's day; cf. Pliny *Ep.* xcvi. 7.

of God, whose sprinkled blood saved the people; but again the Last Supper, at which the eucharist was instituted, was the paschal supper, and was followed, as we have seen, by hallel and a vigil; furthermore, the broken bread of the eucharist was the unleavened bread of Mazzot, but also the body of Christ broken on the Cross, as the wine was the blood there shed for the redemption of man. Of Good Friday, as the Christian day of atonement, we shall have to speak in a later connection. Now it is plain that with the separation between Pesah and Mazzot, the former referred to the fifth, the latter to the sixth day, there must arise a difficulty in arranging the scheme of Holy Week. Quite naturally the Church, with the Synoptists, assigns the Last Supper and the institution of the eucharist to Maundy Thursday, and the Crucifixion to Good Friday. The Jewish Rabbis, who rate Passover as a Sabbath, agree in regard to the day of the week, but say that Jesus was crucified on the eve of Passover, which fell on a Sabbath.[1] Christian theologians are wont to say that Jesus partook of the paschal supper by anticipation. A knowledge of the various schemes of Passover among the Jews adequately accounts for all these references.

In view of the particularity of the time-references in the synoptic[2] Gospels regarding the events of Holy Week, one might hope to derive much instruction relative to Passover from their narrative. To study it in detail, however, would require a book of considerable size; here we must confine ourselves to a few points. We observed above that the Church has assigned the Last Supper to Maundy Thursday and the Crucifixion to Friday, respectively the fifth and sixth days of the week, following the scheme of later Judaism for Pesah and Mazzot. This is obviously the form presented by the Synoptists: we may therefore hope by the aid of these records to discover the line of demarcation between these two days.

As has been repeatedly said, the sixth day was properly a fast. Good Friday indeed is the great Christian fast of the atonement. The Fathers are wont to quote the text,[3] "But the days will come, when

[1] See *J. Enc.*, VII, 172 *a*. The texts of the principal passages in the Talmud are conveniently printed (with a German translation) in Aufhauser, *Antike Jesus-Zeugnisse* (Bonn, 1913), pp. 38–51.

[2] Reference is here made solely to the synoptic Gospels for the sake of simplifying the problem. Biblical scholars are well aware that an entirely different scheme is presented by the Fourth Gospel, not to speak of at least two other accounts of Holy Week.

[3] *Mark* II. 20.

the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast on that day." That the day of the Crucifixion was actually a fast observed by the disciples is expressly stated by the *Gospel of Peter*.[1] On a fast one did not drink wine; and accordingly at the Crucifixion Jesus refused it[2] and at the Last Supper said,[3] as he took the cup, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it *new* in the kingdom of God." These significant words the early Church regarded as spoken with reference to the eucharist which was taken in communion with the risen Lord at the close of the Sabbath-vigil on the Lord's day *par excellence,* Easter Sunday, the Christian *'azeret* or Hilaria. What Jesus would not do, the disciples certainly could not do; wine was therefore absolutely prohibited (and no eucharist observed) on the intervening day or days. In the early Church, however, the third day of the Lord's Resurrection was differently referred, some identifying it as Holy Sabbath, others as Easter Sunday. The meaning of the phrase "when I drink it *new*" is apparently not now generally understood. It should be clear that it refers to the practice of eating of the new crop and drinking of the new vintage on the *'azeret*

[1] VII: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐνηστεύομεν; cf. *Apost. Const.* v. 19. This cannot be taken as referring to the disciples in particular, as one might at first suppose; for there is no mention anywhere of the disciples observing a season of prayer on that day, as one might have expected; cf. *Col.* IV. 2. On the other hand, Jews of exceptional piety always fasted on Friday, as will be pointed out below (p. 375 *sq.*).

[2] *Mark* XV. 23, *Matt.* XXVII. 34; cf. *Luke* XXIII. 36 and Swete's note on *Gospel of Peter* v. Hence there is no reason to question that the beverage prohibited at Mazzot in the letter of Hananiah to the Jews of Palestine was wine. Philo (*De plantat.* clxii *sq.*, p. 354 M.) says that wine is to be enjoyed not carelessly but with great heed and with due regard to the proper time. Formerly, he adds, it was taken only after prayers and sacrifices had been offered and the Godhead propitiated, when body and soul had been cleansed by ablutions and the streams of the law and right instruction, with faces bright and joyful: often they did not wait until they had arrived at home, but continued in the temple, where they had sacrificed, that they might celebrate their most holy revel, remembering the sacrifices and manifesting their reverence for the place. Philo may here have had the ordinary Sabbath service in mind, but this is not probable; with greater likelihood one may refer his words to the festivals, and *De septen.* cxlvi–cxlviii, p. 292 M., shows that he included Passover. His language shows that before the current disregard of the due season, wine was generally taken only after the sacrifice was ended and the people had gone home. This was on the ἐξόδιον or *'azeret*.

[3] *Mark* XIV. 24–25. The ritual significance of the reference is best brought out by the passage of the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* quoted by Jerome *De uiris inlustr.* ii.

of the *hag*. This practice, familiar in relation to Pentecost, another *'azeret* of Passover, is mentioned in the Septuagint version of *Joshua*[1] in speaking of the morrow about Pesah: "And they ate of the grain of the land [of Canaan] unleavened cakes and new corn." This then refers to 'Omer-day, an *'azeret;* on its duplicate, Pentecost, certain scoffers said[2] of the disciples, who were speaking with tongues, "They are filled with *new* wine." But it will be said that Jews drank wine at the Last Supper, and that the Jews partook of wine at Pesah.[3] If Jesus partook of wine at the Last Supper and refused it at the Crucifixion, it was due to the different rating of these days: the former occasion was referred to Thursday, the latter to Friday. If, as seems clear, Thursday was accounted the first day of the Passion-triduum, this distinction of the first day from the second (sixth) is not difficult to comprehend.

It being thus made evident that the synoptic Gospels refer the Last Supper and the Crucifixion to successive days, it remains to discover, if possible, the line of demarcation between them. Several data regarding the Passover, to which we have already referred, may be supposed to have had a bearing on this question, which was not altogether simple; for there was something to be said for a number of points of time. Thus when the sacred story stated that Yahweh passed through Egypt at midnight and spared the Israelites, that hour might well claim the honor; and, as we have seen, the Rabbis directed that the paschal supper be completed by midnight. Again the Israelites were directed to leave no remnants of the paschal victim until the morning,[4] and were forbidden to go out of their

[1] v. 11.

[2] *Acts* II. 13.

[3] The practice, obviously of late origin, is first mentioned in *Jubilees*, XLIX. 6. See Charles's note *ad loc*. The circumstance that *Jubilees*, which dates Pesah on the night of the 15th, mentions the drinking of wine at this ceremony creates a difficulty; but it may be said that, though *Jubilees* retains the older scheme, it could not be expected to ignore the current practice, which is best explained by the fact that Pesah had been separated from Mazzot and referred to the preceding day (the 5th). We shall later find wine included in the rites of Sukkot likewise, and there again the evidence points to the conclusion that the practice came in at a late date. Whence it was imported we do not know; but Plutarch mentions a libation of wine accompanying a holocaust among Semites. Beer (*Pesachim*, p. 48) suggests that the use of wine at Passover was due to Greek influence. This is quite unlikely. It is more probably due to the influence of the daily libation of wine, recognized in the Priestly code, and to the practice of drinking the *Kiddush* on the Sabbath; for Passover, like the other major festivals, came to be rated as a Sabbath

[4] Josephus (*Ant*. ii. 14. 6) says the remains of the paschal victim were

houses before that hour. These directions naturally suggested some morning-hour as the conclusion of Pesah. We have seen that *Jubilees* fixed the limit at the third part (watch) of the night; and the passage of the Red Sea had been effected by the morning watch. Then Pesah was followed by hallel and a vigil; but the vigil must of course precede the coming of the Bridegroom-Messiah expected at Passover. The Church has applied this thought to the return of the Resurrection, and the hour of the Resurrection observed in the various branches of it might be determined by ascertaining when the Easter-vigil ends. Probably one would find somewhere represented each of the hours mentioned in the saying of Jesus,[1] "Watch therefore: for ye know not when the Lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cockcrowing, or in the morning." But we are not now concerned to follow up the divergences of Christian practice, which might obviously be influenced by other than Jewish conceptions. Of these hours, however, the evening and midnight as the beginning of Pesah are readily explicable from data of the Old Testament. One conception should not be neglected. We have seen that Pesah and Mazzot are connected with New Year; and where they are distinguished and assigned to different days, the former is obviously New Year's eve, the latter New Year's day. At the juncture of time falling between them, spirits are commonly supposed to be abroad; and this was emphasized by *Jubilees* for this very night. Now from ancient to modern times the *danse macabre,* the spirit-hour, has been commonly thought to extend from midnight to cockcrow, the latter being the signal for the departure of the uncanny hosts.[2] As Philostratus in the *Life of Apollonius*[3] reports that the ghost of Achilles disappeared in a flash of lightning when the cocks began to crow, so the Talmud[4] says, "We have learned in a Baraita according

burnt because the Israelites were about to depart (ὡς ἐξελευσόμενοι), showing that he regarded the *hag* of the exodus (Mazzot) as beginning at or after the morning hour. The Rabbis seem to have been perplexed (or were the priests themselves so much at a loss?) regarding such practices. The Talmud (*Pesah.,* Chap. IX) says: "Every day the altar was cleansed of ashes about cockcrow; on the Day of Atonement just after midnight; and on other holidays after the first watch of the night."

[1] *Mark* XIII. 35.

[2] Is not that the meaning of the amusing scene in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1380 *sq.,* where Dionysus calls a halt to the dispute between the ghosts of Æschylus and Euripides by imitating the crowing of a cock?

[3] iv. 16.

[4] *Yomah,* Chap. I. One may note, as a non-Jewish instance, the birth of Aion, celebrated in the Koreion at Alexandria on the night of January

to R. Shela: 'He who walks on the road before cockcrow, his blood is on his head.' R. Joshiah says: 'Before the cock crows twice'; and according to others, 'before the cock crows thrice.'"

The Greeks were familiar with the fashion of regarding cockcrow as the end of the day.[1] An interesting hint occurs in the Talmud:[2] "Until what time may a man eat on the night preceding a fast-day? 'Until the appearance of the morning-star,' was the dictum of Rabbi; but R. Eliezer bar R. Simion said, 'Until the cock crows.'" Since Mazzot was properly a fast, this is significant. As regards Passover we have not met an unequivocal statement; but we shall find that about the Christian era Passover and Sukkot were almost identical in form. Hence the following passage[3] may safely be taken as indicative of the official practice: "At the expiration of the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles they descended into the women's court, where a great transformation was made . . . At the upper gate, which leads from the court of the Israelites to the court of the women, stood two priests with trumpets in their hands. When the cock first crowed they blew a long blast, then another. This they repeated when they reached the tenth step, and again when they reached the court." This surely means that the first day of Sukkot ended at cockcrow, the second day being heralded with trumpets. We may now turn our attention to the synoptic Gospels, and note the words[4] of Jesus to Peter, uttered just after the Last Supper: "Verily I say unto thee, that thou today, even this night, before the cock crow twice, shalt deny me thrice." A study of the Synoptists would show that the hour of the Resurrection was at or about cockcrow. Only *Luke* and the spurious end of *Mark* definitely date this event on the Lord's day. The earlier Church generally dated it on, or rather at the close of, the Sabbath.[5] The Church has notoriously changed the

5th/6th. The celebration began at cockcrow (Epiphanius *Panar.* li. 22). This, too, was (like Epiphany, which fell at the same time) a New Year's rite. Libanius (*Or.* ix. 15) says that on New Year's day cockcrow was the signal for the emperors to arise and begin distributing their largess.

[1] E. g., Theocritus xxiv. 64.

[2] *Ta'anit,* Chap. i. One may note likewise that John Cassian (*Collat.* xxi. 25) says the fast of the paschal vigil was continued down to cockcrow on Easter morning.

[3] *Pesah.,* Chap. ix, tr. Rodkinson, slightly modified.

[4] *Mark* xiv. 30.

[5] The event occurring at that hour could be referred either to the preceding (Sabbath) or following (Lord's) day: hence both days might almost equally well be observed, as indeed they were. That the *hag* was a departure and a return, and that these were not uncommonly interpreted as death and resur-

hour of the vigil to the morning; but it is worthy of note that in Etheria's account of Holy Week at Jerusalem the services of the day regularly begin at cockcrow. The Talmud [1] has the temple service begin in the morning. We conclude, then, that at the beginning of the Christian era the days of Passover were officially reckoned at Jerusalem as beginning at cockcrow.

Thus far we have considered Pesah and Mazzot chiefly as *haggim* or as constituting a complex of *rites de passage,* with little regard to their specific characters. If the results of our discussion be accepted, this procedure is justified. Each of these observances is expressly characterized as a *hag;* and often no further significant details are given except the names. We have seen, however, that the absence of specifications in the record does not mean that other ritual acts were not habitually performed; our discussion of the *hag* has abundantly shown that Passover and New Year's day suggested to Jews even of late date practices characteristic of the *hag* well known among other Semitic peoples, though they are omitted in the directions, and if mentioned at all in the Bible, are forbidden. We must now direct our attention to the names and titular observances of Passover.

As to Pesah, we are in no position to speak with assurance regarding the paschal victim [2] and its sacrifice. It may be that it was originally a sacrifice of firstlings, as has been frequently maintained; but it is well to bear in mind that so far as we know in all sacrifices of firstlings and first-fruits there is a victim or a part made over directly to the deity, after which the remainder is available for the use of man. Of such a sacrifice at Pesah there appears to be no clear record, though the changes of evaluation to which the rite was in course of time subjected might explain this fact.[3] Of the name "Pesah" it may

rection, has been pointed out before. The general resurrection on the last day was expected by the Jews and conceived in the form of the *hag.* Now as Mazzot lasted seven days and Pesah had come to precede it by a day, the combined Passover, like Sukkot, lasted eight days, as Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 15. 1 [317]) says. The Resurrection on the 8th day could thus cite Jewish authority; but of course Mazzot was in later times Pascha *par excellence,* and as its last day was the seventh and rated as a Sabbath, the identification of the third day of resurrection as the Sabbath was the more natural to a Jewish Christian.

[1] *J. Enc.,* VIII, 133 *a.*

[2] The victim might be a lamb or a kid. In *Ezekiel* and *Chronicles,* neat cattle are mentioned; cf. *Deut.* XVI. 2.

[3] The strongest evidence for the interpretation of Pesah as an offering of firstlings is in *Deut.* XII. 17–18: "Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy grain, or of thy new wine, or of thine oil, or the firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill-

be proper to say a word. It has been proposed to derive it from *pāsah,* "to limp." Etymology is a difficult art or game, which calls for much beside a knowledge of linguistic laws and changes. We have pointed out that Passover is essentially a *rite de passage* associated with the transition from year to year and with the passage of various bourns; and have directed attention to the similar use of *'ābar,* likewise meaning "to pass through or over." That both terms were employed significantly in relation to passover-rites admits of no question; and both alike are associated with *haggim.* Whatever the true etymon of *hag,* it cannot be doubted that it has its proper connection with a dance.[1] We need to see these terms and concepts in their mutual relations. As for the turn of the year, it is known to be the proper point at which intercalation, whether of a single day or of an epact, occurs; and in Rabbinic Hebrew the terms for "intercalation" and "leap-year" are

offerings, nor the heave-offering of thy hand; but thou shalt eat them before Yahweh." The preference of *Deuteronomy* for offerings which are ritually related to those of first-fruits and firstlings is clear; and *Deut.* xv. 19 *sq.* brings the firstlings into immediate connection with Pesah. Whether the Deuteronomic ordinance involved an entirely new interpretation of ancient usages we cannot determine; but we have seen that the centralization of the cultus, which it aimed to effect, necessarily involved the definite reference of the festivals to a fixed calendar.

[1] The circular dance or circumambulation is a rite widely distributed. It seems to have a peculiarly close connection with the turn of the year. Generally it is performed clockwise, which is also the direction followed by the sun; it is therefore not unnatural to suppose that it originated in sympathetic or imitative magic and was intended to insure the continued progress of time, or of the sun, which threatened to stop at the dead-center of the cycle. Passover-rites, falling at New Year, would then serve to keep the wheel of time moving and so prevent the end of the world or æon. Al-Biruni, p. 99, says, "Persian scholars say that in the day of Naurôz [New Year] there is an hour in which the sphere of Fêrôz is driven on by the spirits for the purpose of renovating the creation." The *Protev. Iacobi* (xviii. 2) describes the complete halt of everything in heaven and on earth at the birth of Jesus, which marks the beginning of the Christian era; and Al-Biruni (p. 17) gives the clue to the meaning of the words, quoted above, when he says: "A section of the Persians is of opinion that these past 3000 years, which we have mentioned, are to be counted from the creation of Gayômarth [the first man]; because before that already 6000 years [= 6 days in God's sight] had elapsed—a time during which the celestial globe [which marks time] stood motionless . . . Thereupon, when the celestial globe was set agoing, the first man came into existence." Jesus, as the first-born of the new creation, is the second Adam. According to Persian belief, the Æon, the spirit of the world-age, presides over the motion of the heavenly bodies, particularly of the sun. See Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium, passim,* esp. pp. 225 and 155, n. 3. This interpretation, proposed by others, is the more likely as a circumambulation in the opposite direction (counter-clockwise) is supposed to cause all things to come to a standstill.

both derived from *'ābar*. The latter, therefore, no less than *pāsah*, had the connotation of "leaping;" and as for dancing, one has only to think of such words as "hop," "skip," "jump," which may all mean "to dance" as well as to "pass over" or "omit," to see that it is not necessary, as some lexicographers would do, to distinguish two stems under *pāsah*. As regards intercalation, it is known that the day or days so interlarded were reckoned *dies non* [1] and ordinarily not counted. In English we even have the phrase "to make leap-year of" used in the sense of "skipping," "jumping," or "hopping over" a person or thing which is to be omitted or disregarded. At another time we may take up the data regarding the days passed over in ancient calendars. Such occur in the hollow months in Greece, and of course in the leap-day interposed in leap-years. We still speak of the latter by the name "bissextile," which it bore both in the pre-Julian and the Julian calendars. Generally the days thus passed over are second or sixth days; and they are accounted days of dread,[2] which one might well pray to have passed over, as Jesus prayed in Gethsemane.[3] In the *rites de passage* of New Year's day we may be sure that various practices were in vogue which emphasized the crossing of boundary lines and other limits. Whether such practices still persist in Christian lands we do not know; but attention has lately been called to a curious custom of skipping rope on Good Friday at Brighton, England. The day was known as "Long Rope Day," and grown-up people, not children, participated in the ceremony.[4] The repeated motive of *haste* in the

[1] A good deal of the license permitted at the Saturnalia and kindred festivals may have been countenanced because the acts, like the intercalary days of the festivals, "did not count." One recalls Rip Van Winkle's drink.

[2] It is said that the day of Set falling in the Egyptian epact is often passed over or not reckoned. So also the 2d Boëdromion at Athens. In the eschatological "last days," the days also, it is hoped, may be shortened or curtailed in favor of the righteous; cf. *Mark* xiii. 20, *Matt.* xxiv. 22. See Bertholet (p. 440), who cites 1 *Enoch* lxxx. 2; *Syr. Apoc. Baruch* xx. 1; *Apoc. Abrah.* xxix., and Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.*, p. 164 (*c*).

[3] *Mark* xvi. 35: ἵνα . . . παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα. The parallels have "cup" instead of "hour." The "cup" (cf. *Mark* x. 28–39 and parallels) is that of the Passion and the eucharist (cf. *Rev.* xvi. 19). One recalls that of the three cups of Greek religion, the first was given to the Olympians; the second to the heroes, the dead, the chthonians, and the *Good Dæmon;* the third to the Saviour offered as to the Olympians. If a relation exists, one may note that Jesus (and the disciples) partook of the first at the Last Supper, that Jesus refused the second on the Cross, and again partook of the third in communion with the disciples on the day of the Resurrection. Cf. Paul, 1 *Cor.* x. 20–21.

[4] See *Notes and Queries, 7th Series,* ix (1890), 407, 474. As the 25th March (by Tertullian, Augustine, and others, in England generally until recent times, regarded as the day of the Crucifixion) was long New Year's day in England,

sacred story of the Passover *hag* suggests that the limits were to be cleared [1] at a bound. The limping dance, which we may conceive to have been anciently executed at the *hag,* was not peculiar to the Hebrew Pesah and was clearly sacred to other gods besides Yahweh. We shall later point out that something of the sort is to be presumed in the cultus of Set-Typhon, and shall note the parallel of the limping service of Hephæstus about the festal board of the Olympians; but to confine ourselves at present to the Old Testament, the story of Jacob's passover of the Jabbok must imply that on that occasion, when he obtained the name of Israel, he acquired the limp of the passover-*hag,* and Elijah's experience with the priests of the Baalim on Mt. Carmel [2] in more ways than one suggests a passover. As at the exodus Yahweh executed judgments against all the gods of Egypt, so here the Baalim are confounded.[3] Here, too, the priests dance with a limping or skipping motion about the altar; and the question of Elijah "Why go you limping on both thighs?" seems to imply that the people executed the circumambulation in honor of the Baalim and of Yahweh alike. On this occasion also occurred the miracle of fire kindled on the altar, which, as we have seen, was supposed to be repeated at the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem at Eastertime.[4]

this possibly gives the explanation. A useful review of the literature on the Roman, medieval, and modern rites at the turn of the year is given by Fedor Schneider ("Uber Kalendæ Ianuariæ und Martiæ im Mittelalter," *A.R.,* xx, 82 *sq.* and 360 *sq.,* esp. 370 *sq.*), though he overlooks much that is of great importance. In particular I would call attention to the song (p. 391) assigned by Benedict, the choir-master of St. Peter's at Romé, to Cornomania (the Saturday after Easter), but obviously belonging to the calends of March: Φύγε, φύγε Φεβροάρι· ὁ Μάρτις σὲ διώκει· ὑπέρβα, ὑπέρβα Φεβροάρι· Χαῖρε μετὰ πάντων, ὦ Μάρτι. The text shows that the occasion is regarded as New Year's day; consequently we have here a formal "passover"-song for the turn of the year. The children's games of skipping rope, rolling hoops and marbles, etc., in the spring, as well as spinning tops, may well be survivals of ancient New-Year rites. Al-Biruni, p. 200, refers to the Persian custom of swinging at Naurôz (New Year) and connects it with a legend regarding Jamshid. A study of the Greek αἰώρα in this connection might be helpful. The rite is especially common in the cultus of Artemis (see Gruppe, p. 1293), whose sacred day is the sixth.

[1] Cf. above, p. 60, n. 1. It seems to be generally (and rightly) held that Tiphsah (Thapsacus) at the ford of the Euphrates derives its name from *pāsah.* We shall later offer evidence from Greek authors of passover-rites performed there and at other crossings of the Euphrates, which ought to silence those who regard Pesah as a specifically Judean rite.

[2] 1 *Kings* xviii. 17 *sq.* The circumstances suggest the autumnal *hag.*

[3] See above, p. 130, n. 5.

[4] See above, p. 63, n. 2.

The Feast of Unleavened Bread, or Mazzot, presents no such complications as Pesah. It is concerned solely with the ritual eating of unleavened cakes, and its *mo'ed,* or appointed time, is always the same, the 15th Nisan. This date, as we have seen, is certainly a sixth day, which was properly a fast. The sacred story explains the eating of the unleavened bread as due to the haste of Israel's departure, and a departure is customarily dated on second or sixth days. We shall soon see that unleavened bread and its analogues have a clearly defined place in the ritual scheme. Disregarding for the moment the festival of Mazzot, we turn to another story. The visit of King Saul to the witch of Endor [1] is familiar; but let us attend to certain details of the account. When the Philistines, and David with them, gathered together against Israel, Saul inquired of Yahweh, who gave answer neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets.[2] Then on the eve of battle the King in disguise sought out the witch in order to summon Samuel from the grave. Under the necromancer's spell the ghost of the prophet appears [3] and informs Saul that Yahweh has departed from him and become his adversary, and that on the morrow the king and his sons shall be with the prophet in the nether world.[4] Saul, who, as we learn, was keeping a fast, as he "had eaten no bread all the day, nor all the night," fell straightway to the earth. The kindly witch offered him to eat, but he declined; later, presumably after nightfall,[5] constrained by his servants and the witch, he partook of a fatted calf and unleavened bread; then he arose, and departed that night. It would be hazardous to assert that we have here another passover

[1] 1 *Sam.* xxviii. Necromancy was connected with the turn of the year all through antiquity and the Middle Ages, and has so continued even into modern times.

[2] Plutarch's essay on the *Cessation of the Oracles* (esp. 412 A, 413 A, 418 D, 431 B) shows the relation of the god's presence to the giving of oracles; when Apollo departs, his oracle is mute. Plutarch (*Mor.* 292 F *sq.*) says that anciently Apollo gave responses only on the 7th Bysius, the day of his birth and epiphany. Æschylus (*Eum.* 7 *sq.*) says that Phœbe gave Phœbus (Apollo) the oracle as a birthday present, presumably on the very day of his birth. Thus the oracle is closely associated with the seventh day in the cultus of Apollo. On nefast days his oracle was mute (Plutarch *Alex.* xiv. 4; Pindar *Pyth.* iv. 8).

[3] Whatever may be the date, no Jew would regard it as possibly a Sabbath. See *J. Enc.,* x, 589*a:* "As proof that the seventh day is the Sabbath the inability of the necromancer to call a spirit from the river Sambation, and the fact that the grave of Rufus' father sends forth smoke during the six week-days, but ceases to do so on the Sabbath, are adduced."

[4] Cf. *Luke* xxiii. 45; but the point of view is different.

[5] The usual hour for breaking a fast.

at a critical turn in the history of Israel, observed as Pesah with the eating of unleavened bread; but certain points deserve special mention. The time is one of Yahweh's displeasure and departure; more particularly, it is the *'ereb* of a day of dread decision, and the spirits are abroad.[1] The king departs by night after a repast eaten with unleavened bread. The general scheme is certainly not unlike that of *Deuteronomy* for Pesah; for the day of Saul's death can hardly have been regarded otherwise than as one of Yahweh's wrath, to be observed as a fast.

The ritual place and significance of Mazzot cannot be determined without reference to the unleavened[2] shewbread. The latter has, it seems, been hitherto regarded as inseparably connected with the Sabbath; but the fact that an offering of unleavened bread was made at Mazzot[3] and (of course particularly) on its *mo'ed*,[4] the 15th Nisan, should suggest caution. The unleavened cakes offered on this day were presumably those of the shewbread. This being a sixth day, we should not expect the shewbread to be offered on the Sabbath; yet such is the statement of the Biblical texts, which report that it was set in order upon the pure table on the Sabbath.[5] Such was undoubtedly the practice in later Judaism; but it will be recalled that in the story of David and his men, this occurred on the third day, which may have been a sixth but hardly a seventh.[6] When in later times the identification of the third day with the seventh became usual, it was not unnatural that the shewbread should be offered on the Sabbath, which had become the day of Yahweh. Even then, however, it was not prepared on the Sabbath,[7] and hardly because of the prohibition of work on that day. According to Josephus,[8] it was "baked, divided in two, on the day before the Sabbath, and early on the morning of the Sabbath taken and set on the sacred table six by six facing one another." With this compare the command in *Leviticus:*[9] "And thou shalt take fine flour, and bake twelve cakes thereof: two tenth parts of an ephah shall be in one cake. And thou shalt set them in two piles, six in a pile, upon the pure table before Yahweh." If there was any

[1] Cf. *Matt.* xxvii. 52; *John* xiv. 30.
[2] Philo *De septen.* clxi. 11, p. 294 M.
[3] *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo,* xiii. 4.
[4] The *mo'ed,* as we have before pointed out, is the significant day.
[5] *Levit.* xxiv. 8; 1 *Chron.* ix. 32.
[6] See above, pp. 86–88.
[7] In 1 *Chron.* ix. 32, for "prepare" one should clearly read "set in order."
[8] *Ant.* iii. 10. 7.
[9] xxiv. 5 *sq.*

real connection with the Sabbath in the rite, we might have expected some use of the number seven:[1] instead, the numbers two and six are prominent,[2] and the ritual act of dividing[3] the cakes further emphasizes the relation to the second and sixth days. At all events, even in later times they were made on Friday. It may be recalled that the *mo'ed* of Mazzot has been shown to be a New Year's day, and in this connection it is of interest to read in *Exodus*[4] that on the New Year's day of the second year of the exodus Moses reared the tabernacle and put the table in the tent of meeting and set the bread in order upon it before Yahweh.

The shewbread seems to have had analogues in the cultus of other deities. It is said that cakes to the number of twelve,[5] or multiples of twelve, were similarly offered to gods of Babylonia and Assyria.[6]

[1] The almost total absence of the number seven from all that relates to the exodus, excepting the term of Mazzot, is striking. The seven days mentioned in *Exod.* VII. 25 stand quite alone. Some critics assign it to J; but is it not more probably P, or an addition of a redactor? Philo, pressed for a reference to the sacred seven in the description of the shewbread, finds it in the divider.

[2] Compare the Jewish tradition regarding the tables of the Law.

[3] This is of course significant; for is not the broken bread of the eucharist the broken body of the Lord? The connection of various ritual acts of dividing with second and sixth days has already been mentioned, and will be further illustrated in the sequel. The Talmud tells of a further division of the cakes, as in administering the Lord's Supper, when they were taken from the table of oblation on the Sabbath. On the Day of Atonement, when it fell on a Sabbath, this rite was postponed until evening (*J. Enc.*, XI, 312 *b*). *Jubilees* XIV. 10 *sq.* obviously connects the rite of dividing the sacrificial victims in the midst (*Gen.* XV. 8 *sq.*) with the division of the month on the 15th day. Pseudo-Jonathan on *Exod.* XII. 40 and *Seder 'Olam*, 5, date the sacrifice of Abraham on the 15th Nisan. Cf. above, p. 92, n. 3.

[4] XL. 17, 22.

[5] *Levit.* XXIV. 8 appears to connect the number with the twelve tribes of Israel. Philo and Josephus with better reason connect it with the twelve months of the year, which was divided into halves of six months each; but even this is quite doubtful. In Greek religion colleges of twelve members, especially when devoted to a chthonian, are not uncommon; and the 12th of the month, reckoned as a second day, is frequently a fast. We need more light on these numbers and their associations.

[6] It would be particularly interesting to know on what days they were offered. Possibly the hot-cross buns baked on Good Friday are somehow related. Others have suggested a variety of heathen rites from which the latter practice may have been derived; cf. Chambers, *Book of Days*, I, 418. Cf. Zimmer, *Beiträge*, p. 94 *sq.*, for the "sweet" Babylonian shewbread; and Budge, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, p. 72 *sq.*, for the Egyptian *pat tchant*, or *gateau de passage*, offered to the dead. If, as has been suggested, these are the cakes of Set-Typhon, they are possibly of special interest in relation to Mazzot and the offering of shewbread.

Of these, others better instructed in such matters may have something of value to report; but we may refer to an offering known in Greek lands, though pretty certainly of Asiatic origin. *Leviticus*,[1] after describing the shewbread, continues, "And thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each pile, that it may be to the bread for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto Yahweh." The frankincense was presumably made into candles and evidently lighted. Now we shall have repeated occasion to compare ritual practices in the cultus of Yahweh with those of Asiatic goddesses known to the Greeks as Artemis, whose sacred days were specially the sixth and sixteenth.[2] In the service of Artemis or Hecate we hear of a curious cake called *amphiphoön*.[3] Of its composition and shape [4] we know nothing, but it was borne to her shrine and to the cross-roads on the 16th Munychion [5] with lighted tapers set all round it, whence its name may have been derived.[6] This, we may be sure, was at least one of the elements of "Hecate's repast" which was set out at the cross-roads at the dark of the moon, and when the hour came for its removal was free for man and eaten by the poor. One who is familiar with Hebrew ritual and the provisions of the Law regarding the Sabbatical year and the eating of the shewbread on the Sabbath will readily recognize at least a certain similarity between these acts of the cultus.[7]

The practical identification of unleavened cakes and shewbread from a ritual point of view raises an interesting question. The former, as we have seen, belong specially to the sixth day, and it can hardly be doubted that the latter also was in earlier times offered on the sixth day, the offering on the Sabbath being due to the shift after

[1] XXIV. 7.

[2] For the days of Artemis-Hecate, see below, Chap. IX.

[3] The references are pretty fully given by Tresp, p. 81 *sq.*

[4] As a πλακοῦς it was pretty certainly unleavened; and if it was a simple cake, it may well have been (like many others) superficially molded to appear divided into parts.

[5] Lobeck (*Aglaoph.*, p. 1063) mistakenly says on the 13th. It was probably offered also on other days sacred to Artemis and Hecate.

[6] Philochorus connected the name with the fact that on the 16th sun and moon are both above the horizon at sunrise. Philo (*De septen.* clv and ccx) connects the dates of Mazzot and Sukkot with the full moon.

[7] For the Sabbath meals for the poor, see *Pesah.*, VIII. 7. *J. Enc.*, X, 594 *b*: "According to one of the ten ordinances of Ezra, Jewish women are advised to bake bread early on Friday to supply the poor (*B.R.* 82 [a])." Cf. Plutarch *Mor.* 290 D, 708 F *sq.*; *Schol.* on Ar. *Plut.* 594–596. One may refer likewise to the superstitious value set on bread baked on Good Friday; see Chambers, *Book of Days*, I, 418.

the exile. Perhaps at one time they were alike offerings of first-fruits; but if so, they had lost that character before the time of the Priestly code, in which the first-fruits of Pentecost are presented as leavened loaves. At an offering of first-fruits the oblation removes the taboo, and the remainder of the crop is thereby "profaned" [1] or made *publici iuris* and free for the service of man. When the shewbread was taken from before Yahweh on the Sabbath and eaten sacramentally by the priests in the holy place, this act was not, it seems, regarded strictly as "profaning" the shewbread. In certain communions of the Christian Church, a part of the eucharist is reserved for the clergy; even where the laity communicate in both kinds, the clergy first partake, thus "profaning," as it were, the presence-bread by degrees.[2] How far this practice may have Jewish antecedents we do not know. But is not this the thought that underlies the discussion about the shewbread in the gospels? [3] Fragmentary as it is, one sees that profaning the Sabbath meant making it free for the use of man. It is commonly supposed that the priests' "profaning the Sabbath in the temple" refers to work which they did; but apart from the difficulty of seeing how a service to God could be so regarded, what possible connection has this with the context? The disciples on the Sabbath ate grain standing in the fields, as the poor were permitted to take of the volunteer crop in the Sabbatical year, when rights in severalty lapsed and all became *publici iuris* or profaned.[4] The priest who gave the shewbread to David's men on a Sabbath may likewise be thought to have "profaned" the holy things of Israel in making over to man that which was dedicated to God. Now we have seen that the morrow after the Passover was properly a Sabbath; and on that day, according to *Joshua*,[5] the Israelites "did eat . . . unleavened bread and parched (or new) grain," [6] which was certainly "pro-

[1] This is the primary meaning of *hālal*, as of *βεβηλοῦν*. Cf. *Levit.* XXI. 7, 9, 14, 15 (profaning a woman): *ibid.* XIX. 8, XXII. 1–16, *Num.* XVIII. 32 (profaning food by eating and sharing it with the people). The scheme is made clear in connection with *Levit.* XIX. 23–25. See Morgenstern, *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, XXXVI, 328–329.

[2] As the eucharist (a communion thank-offering) properly belongs on the Lord's day, it follows the later Jewish scheme.

[3] *Mark* II. 23–28; *Matt.* XII. 1–8; *Luke* VI. 1–5.

[4] *Exod.* XXIII. 11; *Levit.* XXV. 5–6.

[5] v. 11. Does *'abūr* here mean the "carry-over" of the old year or the new crop? Its name is certainly suggestive of a "passover" of the grain, as Pesah was of the herds. Morgenstern regards the *mazzot* as the remains of the old crop. This was unquestionably true of later Judaism.

[6] Cf. *Levit.* XXIII. 14 ('Omer-day, the morrow after the Sabbath). II *Sam.*

faned" for them on 'Omer-day. That day, however, had become the *mo'ed* of Mazzot, when the bread of affliction was eaten; and when the Pharisees fixed 'Omer-day, it was, in keeping with the scheme of the Priestly code, set on the 16th Nisan, as the morrow after the Sabbath. The day which later Judaism "profaned" was thus generally not the Sabbath, but the morrow after the Sabbath.[1] But owing to the Hebrew tradition, handed down from earlier times, in regard to 'Omer-day and the *mo'ed* of Mazzot, the question regarding the profaning of the Sabbath must have been much debated. Pretty certainly those Fathers who identified "the second-first Sabbath," on which *Luke* dates this discussion, as the first day of Mazzot, were entirely right.[2] Of the importance of this question regarding profaning the Sabbath for a determination of the older ritual scheme of the Hebrews we shall have to speak further hereafter.

We have not yet done with the unleavened bread in relation to the *hag*. We have seen that *Exodus*[3] reports that when the Israelites journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt; thereafter the sacred story says no more about the unleavened cakes until after the Pesah in Canaan. But we have said that they were the food of

xvii. 28 refers to the morrow after David's passage (passover) of the Jordan. The story of *Ruth* is related to a harvest-festival: the heroine eats parched grain (ii. 14). It may be significant that Boaz gives her six measures of barley (iii. 15, 17); was it intended that one measure should be used each day of the harvest-festival? If that were true, we should think of it as lasting six instead of seven days. Cf. the daily ration of manna, *Exod.* xvi. 4.

[1] Hence, no doubt, the abhorrence of profaning the Sabbath, of which so much is said during and after the exile (*Ezek.* xx–xxiii; *Isa.* lvi. 21; *Neh.* xiii. 15–18). Stress was laid on the prohibition of work (*Exod.* xxxi. 14). *Neh.* xiii. 15–18 informs us that not only the Phœnicians but also the Hebrews before the exile profaned the Sabbath, to which circumstance the evils of the captivity were attributed. Somehow a new evaluation of the Sabbath had come with the Babylonian captivity. Cf. *Levit.* xxvi. 34 *sq.* for the Sabbaths of the land.

[2] Tischendorff's adnot. to *Luke* vi. 1 should be consulted for the patristic discussion. Since, as is there shown, all the major festivals of the Jews had come to be rated as Sabbaths, both the 14th (Pesah) and 15th Nisan (Mazzot) were Sabbaths. The *mo'ed* of Mazzot was thus a second Sabbath, but likewise the first day of the Mazzot-week; wherefore δευτερόπρωτον was peculiarly descriptive. As the morrow after Pesah, the day was peculiarly debatable and naturally occasioned the disputes about profaning the Sabbath. Everything points to the conclusion that the morrow after Passover was the original Sabbath of the Hebrews.

[3] xii. 39.

the *hag* and the fast; and the entire journey and sojourn in the wilderness were both, as we hold, a *hag* and a fast. What was the food of Israel in the interval? Of course it was manna. This of itself suggests a relation between manna on the one hand and the unleavened cakes and the shewbread on the other. We may now proceed to point out the indications which confirm the presumption that they are equivalents from the point of view of ritual. To begin with an interesting statement of Josephus [1] in regard to the unleavened cakes, we read that the Israelites, "having no supply from the soil as they proceeded through the desert, fed on loaves made of flour kneaded and only hardened by a brief application of heat; these they subsisted on for thirty days only, as the quantity they carried out of Egypt [2] did not suffice them for a longer time, although they husbanded their food and employed it to meet their bare necessities and not to satiety." One could not ask a better description of the practice of fasting; but why the term of thirty days? [3] Can one doubt that the date refers to the statement of *Exodus* [4] regarding the arrival of Israel in "the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the 15th day of the second month after their departure out of the land of Egypt"? There, as we shall presently see, the manna was given at another passover, which has in part the older form. Thus there is good reason to expect a close parallel between these two foods of the passover-*hag*.

The Talmud [5] and the Targums [6] reckon the manna among the ten things created at the close of the sixth day of creation. Since this was the time when, at least in later Judaism, the shewbread was made

[1] *Ant.* ii. 15. <316>.

[2] The fact that the grain or dough for the unleavened bread was brought from Egypt shows that, in later Judaism at least, it was of the old crop. So in the quail-Passover the manna of the Sabbath is the hold-over of the sixth day.

[3] Does this term reflect an old practice of fasting a whole month, as Moslems fast during Ramadan? Israel mourned thirty days for Aaron (Num. xx. 29) and Moses (*Deut.* xxxiv. 8). Cf. *Num.* xi. 20, where Yahweh threatens that Israel shall eat quails a whole month: this too is a food of the fast.

[4] xvi. 1.

[5] See *J. Enc.*, viii, 293 *a*, where other curious rabbinical lore regarding the manna is quoted. In it there occurs the same curious use of the numbers two and six as in the directions for the shewbread.

[6] The late Palestinian Targum on *Numbers* xxii, p. 420 Etheridge, dates these acts of creation "at the coming-in of the Sabbath between the suns."

on the eve of the Sabbath, the parallel at once appears. The shewbread and the *mazzot,* as being unleavened, were "sweet" bread, made of fine flour;[1] the manna also was ground in mills or beaten in mortars and made into cakes whose taste was like wafers made with honey or fresh oil.[2] It is expressly called light or "hunger" bread,[3] clearly as the food of the fast; as such it proved or tempted[4] Israel and caused them to murmur against God and their leader; and we read,[5] "Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink." Furthermore, during Jesus' fast of forty days, when tempted in the wilderness, which reproduces in miniature the forty years' fast of the exodus, he quoted[6] significantly a word said with reference to the manna, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." That the Christian Church holds that in the communion of the eucharist one partakes not only of the broken oblation of the shewbread but also of the bread that comes down out of heaven[7] is so familiar as not to require comment; and there was good ground for identifying them; for, as the shewbread was by the priests set before Yahweh as the continual bread of the presence, so at Yahweh's command Moses bade[8] Aaron "Take a pot and put an omerful of manna therein, and lay it up before Yahweh, to be kept throughout your generations." The bread from heaven was given on the Cross at Passover, Good Friday; the manna, too, was given at a Passover on the 15th of the month, which was a sixth day.[9] On the sixth day it fell in double measure,[10] and was miraculously preserved for the use of the people

[1] *Levit.* II. 4, 6.
[2] *Num.* XI. 8; *Exod.* XVI. 31.
[3] *Num.* XXI. 5; cf. *Exod.* XVI. 3.
[4] *Exod.* XVI. 4; *Deut.* VIII. 3.
[5] *Deut.* XXIX. 6. When this was written, wine at Passover was apparently not thought of as a possibility.
[6] *Matt.* IV. 4; cf. *Deut.* VIII. 3.
[7] *John* VI. 30–35, 41–58.
[8] *Exod.* XVI. 32–34.
[9] For the manna, given in the 6th age of the world, see Fulgentius *De æt. mundi et hominis* vi. 6, p. 147 *sq.,* ed. Helm.
[10] We have seen the associations of two and six in many ways. Six is not only here (*Exod.* XVI. 22, 29) connected with doubling, but elsewhere also; thus in the tent of meeting the sixth curtain was doubled (*Exod.* XXVI. 9). Various facts point to the conclusion that six was regarded as 2 x 3 (see Gesenius). It is elsewhere pointed out that the doubling of all ritual acts on the Sabbath, to which the Rabbis significantly refer, was probably inherited from the older observance of the sixth day as the day of Yahweh.

on the Sabbath.[1] On other days, like the remains of the passover, it might not be kept over until the morning; for if this was attempted, it became foul and bred worms. It is most interesting to note that it failed to be given to the Israelites on the Sabbath, the carry-over of the sixth day serving their needs; and at the close of the *hag* of the exodus, it is said[2] rather vaguely that the Israelites ate manna "until they came to the borders of the land of Canaan," or more specifically that it failed on the morrow after the Passover.[3]

The chapter of *Exodus*[4] which relates to the gift of the manna is unquestionably much worked over by a Priestly redactor.[5] It contains in addition the story of the miraculous appearance of quails, which is told also in *Numbers*[6] but dated after the departure from Sinai. The two phenomena are connected in both narratives, but in a more particular way in *Exodus*. In *Numbers*[7] when the people murmur and Yahweh in his wrath sends a plague among them, Moses says, "Sanctify yourselves against tomorrow, and ye shall eat flesh," obviously announcing a *hag* for the second day. In *Exodus,* as we have seen, the occasion is so stated as to make it a sixth day; but this fact is obscured by the manner of dating by the 15th of the month and even more by the details whereby the observance is made to assume the form of an hebdomadal festival ending in a Sabbath of rest. As for the sixth day, the 15th of the new calendar, we have precisely the scheme of the Priestly code for Pesah (and Mazzot): "At even, then ye shall know that Yahweh hath brought you out from the land of Egypt;[8] and in the morning ye shall see the glory

For the twofold sin-offering at Passover provided for by *Ezekiel,* see above, p. 121. Attention has been frequently called to the tendency of a Passover to repeat itself.

[1] The Sabbath, considered as a day of luxury or joy, would hardly have been celebrated by eating hunger-bread.

[2] *Exod.* XVI. 35.

[3] *Josh.* V. 12. *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo,* XX. 8 says "And after that Moses was dead, the manna ceased to come down for the children of Israel, and then began they to eat the fruits of the land." We shall presently see that *Deuteronomy* dates the death of Moses on the day of Israel's passage (passover) of the Jordan under Joshua. Hence this agrees in form with the Sabbath of the quail-Passover and with the morrow after Pesah in *Joshua.* Later Judaism dated the death of Moses on the 7th Adar.

[4] XVI.

[5] See McNeile, *The Book of Exodus,* p. xxi *sq.*

[6] XI.

[7] XI. 18, 20.

[8] This alludes to the night of Pesah.

of Yahweh,"[1] and again,[2] "At even ye shall eat flesh [as at Pesah], and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread" (i. e., manna, but recalling Mazzot). It is difficult to believe that the old tradition—which may be safely assumed—of this quail-Passover[3] and manna-Mazzot said anything about the daily gathering of manna (it was of course supposed to have been gathered daily throughout the long fast of the exodus-*hag*) for six days or of the quails for thirty days. The whole affair was presumably one of the second (*Numbers*) or of the sixth (*Exodus*) day. Hence the special emphasis on the *mo'ed* and on the sixth day when, without notice and apparently by divine inspiration, the people spontaneously gathered twice as much bread, greatly exciting the rulers of the congregation, who hastened to tell Moses.[4] The latter then announced a Sabbath for the morrow. It would seem unquestionable that this Sabbath, the first of which we read in the sacred story of the exodus-*hag,* was properly the morrow after the quail-manna Passover.

It would carry us too far afield to consider in detail the prescriptions of the Mishnah and the Rabbis regarding the unleavened bread of Passover,[5] which they knew to be peculiarly appropriate to the 15th Nisan, though such a study would in a very striking way illustrate the ritual sense of the Jews. One formula, however, may well receive attention: "On the first day of Passover one may not acquit oneself of the duty of eating unleavened bread with dough kneaded with wine, oil, or honey; but on the remaining days such dough may be used." That the substitutes permitted on other days of Passover were regarded as ritually equivalent is certain; wine is of course mentioned because in later times it had become associated with Pesah,

[1] *Exod.* xvi. 6. Mazzot began in the morning, when Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth. "The glory of Yahweh" refers of course to the overshadowing cloud of glory, or Shekinah, which Judaism associated with Sukkot and believed was first given at Succoth.

[2] vi. 8, 12.

[3] Ephorus (Athenæus, p. 392 D *sq.*) reports that the Phœnicians sacrificed quails to Heracles, son of Zeus and Asteria (= Astarte), i. e., to Melkart, because, when slain by Typhon, he was brought to life again by the savor of quails, and because he enjoyed them in his *wanderings.* Ælian *H.A.* xvii. 15 gives some curious data regarding the closely related partridge, which shows that it must have been associated with an hebdomadal term; but unfortunately we do not know his source. The Greeks regarded quail-meat as light food, as we distinguish "fish, flesh, and fowl," fish and fowl being suitable for the (half-) fast.

[4] *Exod.* xvi. 22.

[5] *Pesah.,* Chap. ii.

though not regarded as possible by *Deuteronomy*.[1] As for the other surrogates, one recalls that the manna-cakes had a taste like wafers made with honey or fresh oil; and a glance at the ritual uses of these ingredients will repay one. Mention is made of the ritual use of oil during the *hag* of the exodus. Unleavened cakes mingled with it were employed at the consecration of the priests [2] and of the Nazirite; [3] and fine flour mingled with oil, in the oblation of the princes [4] and in the purification of the Levites.[5] These occasions properly had nothing to do with the Sabbath, but were times of renunciation and fasting; with the shift to the Sabbath, oil became associated with the latter and with an offering of wine.[6] The older tradition told of oil gushing from the rocks in the wilderness,[7] and the miracle of Elijah,[8] connected with the oil and meal of the widow of Zerephath, sufficiently marks its connection with the fast.[9] One sees here a situation which closely resembles the account of the manna and the shewbread which were likewise continued or transferred to the Sabbath.

Unleavened bread, as we remarked before, whether with or without oil, is still the ordinary food of the Bedouin and of the Arabs generally when in the desert; and as Burton says,[10] "the Arabs are curious in and fond of honey." This fact may sufficiently account for the use of these articles of food by the Semites when, as in their pilgrimage-fasts, they reverted to primitive habits and conditions. The important

[1] See above p. 152, n. 5.

[2] *Exod.* XXIX. 2.

[3] *Num.* VI. 15.

[4] *Ibid.* VII. 13 *sq.* This was on the day when Moses set up the tabernacle: according to *Exod.* XL. 17 this was New Year's day.

[5] *Num.* VIII. 8.

[6] *Ibid.* XXVIII. 13; *ibid.* XV. 1–9, oil is prescribed for burnt-offering, votive and free-will offering, and for the *haggim,* to be accompanied with a libation of wine; *ibid.* XXIX. 3–14, the offering, again with a libation of wine, is ordained for the Feast of Trumpets, for the Day of Atonement, and for the 15th Tishri, the *mo'ed* of Sukkot. Since these were all New Year fasts, one sees how the use of wine crept in, altering the older ritual practice and the conception of the *hag,* which now came to be regarded as a feast.

[7] *Deut.* XXXII. 13; *Job* XXIX. 6.

[8] I *Kings* XVII. 12–16, of which the miracle of Elisha (II *Kings* XI. 2–6) seems to be an imitation.

[9] Oil so used is to be distinguished from the first-fruits of the oil, and from the use of oil as an unguent: the latter is the oil of joy and gladness (*Isa.* LXI. 3; *Heb.* I. 9), with which one was anointed on a day of rejoicing, such as the *'azeret* and the rejoicing over a new king. It was forbidden at a fast; cf. the temple-papyrus of Elephantine (Barton, *Archæol. and the Bible,* p. 388), and *Dan.* X. 3.

[10] III, 110, n.

thing, however, for our study is not the use of these foods but the associations of thought and ritual which clung to it. The manna, as we have seen, had a taste like wafers made with honey; we must therefore consider also the ritual use of honey, especially as honey-cakes were accepted as surrogates for *mazzot*. First-fruits of honey,[1] as of other crops, were of course brought to the temple; but that has no special significance. Of greater importance is the prohibition,[2] "No meal-offering, which ye shall offer unto Yahweh, shall be made with leaven; for ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, as an offering made by fire unto Yahweh." This Torah is peculiar, and may be due to the work of redactors; for the addition "nor any honey" has the appearance of being intrusive. Of course honey will ferment and may be used with other things to bring about fermentation; but its use in embalming and in other ways might equally well suggest its preservative properties. Furthermore, in this context it is a yokefellow of leaven, whereas the Rabbis recognized it as consorting rather with the unleavened bread of the *hag*. The Semitic practice is not unambiguous. Porphyry [3] quotes Theophrastus as saying that the Syrians [4] did not eat of their sacrifices, but, offering holocausts [5] by night and drenching the victims with copious libations of honey and wine, burned them the more quickly, for fear that the all-seeing Sun might behold the dreadful sight, while the people themselves fasted. Here honey, though coupled with wine, goes with the dread offering of the holocaust. In Jewish ritual honey rarely occurs, perhaps only on the Day of Atonement.[6] But there is sufficient evidence that

[1] II *Chron.* XXXI. 5.

[2] *Levit.* II. 11.

[3] *De abstin.* ii. 26.

[4] A gloss, rightly eliminated by Nauck, refers the practice to the Jews.

[5] Cf. *Wisd. of Sol.* III. 6.

[6] Mentioned by Reinach, *Textes,* p. 9, n. In Egypt also honey was certainly associated with the fast and the commemoration of the dead, an observance which was and is characteristic of the Day of Atonement—like Pesah, a New Year's day. The festival of Thoth, on the 19th Thoth, commemorating the battle between Horus and Set, was one of the principal occasions for the commemoration of the dead. On it honey and figs were eaten (Brugsch, *Rel.,* p. 464 *sq.*). At Edfu it was always a sixth day. See Foucart, *E.R.E.,* III, 96 *b:* "Honey, e.g., is eaten at the 'feast of the valley', and this originally refers to the annual exodus of the souls of the dead when the protecting gods come for them." The giving and eating of sweets on New Year's day is a common practice in the Orient. On Rosh ha-Shanah Jews in their homes eat an apple dipped in honey and say an appropriate prayer. Al-Biruni (p. 200 *sq.*) mentions the Persian custom of sipping honey (cf. *ibid.,* p. 211), tasting sugar, etc. on Naurôz, New Year's day, and refers to this day the discovery of cane-sugar by Jamshid. On the 1st Shawwal, the month following the fast

it was the recognized food of the Nazirite from the womb, who was expected to abstain from wine and strong drink and keep a lifelong fast to Yahweh. Such a one was John the Baptist, who ate locusts and wild honey;[1] and of Immanuel, the son of the virgin, also *Isaiah*[2] says, "Butter and honey shall he eat, when he knoweth to refuse the evil, and choose the good." Of special interest is the otherwise puzzling incident connected with the victory of Jonathan over the Philistines at Michmash.[3] That the story relates to an *'ābar*-passover,[4] at which Yahweh saved Israel at the pass, is beyond question. On that day Saul had commanded an absolute fast, decreeing death to any who should taste food before even; but Jonathan ate honey, and was forgiven—less, we may be sure, because of his ignorance of the decree than because it was honey that he had eaten. In eating the honey his eyes are enlightened,[5] and he suggests that

of Ramadan, clearly an old New Year's day, he has this note (p. 331): "Feast of fast-breaking, also called the *day of mercy*. God selected Gabriel as the bearer of His revelation. He inspired the bees and taught them how to make honey. People maintain that on this day God created Paradise." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 326 and below, p. 264.

[1] *Mark* I. 6; *Matt.* III. 4.

[2] VII. 15–16; cf. VII. 22, where honey and butter are the food of hunger and probably of the fast. It will be recalled that there were some who thought that Jesus should have lived as did the Nazirite from the womb, and contrasted him, who came eating and drinking and whom they called a wine-bibber, with John, who fasted and taught his disciples to fast. James, the brother of the Lord, whom the Christian ascetics looked to as their exemplar and regarded as the real founder of the Christian Church (they said that through him all who believed, believed), was clearly thought of as a Nazirite from the womb. Cf. Hegesippus in Euseb. *H.E.* ii. 23. 5; iii. 19. Even the canonical gospels show traces of the ascetic view, which represented Jesus as sympathizing with that mode of life.

[3] I *Sam.* XIV. This would be "the day of Michmash," and as such celebrated. Apparently among the Hebrews, as the *Yaum* among the Arabs, the "day," as an anniversary, tended to be regarded as a New Year's day. If this be true, the use of honey, which was especially proper to New Year, would be in a measure explained.

[4] The frequent occurrence of the verb *'ābar* is but one mark. Note the occurrence of the earthquake.

[5] Cf. *Luke* XXIV. 31. That the latter passage is to be connected with the rite Effeta (cf. *Mark* VII. 32 *sq.*) is clear; so also the healing of the blind on the Sabbath (e. g., *John* IX. 14). See Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V. 11, p. 690 P., and Duchesne, *Christ. Worship*[3], pp. 303, 317–318, 332, where the place of the rite in the ritual scheme is shown. It is related to the 3d and 7th scrutinies on the 7th day or Easter eve, then transferred to Easter Sunday as (according to *Luke*) the third day. Even the reference to the seventh day or Sabbath must be late. It is to be remembered that Paul's eyesight was restored the third day (*Acts* IX. 9 *sq.*) and Tobit's (*Tob.* XI. 11 *sq.*) on the joyful day of Tobias's return with his bride.

the people would have been more enlightened if they had eaten of the spoil of the enemy, and a far greater discomfiture of the Philistines would have ensued.

These considerations in themselves suffice to establish a connection between honey and the fast in Judaism. We have, however, in addition an interesting statement of Plutarch, who says of the Jews:[1] "Furthermore they do not admit honey at their sacrificial offerings, because it is thought to corrupt the wine when mixed with it; and it was used for libations and for drinking before the vine was discovered.[2] Even now the Barbarians, who do not make wine, drink honey-mead, doctoring its sweetness with vinelike and bitter roots. The Greeks also make wineless offerings [*nephalia*], known as honey-libations,[3] on the ground that honey has a character quite contrary to wine. That the Jews are of the same opinion is abundantly shown by the circumstance that, though they provide many penalties, the one most in disrepute among them is that which forbids men who are doing penance the enjoyment of wine for such a term as the judge who imposes the penalty may appoint." Apparently in the sequel—for the text here unfortunately has a lacuna—Plutarch went on to say that those who were doing penance ate honey or drank some concoction containing it. Every Jew, who was not excluded from the congregation or under a vow of penance,[4] as a matter of duty drank wine (the *Kiddush*) on the Sabbath: on fast-days wine was forbidden, and on the Day of Atonement *Kiddush* is omitted.

We have seen that in later Judaism the introduction of wine at Passover (and at other rites, once fasts) created or at least served to mark a degree of ritual confusion.[5] Similar phenomena appear else-

[1] *Mor.* 672 B–C.

[2] Porphyry (*De antro nymph.* xvi) says that according to Orpheus Cronus was caught by Zeus with a honey-bait, and intoxicated by it, there being as yet no wine. This implies a libation of honey to Cronus; and since Cronus was overthrown on New Year's day (see below, p. 470 *sq.*) we have here another concordance with Jewish practice. See above, p. 156, n. 6. See also Porphyry *De abstin.* ii. 20.

[3] Porphyry *De antro nymph.* xix.

[4] Like the Nazirite.

[5] Busse, *Der Wein im Kult des a. T.* (1922), discusses the problem without solving it. See especially the historical sketch, *ibid.*, p. 60. The synagogue-service calls for Kiddush on the seventh and eighth evenings only of Passover; at Tabernacles, on the first two and eighth and ninth evenings; on Rosh ha-Shanah and Pentecost, at the evening service. It seems not unlikely that the (at least apparent) confusion of Jewish practice was the result of foreign influence. If that were true, one might think of Egypt, for which see Plutarch *De Iside* 353 B *sq.*

where, as in Greece,[1] though in general the principles governing the practice in the various cults are fairly clear. Bearing in mind the fact that the unleavened cakes of Mazzot, the shewbread of the continual oblation, and the omerful of manna set before Yahweh were, if not made with honey, at least "sweet" bread having a taste like wafers made with it, let us briefly consider the uses of honey in Greek religion. Plutarch, as we have seen, compares the Jewish ritual practice with the wineless honey-libations of the Greeks. One requires no great knowledge of Greek religion to be aware that such offerings belong either to Mystery-gods in their chthonian characters or to dæmons of unmixed chthonian natures. Honey to the Greeks was a symbol of death, and honey-libations were offered to the chthonians,[2] and those who would call up the spirits of the dead made to them a libation of honey mixed with milk.[3] Quite similar is the use of honey-cakes [4] in Greek religion: we know that they were offered to the hell-hound Cerberus; to the serpents in the oracular cave of Trophonius at Lebadea; to the dead; and to the Heroes of healing, Heracles and Asclepius, who were worshiped as chthonians.[5] Perhaps for our present purposes the best illustration from Greek religion is offered by events at Athens on the eve of the battle of Salamis, which Herodotus thus relates: [6] "The Athenians say that they have in their Acropolis a huge serpent, which lives in the temple and is the guardian of the whole place. And this they not only say, but, persuaded that the serpent really dwells there, every month [7] they lay out its food, which consists of a honey-cake.[8] Up to this time the honey-cake

[1] For honey in Greek ritual and mythology, see Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1, 281 *sq.*, and Roscher's *Nektar und Ambrosia.* He calls attention to the (at least partial) identification of honey with nectar and ambrosia, and to the fact that it was regarded as the bread that came from heaven. That Ambrosia, the nymph who nursed Dionysus, was metamorphosed into a (grape) vine is significant. It suggests that, in Greece, wine came in the Dionysiac rites partially to displace honey. A similar change appears to have occurred in Syrian and Hebrew ritual; but the causes and influences to which it was due are obscure. Whether the reported common use of honey in the most ancient ritual of Greece, and its later predominant use in rites to the dead and the chthonians, indicates that the most ancient Greek cults were chthonian we cannot say, though there is much to say for such a view. The use of honey-cakes at New Year has continued down to modern times in Greece.

[2] Porphyry *De antro nymph.* xviii.

[3] *Ibid.* xxviii.

[4] Called μελιτόεσσα, μελιτοῦττα.

[5] See Gruppe, p. 908 *sq.*, where detailed references are given.

[6] viii. 41; cf. Plutarch *Themist.* x.

[7] At the new moon; see Stein on Herod. vi. 57.

[8] Cf. Ælian *H.A.* xi. 17.

had always been consumed; but now it remained untouched; so the priestess told the people what had happened, whereupon they departed [1] from Athens the more readily, since they believed that the goddess had already abandoned the citadel." [2] Is one shocked to discover behind Athena, the virginal Olympian embodiment of the ideal culture of Athens and the exalted religion of an Æschylus, lurking, obscured but not forgotten, the ancient serpent? Even in fifth century Athens one worshiped both together, not caring to distinguish between them. The honey-cake was offered to both, more especially to the serpent. On the occasion in question, it was set forth for a departing deity, whose departure gave the signal for the exodus of a people. One recalls also that the story of the Brazen Serpent in the wilderness, which the Christian tradition has accepted as a type of the crucified Saviour, is brought into relation [3] with the manna and the complaint of Israel, "there is no bread, and no water; and our soul loatheth this light bread." One may fitly recall in this connection the Jewish tale of *Bel and the Dragon.* When King Cyrus asked Daniel why he refused to worship Bel, the latter replied that he would not worship idols made with hands. To the question, "Thinkest thou that Bel is a living God?" the prophet retorted that Bel was clay within and brass without, and ate nothing. The Hebrew's life depending on his ability to prove his assertion, he convinced the king that the priests and their families consumed the food and drink set before the idol, proving that Bel was not a living, but a dead, god. Among the offerings set before Bel, we are told, was one of fine flour, presumably made into cakes, because we know that shewbread was in use in Babylonia. That the priests and Levites, and not Yahweh, ate the shewbread offered in the temple at Jerusalem, seems not

[1] There is, I believe, no record of another sacrifice before this exodus; but it may be taken for granted. For Rome, see Plutarch *Iulius* xxxiv, and below, pp. 183–184, where the Orient also is referred to. Polyænus (i. 10) tells of a passover-sacrifice (*hyperbateria*) offered to Athena on passing a boundary.

[2] Cf. Josephus *B.I.* vi. 5. 3 and Tacitus *Hist.* v. 13 for the gods departing from the temple when Jerusalem was captured (at Pentecost). Macrob. (*Sat.* iii. 9) says that the gods abandon a city which is about to be captured. The Romans had various formulas for evoking the deities of cities which they proposed to assault and inviting them to take up their abode at Rome. For fear that others might thus evoke their own gods, the Romans kept secret the name of their tutelary deity and the Latin (true) name of their city. The notion is a familiar one in magic. Did the Jewish tetragrammaton serve the same purpose?

[3] *Num.* xxi. 5 *sq.*

to have disturbed the pious Jew's faith in Yahweh as a living god.

With this we may dismiss the Passovers known as Pesah and Mazzot. That they were anciently fasts connected with the passage from year to year and over certain boundaries, must by now be clear. Far from being in their origin related to the departure of Israel from Egypt, this supposed historical connection is obviously due to the desire of the people to associate with the rites, which intrinsically suggested an exodus and a nostos, death, burial, and resurrection—in other words the salvation assured by *rites de passage,* such as the Greek Mysteries—the national salvation of Israel and the covenant made between them and Yahweh. The days to which, in accordance with the Hebrew ritual forms, these *rites de passage* were referred, are generally the second and the sixth, though there are indications also which point to fifth days. The transition is not, however, made at a single bound: on the contrary, the *rites de passage* show a marked tendency to repeat themselves. Incidentally, though primarily concerned thus far with Pesah and Mazzot, we have had occasion to draw attention to a considerable number of other passovers, which have left traces in the literary tradition of the Hebrews.

We have now to make a new beginning. We have seen that the passage of the Red Sea, on the fifth or sixth day after Pesah, was clearly another passover, though hardly to be identified with Mazzot. As in the story of Pesah the changes are rung on the verb *pāsah,* so here they are rung on *'ābar.* Of the sacred associations of the latter word we have already had evidence; but the most striking instances of the significant repetition of this motive still remain to be considered. The story, like that of the so-called Egyptian Passover, relates not to a single rite but to a great complex of rites connected with another border. As the Hebrew tradition associated Pesah and Mazzot with the exodus from Egypt, it brought the group of passovers now to be considered into relation with the nostos of Israel to the homeland in which they found rest. For the cis-Jordanic tribes these passovers were concerned with the passage over Jordan; for their brethren beyond the Jordan, for whom that river likewise had a meaning, the passovers of the nostos were localized at the Arnon and the Jabbok. Owing to the character of the literary tradition, which owes its existence chiefly to the cis-Jordanic tribes, the latter do not bulk so large in it; we may rather be surprised to find them recorded at all.

The story of the "return" of Israel to Canaan is related chiefly

in *Joshua* and *Deuteronomy;* that it complements that of the exodus from Egypt even to minute details has already been pointed out. Israel begins with a Passover, or rather with a series of passovers, traverses the wilderness during a term of forty years, and enters the Holy Land, passing over Jordan and celebrating the Passover: only then, on 'Omer-day, does it eat of the fruits of the land. *Joshua*[1] begins by saying that after the death of Moses Yahweh commanded Joshua not to allow "this book of the law,"[2] which Moses had ordained, to pass out of his mouth, but to pass over Jordan, promising a passage in three days, whereupon Israel should find rest. There can be no doubt that this rest, continually promised in *Joshua* and *Deuteronomy,* refers to a Sabbath of rest succeeding a passover; but we have here not a single *rite de passage,* but an exceedingly complex record, to which the Priestly redactors sought to give a form chiastically responding to that of the departure from Egypt. In the sacred story the motive of passing over Jordan is so often repeated that one is fairly bewildered.[3] In spite of all, and making every possible allowance for the complications that may be charged to redactors, it is clear that the triduum contemplated in the divine promise is not the first. Nevertheless the repeated mention of terms of three days here, as in the report of the departure from Egypt, may be assumed to be a survival from a time when a *hag* regularly ended on the third day.

Joshua, repeating the expedient of Moses, sent two scouts to spy out the land and Jericho. Arrived in that city, they were entertained by the hierodule Rahab,[4] who by an act of deceit[5] saved them, letting them down from a window by a cord and bidding them hide three days in the mountains. Doing as they were bidden, they returned, passing over to Joshua. Meanwhile they had made a covenant[6] with

[1] I. 10 *sq.* Note in the whole account the striking recurrence of *'ābar.*

[2] It is useless to try to identify the "book." See below, p. 169 *sq.*

[3] This reflects the countermarching of the procession at the *hag.*

[4] Rahab is to be interpreted by Tamar and Judith. Like many a virgin in Greek mythology, she saves her people by sacrificing her virginity. The hierodule, often called a widow, after performing this pre-nuptial rite, is married. Jewish tradition made Rahab the wife of Joshua.

[5] Note the ever-recurring ἀπάτη-motive in Greek myths. Because of their demonstrable connection with rites performed at the turn of the year the myths of the battle of the Giants or Titans and of the battle between Zeus and Typhon in particular are important. In Nonnus the motive of deceit is everywhere prominent, but no less in Æsch. *Prom. Bound* 206 *sq.*

[6] The covenant is another stock-motive of the passover.

Rahab, promising to save her for saving them;[1] on the day when Israel passed over Jordan she was to bind a cord[2] of scarlet thread to the window by which she had let them down, to serve as a token, so that the Israelites, coming as destroyers to the remaining inhabitants, might pass by and save her household; whoever passed out of the doors of her house into the street might expect to be slain. How closely analogous this situation is to that of the Pesah in Egypt is clear at a glance; here, however, we have the token of the scarlet cord in lieu of the blood of the paschal victim sprinkled upon the door.

Upon the return of the spies Joshua prepares[3] for the passage of the people. "And Joshua rose up early in the morning; and they removed from Shittim and came to the Jordan. . . and they lodged there before they passed over. And it came to pass after three days, that the officers went through the midst of the camp; and they commanded the people, saying, When ye see the ark of the covenant . . . and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove from your place and go after it . . . And Joshua said unto the people, Sanctify yourselves; for tomorrow Yahweh will do wonders[4] among you." One notes first of all that the passage is announced for the morrow and is thereby referred to a second day:[5] the proclamation, and the command to sanctify themselves, are the same as for a *hag*. But the beginning of the transit obviously dates from Shittim.

[1] So, too, Moses the Saviour was saved from destruction in the Nile. The motive of the saved saviour, constantly recurring in myths, e.g., of the Persians, is equally prominent in the Prometheus-myth as handled by Æschylus.

[2] At another time I hope to show the connection of Rahab's cord with that of the Babylonian devotee of Mylitta (by Herod. i. 199 called θώμιγξ). Here the cord does double duty. One may compare the bits of red wool attached to the saving scapegoat on the Day of Atonement (cf. *Isa.* i. 18), the "beggarly fringes of scarlet shreds" which decorate the mothers' booths at the circumcision-festivals of the Bedouins (Doughty, *Arabiæ Deserta,* i, 168 *sq.*), and the bits of red paper on the gate at Pekin on New Year's day (Van Gennep, p. 255).

[3] *Josh.* iii. 1 *sq.*

[4] The character of the wonders is not mentioned; after the experience at the Red Sea, at the Arnon, and at the Jabbok, the people would know what to expect.

[5] We have already noted departures on the second day. Moses on the second day slew the Egyptian and fled (*Exod.* ii. 13 *sq.*), and like Hagar came to a well. We should have expected Jericho to be taken on the day of the passover, as Lachish was taken on the second day (*Josh.* x. 32).

Taking the text as it stands,[1] one must reckon one stage from Shittim to the Jordan, where Israel lodged: this accounts for at least one day. There follows a triduum, which brings us to the close of the fourth day. Then, either on the fourth or fifth day, the passage is announced for the morrow: the passage must then occur on the fifth or sixth day. *Joshua*[2] informs us that "the people came up out of the Jordan on the 10th day of the first month," which was New Year's day, and was certainly reckoned as a sixth day.[3] That this passage was a New Year's passover on the fifth or sixth day appears as certain as anything can be. If one required confirmation, it could readily be found in the attendant rites. The sacred story emphasizes the rôle which the ark of the covenant played in the ceremonious crossing; but we have already seen the ritual forms observed in the translation of this *sacrum*.[4] After the entrance into Canaan Israel encamped at Gilgal, certainly associated with the circular dance of a *hag*. From this camp they proceeded daily to circumambulate Jericho, and Jericho fell; and at its fall the Israelites were the avenging death-angels of Yahweh, slaying all except the house of Rahab. In the late account of the taking of Jericho, it appears that the city fell on the seventh day, because (as we may well conjecture) the *hag* at Gilgal was supposed to have lasted seven days. Quite apart from the curious character which would thus be given to the seventh day, certainly a Sabbath, it is plain that the old account was different;[5]

[1] Some critics insist that *Josh.* III. 2–4 is an interpolation. If one accepts this view, one may with Knobel (see Dillmann's *Comment.*, p. 445) still reckon from Shittim, and find the following scheme: 1st day, scouts pass over to Jericho; 2d–4th days, they hide in mountains and return to Joshua; 5th day, Joshua moves his camp from Shittim to Jordan; 6th day, Israel passes over the river. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1. 3) says: δύ' ἐπισχὼν ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦς διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν. The words are not unambiguous, but probably mean that the passage was made on the second day.

[2] IV. 9.

[3] With the drying of the Jordan, as of the Red Sea, on the sixth day one may compare the account of the seven bowls of the wrath of God, which are to be poured out in the last days preceding the beginning of Messiah's kingdom, *Rev.* XVI. 12. "And the sixth poured out his bowl upon the great river, Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way might be made ready for the kings from the sunrising," who are to gather at Armageddon for the war of the great day of God. Cf. *Isa.* XLX. 5 *sq.* For the recession of the waters of the Euphrates on the sixth day to permit the passage of Cyrus the Younger, see below, p. 185.

[4] Above, p. 119, n. 3.

[5] *Josh.* VI. 14; "so they did six days" may well represent an earlier version which referred the fall of the city and its destruction to the sixth day, as Lachish fell and was destroyed on the second (*Josh.* X. 32; cf. XI. 6). *Josh.*

for Israel, after completing the passover of the Jordan on the 10th, celebrated Pesah on the 14th. Thus we have two passovers at precisely the same interval as at the departure from Egypt. The miracle of the divided waters,[1] occurring at the passage of the Red Sea, is repeated at the passage of the Jordan; and that the Hebrew *rites de passage* may be well represented, the Israelites are circumcised at Gilgal.[2]

Nothing is expressly said in the narrative regarding the hour when the passage of the Jordan was effected; but analogy certainly confirms the assumption that it was accomplished in the night. Pesah was always celebrated at night, and the limit was generally[3] between midnight and cockcrow. The passage of the Red Sea, as we have seen,[4] had been completed by the morning watch, and David's passover of the Jordan, when he fled from Absalom, was concluded at the same hour.[5] The taking of Jericho also would naturally be thought of as occurring in the night, as the death-angel passed through Egypt; and the prohibition laid upon those of the house of Rahab against going out of the doors into the street[6] recalls that given[7] to Israel in Egypt, "None of you shall go out of the door of

VI. 15 *sq.* bears all the marks of an interpolation intended to glorify the Sabbath. Compare the *Targum of Palestine* on *Deut.* XX, p. 619 Etheridge, and the practice of carrying the lulab about the altar at Sukkot (*J. Enc.* VIII, 205 *b*). For circumambulation of a sacred object (Jericho was *sacrum*), see *E.R.E.*, III, 657 *sq.*; and for the significant numbers in this connection, *A.R.*, XX, 473 *sq.* Whence the sevenfold circumambulation came I do not know. Two important instances, which relate to Egypt, occur in Epiphanius *Panar.* li. 22 (the birth of Æōn in the Coreion at Alexandria), and Plutarch *De Iside* 372 C (driving a cow about a temple at the winter-solstice). At Mecca the Kaaba is circled seven times and in the *sa'y* the pilgrim makes the passage from Safa to Marwa and return seven times. At other sacred spots the circumambulation is made the same number of times.

[1] The connection of dividing the waters with the second day of creation is well known. *Jubilees* II. 4 emphasizes the fact that God performed no other work on that day.

[2] *Josh.* V. 2 *sq.* For the connection of circumcision with Passover, cf. *Exod.* XII. 48 *sq.* If this Gilgal be the same as that of *Hos.* IV. 15 and *Amos* IV. 4, V. 5, other *rites de passage* may have been connected with the Passover. These to which Hosea alludes are the same as those practised at Shiloh.

[3] *Pesah.*, X, p. 258, tr. Rodkinson, ordains that the Passover-feast must be concluded by midnight.

[4] Above, p. 139.

[5] II *Sam.* XVII. 22. In the eschatological prophecies, which relate to the "Passover to come," salvation likewise comes before the morning (*Ps.* XLVI. 5; *Isa.* XVII. 14). Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 100), who mentions these prophecies together, overlooks the parallel with Passover.

[6] *Josh.* II. 19.

[7] *Exod.* XII. 22.

his house until the morning." Thus, despite the absence of a definite statement in regard to the hour of the passage of the Jordan under Joshua, we may confidently set it down as occurring in the night between New Year's eve and New Year's day.[1] Israel passes at once the bourn that separates year from year and the border of Canaan.

Of the ritual scheme which articulates the sacred story of the nostos of Israel to Canaan we have spoken in connection with the exodus from Egypt, where we had occasion to observe that it was quite incompatible with the recurrent cyclical week punctuated by a Sabbath on each seventh day. Without attempting the impossible task of reconstructing in detail the ritual history of the Hebrews, it may be said with perfect assurance that the hebdomadal week was in Judaism a relatively late innovation, being preceded by a festal term consisting of a repeated triduum, to which a Sabbath was added as an *'azeret* or post-festal day. Of this scheme the Old Testament still preserves traces despite the redactorial activities of later Judaism; and the Rabbis of Talmudic times, despite their glorification of the Sabbath, display continually a knowledge of the older order in their references to special details of the cultus. That the festival-terms were later revised in conformity with the pattern of the hebdomadal week is clear in connection with the prescriptions for Mazzot, and will become still more evident in those for Sukkot. Beside the narratives of the Hexateuch, we have several others, which merit more consideration than scholars have chosen to accord; for though preserved by Greek and Latin authors, they are manifestly derived from Semitic sources.[2] Jose-

[1] This is the time also for the end of the world (cf. *A.J.P.*, XLV, 211 *sq.*), when the general resurrection of the dead is expected.

[2] It is indeed not improbable that this was the original or oldest Hebrew tradition, which has been obscured by the elaborated epic of the exodus found in *Exodus* and *Numbers*. Even in these documents there are data which may reasonably be combined to yield this form. *Exod.* III. 18, v. 3, VIII. 27 (assigned to J) contemplate a three days' journey into the wilderness that Israel may sacrifice to its god (see above, p. 100). Where else should this sacrifice be offered except at "the mountain of Yahweh"? As we have seen, Israel was expected to return, which would have required other three days; but its "return" was not to be to Egypt, but to Canaan, and in *Num.* x. 33 we learn that Israel "set forward from the mount of Yahweh three days' journey," which apparently brought them to Canaan. This double triduum is the form not only of the Moslem hajj plus *'omra*, but likewise of the days of creation. Arrived in Canaan, the people of Yahweh found their Sabbatical rest. If these data belong together, as they appear to do, they are presumably ancient. It would accordingly appear that Morgenstern's "oldest document of the

phus[1] quotes Apion as saying, "After journeying six days[2] they got swelling glands in the groin, and on that account they rested on the seventh day, having been brought safely into the land now called Judea;" and Tacitus[3] gives a somewhat similar account, "After an unbroken journey of six days, defeating the inhabitants, they obtained on the seventh the lands in which a city and a temple were dedicated." There may be a complete parallel to these statements somewhere in Jewish writings; but if so, it is unknown to us. There is one, however, which is indisputably Jewish and sufficiently close to warrant the belief that Apion and Tacitus alike drew on a Jewish source: the *Targum of Palestine* on *Numbers*[4] says, "For, when the explorers had returned, the children of Israel abode in Rekem, but afterwards returned from Rekem to Motzeroth, *in six encampments during forty years.*" Here, then, we have a certainly Jewish version of the exodus which sought to harmonize the arrival of Israel in Canaan on the sixth day with the account which represented the journey as lasting forty years:[5] it does so by substituting six stations for the forty in the itinerary of *Numbers,* while retaining the number of years. Similar examples of the inclination of the Jews to conform

Hexateuch" (*Hebrew Union College Annual,* IV [1927], 1 *sqq.*) is itself an elaboration of the primitive scheme. This would well agree with the indications that Yahwism came from the South and supplanted the cultus of Hadad, whose ritual forms it retained.

[1] *C. Apion.* ii. 21.

[2] The account implies that Canaan was reached on the sixth day. After the limitation of movement on the Sabbath no Jew would think of Israel as marching on that day.

[3] *Hist.* v. 3. His source is unknown; Reinach (*Textes,* p. 304, n. 1) thinks it was Lysimachus; but ultimately it doubtless came from some Jew. At all events, it is worth noting that in the synagogue-service the Hymn of Unity for the Sabbath, doubtless following old tradition, connects the Sabbath-rest with the rest of Israel upon reaching the Holy Land after passing over Jordan, and says "And when they had rest, they built Thy holy city and glorified Thy sanctuary." Cf. Justin. xxxvi. 2: *Itaque Moses Damascena antiqua repetita montem Sinæum occupat, in quo septem dierum ieiunio per deserta Arabiæ fatigatus cum suo populo cum tandem uenisset, septimum diem more gentis sabbata appellatum in omne æuum ieiunio sacrant, quoniam illa dies famem illis erroremque finierat.* Pagan writers always, Christian writers often, represent the Sabbath as a fast-day. The account of Justin, after Trogus, probably follows a Syrian source.

[4] XXI, p. 409 Etheridge. The italics are mine.

[5] Similarly Moses was in the mount six (*Exod.* XXIV. 16) or forty days (*Exod.* XXIV. 18, XXXIV. 28; *Deut.* IX. 9—X. 10); Israel had manna six days (*Exod.* XVI. 26) and forty years (XVI. 35).

their accounts of the journeys of Israel to the scheme of the festal term or the week might be quoted.[1]

The *hag* of the exodus was concluded with Pesah celebrated on the fifth or sixth day after the arrival in Canaan. On the morrow the manna had ceased,[2] and the people ate of the fruits of the land.[3] As history this is unthinkable. The fruits were not grown by the Israelites,[4] and as conquerors the latter would not after a long fast have postponed the enjoyment of their spoils for six days; the date assigned is that of the ritual scheme, which appoints the Mazzot and 'Omer-day on the morrow after Pesah or the morrow after the Sabbath. Regarding the questions raised by the ritual acts of this day we shall have to speak in treating of Pentecost; for the present we are concerned solely with the indications of the narrative which prove its relation to the passovers.

The whole account of the conquest of Canaan in *Joshua* is presumably based on local legends brought into relation with various passover-rites.[5] We have already noted that the double passover of the trans-Jordanic tribes, who had their memorial of Ed, was connected with the passover of the cis-Jordanic tribes [6] who erected an analogous memorial [7] at Gilgal. We should be greatly interested to know just when and where these rites, whose memorial altars are represented as still extant, were celebrated; [8] in the absence of clear evidence we may assume that they were connected with cromlech-

[1] Cf. the *Targum of Palestine* on *Deut.* x, p. 591 Etheridge.

[2] *Josh.* v. 11–12. Al-Biruni (p. 273) notes under date of the 7th Adar: "A fast-day, because on this day Moses b. Amram died, and because with his death the manna and the quails ceased to appear." This implies a tradition that the quail-manna Passover ended with the exodus.

[3] See below, p. 263 *sq.*

[4] *Josh.* xxiv. 13. This is in keeping with the view that the *mazzot* were made of the old crop.

[5] The stratagem of the Gibeonites (*Josh.* ix) is an interesting example. It is a tale of a covenant, leading to the salvation of a people, obtained by deceit, and contains a repeated triduum. Israel murmurs against the princes of the congregation. The Gibeonites, like Israel on leaving Egypt, wear a peculiar dress, and eat old (moldy) bread. Does this reflect a local custom of the *hag*?

[6] *Josh.* iv. 12.

[7] *Ibid.* iv. 2–9, 20–24. The sacred story suggests the connection of the twelve stones with the twelve tribes. They become the subject of the same sort of memorial instruction as was given at Pesah. Hecatæus of Abdera (*fr.* 13, *H.G.f.*, ii, 391) with better reason connected them with the twelve months of the year.

[8] The account, as it now stands, is cis-Jordanic; cf. *Josh.* xxii. 11–19. The story involves Shiloh (xxii. 9, 12) and Gilead (xii. 13).

circles of great antiquity and sanctity, the memory of which was in part preserved in the name "Gilgal" in several localities, especially such as lay near the fords of Jordan. A similar occasion, we may conjecture, was that on which Joshua is said to have gathered the tribes of Israel at Shechem, when he bound them by a covenant to Yahweh, making the ceremony one of witness that the people had chosen Yahweh to be their God.[1] On that day he gave them the book of the Law which he had written, and then died.[2] Numerous details of the story suggest that it was a passover. The bones of Joseph, brought from Egypt and now buried at Shechem,[3] serve to connect this occasion with Pesah and the exodus.

Some of the foregoing suggestions might be regarded as fanciful if we had not the testimony of *Deuteronomy,* which is admittedly most closely connected with *Joshua.* The very name *Deuteronomy,* which means the "second Law," is a thing to be considered, though it is Greek. Our study leaves no doubt that the Law had from most ancient times a connection with the pilgrimage-festivals; and because of the ancient sanctity of Passover, the associations of the Law with this festival were most intimate. Why this should have been so will presently engage our attention; for the moment it may suffice to remark that the covenant seems to have been anciently concerned chiefly with ritual prescriptions.[4] Owing to its connection with the *hag,* the covenant of the Law was chiefly bound up with the exodus: the legislation of Horeb or Sinai being given near its beginning, *Deuteronomy* falling at its close. So, as the passovers go together in pairs, the Law of the covenant appears in duplicate. The year, which is a cycle of *haggim,* continually repeating themselves, furnishes the form; *Deuteronomy,* as we shall presently see, came in course of time to be specially associated with the second *hag* of the year, the Feast of Tabernacles.

Before considering the relation of *Deuteronomy* to the passover, we shall do well to give some attention to the Hebrew tradition regarding the Law. It is quite possible that the psalmist[5] had in

[1] *Josh.* XXIV.

[2] It is not said that Joshua died at once, but that is obviously intended. His death and his book of the Law duplicate those of Moses, of which we shall presently speak. Cf. above, p. 162.

[3] *Josh.* XXIV. 32; cf. *Exod.* XIII. 19.

[4] See Barton, *The Religion of Israel,* p. 64 *sq.,* for a good brief statement.

[5] *Ps.* CXIV; 1 *Enoch,* L. 4 applies the description to the Day of Judgment; cf. *Ps.* LXVII. 7 *sq.,* and IV *Ezra* III. 18 *sq.*

mind the giving of the Torah when he celebrated the deliverance of Israel from Egypt as a sort of Bacchic dance in which all nature joined, the mountains skipping like rams, the sea fleeing, the Jordan turning back, and the earth quaking.[1] Greek myths of the coming of Apollo and Dionysus duplicate the scene. However jocund nature may seem, to man it is a great and terrible day. *Deuteronomy*[2] tells us that the Law was given at Horeb, on "the day of the assembly," when Yahweh appeared to the congregation in fire, so terrifying the people that they prayed that the experience might not be repeated and constituted Moses their intermediary.[3] Such is in fact the day of the assembly throughout the older Hebrew tradition: all indications suggest that it was associated with judgment, decision, and fasting.[4] One cannot doubt that from the oldest times the reading of the Law was greeted, as it was in the time of Ezra,[5] with loud lamentation. In Islam, Jumah, the day of assembly, is Friday; we may be reasonably sure that in ancient Israel, as in Islam, it was either a second or a sixth day. Certainly it was not a Sabbath; for, however strong the temptation of the Rabbis to connect the reading of the Torah with the Sabbath, on which it was practised in later Judaism, even in the Talmud there is little disposition to refer the giving of the Law to a seventh day. The references, in fact, with few and obviously late exceptions, point definitely to the sixth day or to *haggim,* which fell on second or sixth days and had properly nothing to do with the Sabbath.[6]

In *Exodus*[7] we read that when Moses was on the holy mount

[1] We have already noted the connection of earthquakes with the *hag,* when the world parts asunder. The Greek poets tell of similar phenomena when Dionysus appears at his festival; cf. Æsch. *Edoni, fr.* 58, and Eurip. *Bacch.* 726; *Ion* 1078 *sq.* See below, p. 489. 1 *Enoch* 1. 4 expects God to appear with his heavenly hosts at Sinai at the end of the world.

[2] v. 22; ix. 10; x. 4 (apparently a gloss); xviii. 16.

[3] The reception of the Law was like that recorded in *Neh.* viii. 9. Moses thereby becomes a priest. He was later made into a Levite, a sort of Ezra.

[4] The word for assembly is *kāhāl.* Cf. *Judg.* xxi. 5, 8 (second day); 1 *Sam.* xvii. 47 (single combat between David and Goliath, destruction of the Philistines); 1 *Kings* viii. 2 = II *Chron.* v. 3 (*hag* for the ark translated to the temple); *Levit.* viii. 4 (consecration of Aaron and his sons); II *Chron.* xx. 5 (fast); *ibid.,* xxx. 13, 23–25 (Pesah and Mazzot); *Jer.* xxvi. 9, 17 (prophet, who prophesies destruction of Jerusalem, threatened with death), xliv. 15 (Israel, apostatizing, offers incense to the Queen of Heaven), xxxi. 8–9 ("come to the assembly with weeping"). Several of these occasions are certainly or probably New Year's days.

[5] *Neh.* viii. 9.

[6] See *Yomah,* Chap. i.

[7] xxiv. 16.

with God, the cloud covered it six days. Presumably it was on the last day of this term that he descended with the tables of the Law. During his absence Israel demanded of Aaron that he make them a god to go before them, and he made the golden calf, and announced a *hag* for the morrow. On this second and sixth day, Moses returned with the two tables of the Law, and seeing the people holding their *hag* and dancing, shattered the tables at the foot of the mount.[1] Thus was the Law given and broken the same day, the day of a *hag*. That this was so understood by the Rabbis hardly admits of a doubt; for though there were a few who dated this occurrence on the 7th Siwan, it was generally assigned to the 6th.[2] We are told that it was a day when Satan was abroad, and it fell at the sixth hour.[3] In keeping with these indications are the views of the Rabbis regarding the Law and the lawgiver, Moses. Though there are not wanting a few data connecting Moses with a seventh day, the significant fact is that there are more which associate him with the sixth. Thus it is said that he was taken from the Nile on the 6th Siwan, and that he was buried in a grave prepared for him on the sixth day of creation.[4]

[1] *Exod.* XXXII.

[2] These are the days of Pentecost; the Law seems to have come to be associated with this festival quite late. It is not likely that the dispute concerned the question whether the 6th or the 7th Siwan was Pentecost; the problem lies deeper, as one may see by comparing the second day of *Shemini 'Azeret.*

[3] *J. Enc.,* III, 509 *a.* We saw above the connection of Mastema with the second and sixth days.

[4] *J. Enc.,* IX, 46 *b sq.* There is an important Christian document, though certainly based on Jewish tradition, in Fulgentius *De æt. mundi et hominis* vi. 146 *sq.,* ed. Helm, where Jesus (whose Nativity was observed on the 6th January and on Christmas, made a 6th day by putting its *proëortia* on the 20th December) is said to have deigned to make his appearance (Epiphany) in the 6th age of the world (cf. Augustine *De diuersis quæst.* xliv [*P.L.,* XL, 54 *sq.*]), and Moses, the exodus, the Law, etc., are dated in the same age. Augustine (*loc. cit.*) interprets this as meaning the 6th day and the 6th hour. Moreover Fulgentius, by insisting on the complete humanity of Christ, not obscurely connects the Epiphany with man's creation on the 6th day, having in mind no doubt that Christ is the new or second Adam. Victorinus *On the Creation of the World* reveals the same scheme. Attention was called above to the pilgrimage of Moslems of Palestine at Easter to the tomb of the prophet Moses. In view of the Islamic tradition that Mohammed at first observed the Jewish Day of Atonement as a fast and later substituted for it the fast of Ramadan, the following (*E.R.E.,* v, 883) is of interest: "The oldest Islamic legend explains the choice of Ramadan . . . by the tradition that it was the month of revelations. The 'leaves of Abraham' (*Qur.* LXXVII. 19, LIII. 37), the Torah, the Gospel, and the Quran (II. 181) are said to have been successively 'sent down' in Ramadan (Baidāwi, I. 192, 19 *f.*)." This shows the

He was no doubt believed to have been buried on the day of his death; which was, as we shall presently see, the one on which Israel passed over Jordan, a sixth day. Later we shall meet him with Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration on a sixth day. Similar are the associations of the tables of the Law. They were two in number and repeated or given a second time. Moses, after breaking the first pair received at Sinai, went up again to the mountain and remained there fasting forty days and nights,[1] receiving the second pair. Jewish tradition dated the first legislation on the 6th Siwan or on the 17th Tammuz, a most black day observed in commemoration of the breach made in the walls of Jersualem in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; it dated the giving of the second tables on the Day of Atonement, the fast *par excellence* of later Judaism. The latter was, as we shall see, a New Year's day reckoned as a sixth day. These associations of the Law with a fast must be more than casual. In the speculations of the Rabbis also regarding the tables of the Law we find the same combination of twos and sixes as in the provisions for the shew-bread. "According to R. Berechiah, the tables were six hand-breadths in length. In their delivery to Moses two hand-breadths were held in the hand of the Almighty, two constituted the distance between God and Moses, and two were seized by Moses." [2] The tables were of course stones of witness, of testimony, and of covenant, and consequently akin to those of Ed and Galeed and those elsewhere associated with passover-rites.[3] Thus by every token the Law is brought into intimate relation not only with the second and sixth days but also with the Passovers, which anciently fell on them. One more indication of this connection is to be found in the story of the second pair of tables, which Moses was bidden to hew of stone like unto the first. Moses on the mount is put in a cleft of the rock while Yahweh passes over before him.[4] That this was another "Yahweh's passover" can hardly be doubted.

Nowhere, however, is the association of the Law with the Passover more clearly shown than in *Deuteronomy*. That the dramatic date

connection of the Law and the Gospel with the fast. The connection of the fast with the sixth day need not be emphasized here.

[1] *Exod.* XXIV. 18; *Deut.* IX. 9, 18. For the Mohammedan parallel between the 40 days of Moses and the like period between the 1st Qa'da and the 10th Hijja, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 296.

[2] *J. Enc.*, XI, 662 *sq.*

[3] Cf. *Deut.* XXVII. 2; *Josh.* IV. 3, XXII. 24; *Gen.* XXXI. 46–47.

[4] *Exod.* XXXIII. 18–XXXIV. 11. Note the repetition of *'ābar*. Cf. 1 *Kings* XIX. 11 *sq.* and *Jer.* XVIII. 17.

of this book falls at the close of the exodus has of course been recognized; but little attention has been given to the fact that the legislation of the "second Law" is referred to the day of Israel's crossing the Jordan into the Promised Land.[1] Whether the date be that given in *Joshua*[2] may of course be questioned; but one can hardly resist the conclusion that it was thought of as a New Year passover, to be succeeded by a Sabbath of rest; for Judaism unquestionably so understood the references to the rest of Israel promised when it should have entered Canaan. With this rite at the Jordan Judaism associated other conceptions of the deepest and most far-reaching significance. Not to speak at present of the baptism in the Jordan, which the Christian Church interpreted as a death and resurrection, Judaism understood the crossing of Jordan in the same sense.[3] How ancient this association of ideas was among the Hebrews[4] can perhaps be determined only by a more complete critical analysis of the text of *Deuteronomy*. It seems to be involved

[1] *Deut.* IX. 1: "Hear, O Israel: thou art to pass over the Jordan this day."

[2] IV. 19. *Deut.* I. 3 gives the date of Moses' address as "in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the 1st day of the month." This creates a difficulty, quite apart from the conflict with the date of *Joshua*, if it be taken as that of the passage over the Jordan; for the forty years of the exodus would not have expired. The New Year's day, balancing the departure from Egypt at the expiry of 430 years (*Exod.* XII. 40–41), would be the natural time. How the date of *Deut.* I. 3 is to be explained is another matter: the critical analysis of *Deut.* is still far from complete, but the historical retrospect (I. 1—IV. 43) may well be the work of a different hand from that of the body of the code. Assuming that the day of the passage over the Jordan was the 10th Nisan, we should have a period exactly of the same length as that intervening between the fast of Ramadan and the official hajj to the Kaaba. See Burton, II, 394; III, 226. Of course this may be mere coincidence; for terms of seventy days do not elsewhere occur in the O.T. But it is worth noting that the *Targum of Palestine* on *Deut.* XXXIV, p. 671 Etheridge, dates the death of Moses on the 7th (Josephus *Ant.* iv. 8. 49 says the 1st) Adar, and adds 30 days' mourning for him (p. 684 Etheridge). If one assumes an intercalary Veadar, one may get practically the same term to the 10th Nisan. It is entirely possible that Islam copied this scheme from Judaism; but whether the latter rests on some local Jewish observance or is a mere learned construct, contrived to harmonize texts, is uncertain. The latter seems certainly true of *Targum of Palestine* on *Deut.* XXXIV, p. 684 Etheridge: "And the children of Israel wept for Mosheh in the plain of Moab thirty days; and the days of mourning for Mosheh were completed on the eighth of the month of Nisan. And on the ninth of Nisan the people of Beth Israel prepared their vessels and set their cattle in order, and passed over the Jordan on the tenth of Nisan. And the manna ceased for them on the sixteenth of Nisan. They found manna to eat thirty-seven days after the death of Mosheh, for the sake of his righteousness."

[3] *J. Enc.*, X, 383 *b*; Morgenstern in *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.*, VIII. 34.

[4] It need not have been late; see below, p. 178, n. 1.

in the text as we now have it; for Moses, who was understood to have passed directly to God, and whose sepulcher no man knoweth to this day, was forbidden to pass over Jordan.[1] This is made in the context to appear as a punishment to satisfy Yahweh's wrath because of Israel's rebellion at Meribah, and Moses is merely permitted to betake himself to Pisgah and behold the promise afar; but can this have been the real meaning of the passage? With this is coupled the thought that the children, who have no knowledge of good or evil, shall accomplish the passover,[2] which may refer to a *rite de passage* for children;[3] at all events one cannot doubt the connection of this with the promise of the kingdom to the children and to such as enter it as a little child.[4]

There are in the sacred story other hints of ritual and liturgy, some of which must be quite ancient. We have already dwelt on the connection of the Law with the Passover.[5] Here it is ordained,[6] "It shall be on the day when ye shall pass over the Jordan unto the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones and plaster them with plaster; and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this Law, when thou art passed over;" and again,[7] "It shall come to pass, when Yahweh thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set the blessing upon mount Gerizim and the curse upon mount Ebal." One recalls that, according to *Joshua*,[8] when Ai had been utterly destroyed

[1] *Deut.* III. 27.

[2] *Ibid.* I. 39.

[3] Perhaps a rite at puberty. Among the Greeks and Romans the age of consent, of maturity or discretion, was generally set at twelve years, though occasionally as late as fourteen. The *Targum of Palestine* on *Num.* XXX, p. 449 Etheridge, fixes it at twelve or thirteen. This, I take it, is the age intended in *Isa.* VII. 15–16. Gray (*ad loc.*) mentions the guesses of various scholars; Cheney (*ad loc.*) sees that butter and honey are the foods of the fast. I *Sam.* I. 22 presumably refers to an earlier age. For circumcision as a *rite de passage* at puberty, see Lydus *De mens.* iv. 53. He says that the "Tented Arabs" circumcised the boys in the thirteenth year. The ancient Persians said that man was created at the age of fifteen. This apparently absurd statement obviously reflects a puberty-rite performed at that age, when a boy "was made a man." It was of course a *rite de passage,* or passover.

[4] *Mark* X. 15.

[5] *Deut.* XXXI. 10–11, where the reading of the Law at Sukkot on the *mo'ed* of the year of release is appointed, is clearly late. We shall see, however, that Sukkot also was a passover-rite. It will be recalled that the law of Pesah was given at Succoth. The connection of the Law with the Sabbatical year of release is perhaps due to its late association with the Sabbath.

[6] *Deut.* XXVII. 2–3; cf. *Deut.* XI. 29 and *Josh.* VIII. 30 *sq.*

[7] *Deut.* XI. 29–34.

[8] VIII. 30–35.

and its king hanged on a tree until evening and then buried at sunset,[1] Joshua built an altar on mount Ebal whereon he made burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and wrote there upon the stones a copy of the Law of Moses. Israel stood half in front of Mount Gerizim and half in front of Mount Ebal;[2] and Joshua, as Moses had commanded, read all the words of the Law, the blessing and the curse. In *Deuteronomy* we find ritual and liturgical directions for this occasion, prescribing the ceremony observed after the destruction of Ai, and bidding the Levites recite a sequence of maledictions on the sinners who break the Law and of benedictions on the good who keep it. The final benediction[3] is especially appropriate to a *rite de passage:* "Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out;" for, as we read elsewhere,[4] Yahweh "brought us out from thence [Egypt], that he might bring us in." To this day the Jew repeats a similar prayer when he crosses the threshold of his home, going or coming. Can one doubt that all this concerns an ancient passover-rite prescribed for "the day when ye shall pass over the Jordan"? The liturgical character becomes even more pronounced in the responses prescribed for the Levites and the people:[5] "And the Levites shall answer and say unto the men of Israel with a loud voice, Cursed be the man that maketh a graven or a molten image . . . And all the people shall answer and say, Amen."[6]

On the day of the passage over the Jordan, Moses and Joshua were summoned to the tent of meeting, where the latter was consecrated as the leader of Israel.[7] The day is therefore recognized as one

[1] As at the Crucifixion.

[2] Epiphanius (p. 199, 6 Holl) places Gerizim and Ebal "beyond the Jordan eastward of Jericho." This is, of course, absurd, but is doubtless to be explained by the association of the Law with Moses and with the interval between the Red Sea and Jordan. The blessing and the curse are related to "the day of Yahweh."

[3] xxviii. 6; cf. the curse, xxviii. 19.

[4] vi. 23.

[5] xxvii. 14 *sq.*

[6] Cf. the "promises and threats" prescribed in the Babylonian *shigū*-service for certain sixth days, below, p. 392 *sq.*

[7] xxxi. 14 *sq.* From Flinders Petrie, *Brit. Sch. of Arch. in Egypt, Studies, II., Hist. Studies,* 8, I gather that in Egypt the festival of the Osirification of the king and the installation of a crown prince was from early times observed during the epact at the turn of the year. If so, this is a striking parallel. Petrie thinks it may have fallen on the intercalary day added in leap-year. I know of no intercalation before the Ptolemaic period; but F. Hommel (*Grundriss der Geograph. u. Gesch. des alten Orients* [1926], p. 884 *sq.*) finds evidence of an intercalary month at intervals of 120 years. Whether his views will be accepted by Egyptologists remains to be seen.

suited to the consecration of a ruler or a priest.[1] In later times the high priest was so consecrated on the Day of Atonement;[2] but the ceremony might be performed likewise at Sukkot, which in Jewish thought was most intimately associated with the Shekinah, that stood over the door of the tent when Joshua was consecrated. All these indications conspire to mark the day as a fast; which is in keeping with the fact that Moses passed away that day. On it, we are told, he wrote his book of the Law[3] and commanded the Levites to set it beside the ark of the covenant[4] as a witness against Israel, which was rebellious; and on this same day[5] he wrote and taught to the children of Israel his second song, which, like that sung at the passage over the Red Sea, is clearly a passover-hallel. One who duly weighs these facts will see that the occasion, certainly a passover commemorating the passage over the Jordan, did not differ essentially from that which was linked with the departure from Egypt. It cannot have been less sacred than Pesah; like it, it was certainly a New Year rite.

Thus we find in *Joshua* and *Deuteronomy* abundant evidences of passover-rites which in the retrospect Israel interpreted as commemorative of the nostos. They are connected more or less intimately with the fords of the Jordan; and the point of view of the sacred story is, as one might have expected, predominantly cis-Jordanic, though the trans-Jordanic tribes also find a place in the ritual scheme. Meanwhile we have discovered evidences of similar rites which were not admitted to this epic cycle of departure and return, or were at best treated as mere episodes. To the trans-Jordanic tribes the crossing of the Jordan would of course bear no such significance in relation to their nostos; so far as they correlated their rites with the story of their migration they would naturally seek elsewhere for the passover of their return. There can have been no lack of local observances among which to choose according to need. If we still find traces of such a reconstruction of history, we must credit this to good fortune.

[1] See the discussion in *Yomah,* Chap. I. Hence the practice of dating by years of a king; a new era had begun.

[2] *Zech.* III. 1–10 is such a day, whether or not it was the one observed as the Day of Atonement in later times.

[3] Cf. XXIX. 1 (a second Law), XXXI. 24 *sq.*

[4] Cf. *Exod.* XXV. 16, for the tables of the Law in the ark.

[5] *Deut.* XXXI. 22. Of this song we cannot here speak at length, but it will repay diligent study. If one will note its topics and suggestions and trace them throughout the O.T., they will afford a clue to much that has hitherto been obscure.

That the Red Sea and the Jordan should have been coupled is not surprising:[1] "When Israel went forth out of Egypt . . . The Sea saw it, and fled: the Jordan was driven back . . . What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleest? Thou Jordan, that thou turnest back?" A noteworthy passage occurs in the passover-hallel sung by Moses at the Red Sea. Glorying in the destruction of the Egyptians and the deliverance of Israel, he sings of the mighty works of Yahweh and of the terror inspired thereby:[2]

"The peoples have heard, they tremble:
Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.
Then were the chiefs of Edom dismayed;
The mighty men of Moab, trembling taketh hold upon them.
All the inhabitants of Canaan are melted[3] away.

"Terror and dread falleth upon them:
By the greatness of thine arm they are as still[4] as stone;
Till thy people pass over, O Yahweh,
Till the people pass over that thou hast begotten."

There seems to be no room for doubt that reference is here made to passover-rites such as we have been discussing and to the sacred peace or truce of God observed by neighboring tribes during the period of the *hag*. The latter is an ancient institution not peculiar to the Hebrews, but known alike to the Arabians and the Greeks.[5] The request of the Israelites for a peaceable passage through the Arnon and the land of Moab is related to this practice; for the whole journey of Israel was a *hag*. We are not now concerned to decide whether the words of the hallel were used with reference to the whole transit from Egypt to Canaan or to particular points at which there were passovers; but it is of interest to see how Judaism interpreted them. Owing to the conspicuous place of the passovers of the

[1] *Ps.* CXIV. 1, 3, 5.

[2] *Exod.* XV. 14–16.

[3] A motive constantly recurring: cf. *Josh.* II. 9–10; V. 1; XIV. 8; *Isa.* XIX. 1; *Jer.* IX. 7; *Ezek.* XXII. 20–22, etc. All the earth is amazed and filled with dread when Yahweh fares forth. One may compare Babylonian texts connected with the Zag-muk festival, e. g., "The Lord of Babylon (Marduk) goes forth; all lands bow down before him" (Zimmern I, p. 138).

[4] Porphyry (*De antro nymph.* XXVII) says that Pythagoras and the Egyptian sages forbade speaking while passing through gates or doors, doing reverence in silence to God who holds the beginning of all things. See below, p. 425, n. 3 *sq.*

[5] See Ginzel, I, 243, for the Arabs. The Greek ἐκεχειρία is well known, as is the truce of God observed in the Middle Ages.

Jordan in the Hebrew tradition, it was inevitable that the passing-over of the people should be referred chiefly to that river;[1] what may at first surprise one is that it shares the honor with other streams. The *Targum of Onkelos*[2] couples the Arnon with the Jordan, and the *Targum of Palestine*[3] thus interprets the closing words of the hallel: "Let them be silent as a stone till the time when Thy people, O Lord, shall have passed the stream of Arnona, till the time when Thy people, whom Thou didst ransom, shall have crossed the dividing current of Jebeka." The fact that the Arnon and the Jabbok are thus brought into relation with the Jordan in a connection which has to do with passover-rites suggests that such rites were anciently practised likewise at these rivers; and one may confirm this suggestion by other indications which raise it to a practical certainty. The Arnon, it is known, once formed the boundary between Reuben and Moab,[4] and might therefore be fitly regarded by the Reubenites as "the dividing current," by passing which they entered the Land of Promise. Hence when we read in the *Targum of Jerusalem:*[5] "The miracles and mighty acts which the Lord wrought for His people, the sons of Israel, when they stood by the Red Sea, so did He with them when they were at the fords of the vale of Arnona," we are prepared to believe that the Targumists preserve a real tradition of older time; for it will be recalled that the passage of the Arnon stages the scene of the episodes of Baal-peor and of Balaam,[6] who beheld

[1] The Jordan was "the River" *par excellence;* perhaps the fact that the Euphrates occupied a similar position in the thought of later Judaism in relation to "the last days" was due likewise to its being "the River" *par excellence.* How ancient was the thought that death and resurrection consisted in crossing a stream we do not know. The Greeks spoke of crossing Styx or Acheron, and the pilgrimages of the Hindus to lakes and sacred rivers suggest passover-rites, possibly having the same motives. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt about the Babylonians. The text which brings the death and resurrection of Marduk into connection with the New Year festival tells us that in going to the land of the dead the deceased cross the river Hubur. See Zimmern II, 3, n. 2. Professor Barton tells me that the initial consonant of this name may be represented in Heb. by either Heth or Ayin; thus it is possible that *Hubur* is cognate to *'ābar* and means the "Passover River." Other peoples have thought of the land of the dead as an island. See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2], II, 97.

[2] P. 379 Etheridge.

[3] P. 494 Etheridge. See below, p. 217, n. 7.

[4] *Deut.* III. 16. Earlier it had been the boundary between the Moabites and Amorites, *Num.* XXI. 13; *Judg.* XI. 12 *sq.*

[5] On *Num.* XXI. p. 412 Etheridge.

[6] That "the mouth of the speaking ass" was created on the sixth day shows its connections.

Israel encamped as at a *hag* and pronounced a blessing instead of a curse, and that it was on this occasion that Yahweh said,[1] "This day will I put the fear of thee upon the peoples that are under the whole heaven, who shall hear the report of thee, and shall tremble and be in anguish because of thee."

There are in fact grounds for believing that the passover-rites of the Jordan, of the Arnon, and of the Jabbok were the same, or were at least intimately connected. This is intrinsically probable both because of the close proximity of these streams and because of the fundamental identity of the various passovers; but it is further suggested by the way in which they are associated in the sacred story. They are linked together not only in the narrative of Jephthah but also in that of Jacob. Though the Biblical account[2] of Jacob's meeting with Esau at the Jabbok is rather brief, we may be sure that oral tradition made much of it.[3] The affair of the Jabbok is quite certainly connected with a passover-rite,[4] which apparently included an *agōn;* for there Jacob strove with God and acquired the limp of the *hag* and the new name of Israel.[5] The limp is that of the passover-*hag,* and Israel was henceforth known as a limping nation.[6] One might therefore call the rite either an *'ābar*-passover or a Pesah. One might pursue this matter still farther by pointing out that Succoth[7] is connected with this story, as with Pesah, and that there occurs here the motive of the divided herds and the divided camp at Mahanaim;[8] this would, however, add little to the understanding of the rite. We shall later recur to the limp of Israel and the

[1] *Deut.* II. 24–25. It is possible that the story of Jephthah's vow and sacrifice (*Judg.* XI) is connected with a rite at the Arnon. The references to the destruction of Moab (*Isa.* XVI. 2 and *Jer.* XLVIII) likewise suggest rites.

[2] *Gen.* XXXII. *sq.*

[3] This seems inevitable because the story obviously intends to explain the origin of the people of Israel. That this explanation connects it with a passover-rite is significant, if the ethnic name "Hebrew" designates the people with reference to *'ābar,* "pass over."

[4] Note the reiteration of *'ābar:* commentators cannot tell on which side of the Jabbok the brothers met.

[5] The name "Israel" is taken to refer to the wrestling; and the name "Jabbok" was taken to mean the stream of the wrestling-match: *'abak* (*Gen.* XXXII. 24, 25) compared with *yābak,* cf. Driver in *D.B.,* II, 530, n. †. The connection of the *agōn* with the *hag* will be pointed out below. That Jacob receives a new name is itself a mark of a *rite de passage;* see the references for the practice given by Boll, *Die Lebensalter,* p. 124, n. 5.

[6] *Mic.* IV. 6–7; *Zeph.* III. 19.

[7] Also in the story of Gideon.

[8] Also in the story of David and Absalom, to be considered later.

sacredness of the *neruus ischiadicus*.[1] As evidence that Judiasm assimilated this occasion to the Egyptian Passover one may recall the statement that when Jacob in distress turned toward the Jordan, Yahweh wrought a miracle in his behalf, giving him a staff wherewith he smote and divided its waters.[2]

With this we may for the present close our survey of the Hebrew passover-rites, of which traces remain in the record. Though the list is long, it is not complete; a few will be mentioned in connection with the other pilgrimage festivals, to which they show more affinity than to Pesah, and others will be purposely omitted. If our account be even in the main outlines correct, it must be clear that rites of this character were far from uncommon among the ancient Hebrews. Many of them clearly never attained to national importance and remained to the last attached to local shrines or sites of ancient religious observances. It is nevertheless singular that the passovers of the Jordan should not have been more definitely correlated with the cultus of Yahweh; for even in modern times a pilgrimage to the Jordan has continued to be a recognized adjunct to the Easter pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as one sees by the account of Maundrell. The only explanation of this fact that occurs to us is that it did not lend itself readily to incorporation in the service of the temple, where Judaism tended to concentrate the cultus, except so far as it was transferred to the synagogue. Yet one recalls how precarious was the connection even of Pesah with the temple. Why this Passover, rather than others, succeeded in perpetuating itself, though in a modified form, it is difficult to explain.

We may now refer to another question which may naturally be asked. In view of the connection which we have found between the Law and the passovers, can one suggest a good reason for their being so associated? Of course any answer must be quite tentative, but the one we would propose appears plausible enough to merit some consideration. It has been shown that the passovers are concerned with passing over certain limits of time or place, such as the turn of the year or the boundary dividing coterminous peoples. If one crossed a boundary, one sacrificed to the gods of the land one

[1] See below, p. 454.

[2] *J. Enc.*, v, 208 *a*. When Jacob says (*Gen.* xxxii. 10) "with my staff I passed over this Jordan" we may assume that the practice of going forth staff in hand at Passover is alluded to.

was leaving [1] and to those of the land one was entering.[2] One who practised monolatry might then renounce the worship of the old and adopt that of the new deity. A bride entering a new land or a new group would, like Ruth, pass over to a new god. Something quite analogous to this must happen in passing from year to year and clearing the dead-line which divides them. At the end of the year or cycle, all bonds were apparently loosed, especially when intercalation or an epact intervened between the close of one round and the beginning of another. Such a *période de marge* is marked by the interruption of discipline and the absence of law. Once the gap is cleared, the busy round is resumed, and one enters afresh into the old loyalties; one renews one's vows [3] and enters into a new covenant.[4] "The old things are passed away; behold all things are become new." [5] Such thoughts are certainly in keeping with the new covenant initiated by the atoning death and resurrection of the Saviour coming in the fulness of the times.[6] Frazer [7] tells of the "busk," or festival of the first-fruits, which was the chief ceremony of the Creek Indians and marked the end of the old year and the beginning of the new. After describing the ceremonies in detail, he says: "Finally the chief priest made a speech, exhorting the people to observe their old rites and customs, announcing that the new divine fire had purged away the sins of the past year." It does not seem fanciful

[1] See above, p. 130, n. 5, and below, p. 183, n. 3.

[2] See Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning,* p. 248, for the association of intercalation with the reign of evil spirits in Loango. The same association is met among the Mayas. It is primitive and of wide geographical distribution.

[3] The decisions of the Jewish Rabbis show that a vow was supposed to be paid within the year measured by the cycle of festivals. On the Day of Atonement one prays that vows left unpaid may be forgiven. The same view prevailed in the early Christian Church.

[4] The association of the "new law" with the eschatological new age is well known. See *J. Enc.,* v, 216 *a.* In the Babylonian epic of creation, which reflects the New Year rites, Marduk is represented as reënacting the laws of Anu and Ea, whom he is thought of as succeeding. So the accession of Zeus, which occurred at New Year, brought with it new laws (Æsch. *Prom. Bound* 149 *sq.*). The Roman prætors when they entered upon their office renewed the *album;* and Athenian archons, like other annual magistrates ancient and modern, bound themselves by solemn oaths to maintain the existing law, thus establishing it anew. In the baptism of competents in the early Church, which occurred on Easter Sunday, there was also the ceremony of giving the law as well as the gospels (Duchesne, *Christ. Worship* [3], p. 298 *sq.*).

[5] II *Cor.* v. 17.

[6] Cf. *Rom.* VI. 1–11; II *Cor.* V. 14–17; *Eph.* IV. 22–24; *Hebr.* VIII.

[7] *The Golden Bough,* II, 75.

to trace in this complex of ideas an analogy to those of St. Paul and the author of *Hebrews*.

Thus far we have almost entirely confined our attention to the Hebrew tradition, though an occasional glance has been cast at observances of other peoples. If the passovers are, as they appear to be, *rites de passage,* which are known to have had a very wide geographical distribution, we may reasonably expect to find evidence of similar practices and associations elsewhere. In any consideration of this question it should be borne in mind that the Biblical records are very sparing of details about the actual customs of the *haggim,* and that most of these are not of a sort to furnish a satisfactory basis for comparison with observances among other peoples. Thus when the Torah commands that the festivals shall be kept as days of rest and abstention from labor, it enjoins merely what was apparently a general practice. Plato [1] says that the gods, pitying the human race born to labor, ordained the festivals in order to give men a respite from toil. How little distinctive the Biblical directions for Pesah and Mazzot were must be clear to all. Such color and significance as they had were due to their associations, which are disclosed in part by the sacred story that purports to explain their origin, but appear even more clearly in the ritual schemes that enable us to connect them with the round of common life.

Philo and Josephus,[2] Hellenistic Jews, often use in lieu of the

[1] *Legg.* 653 C D.

[2] Philo *Uit. Mos.* ii. 224, 226; *De septen.* xlvi, cxlv, cxlvii, cl, uses διαβατήρια, as does Origen *C. Cels.* viii. 392: cf. Thucyd. v. 54–55; Xenophon *Hell.* iv. 7, 2; Plutarch *Uit. Luculli* xxiv. Josephus *Ant.* iii. 14, 6 (313), uses ὑπερβάσια: cf. ὑπέρβασις in Polybius iv. 19. 8, and ὑπερβατήρια in Polyænus i. 10. Philo *Legg. alleg.* iii. 94, 151, 154, 165; *De sacrif. Abelis et Caini* lxiii; *De migratione Abrah.* xxv; *De congr. erud. gratia* cvi have διάβασις, a common term for "crossing" or "ford." One may compare ἐπιβατήρια also. Philo (*De septen.* cxlvii.) interprets Passover as ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν παθῶν διάβασις, much as Plato regards philosophy as the flight of the soul from the world of sense to the eternal sphere of the Ideas, which is its proper home. So in the Paschal Canon of Damascius (*Berl. klassiker Texte, Heft* 6, 119) it is said that, at the Lord's Passover, Christ caused us to pass over (διεβίβασεν) from death to life, from earth to heaven. Cf. *John* v. 21–24. The term διάβασις is moreover applied to other festivals, which like Pesah consisted of a solemn procession of a god and his worshipers. In Peyron, *Papyri Græci R. Taurin. Musei* (Turin, 1826), pp. 1–3, we read of a διάβασις of Ammon at Thebes in Egypt; and perhaps there were two such festivals, which included the transport of the god across the Nile. See Peyron, *op. cit.,* pp. 88, 105. If one or the other of these festivals should be "the feast of Ammon at the New Year" mentioned in Breasted's *Ancient Records,* iv, 654, it would be an interesting and significant

word *Pascha* terms which in writers of Greek extraction are applied either to the crossing of a stream or other bourn or to rites connected therewith. The same usage passed current among Christian writers, the Latin Fathers interpreting "Passover" as *transitus*. Thus there is an initial presumption of a certain correspondence between the things so designated. There are, moreover, other terms, not used in reference to the Jewish Passover, which prove that among the Greeks similar ideas prevailed; as when they speak of "passing over and entering in" in referring to a rite of initiation:[1] our word "initiate," of Latin derivation, has of course the same connotation. One of the terms for "Pesah" used by Philo occurs elsewhere applied to the passing from season to season,[2] and so is quite parallel to Passover as the name of a New Year's festival. It is therefore not surprising that Greek literature should be found to give evidence of similar rites and ritual forms: the following examples which have occurred to me could doubtless be multiplied, if one made a careful search.

From Xenophon[3] it may be inferred that, at least in the Orient, it was customary in passing over the boundary of a country to offer prayers or sacrifices to the gods both of the land one left and of the land one entered. In one instance the border is crossed on the second day.[4] The Spartan kings, we are told,[5] offered a sacrifice by night to Zeus and Athena before crossing the border, obviously a

parallel to the Hebrew Passovers. The διάβασις of Ammon at Thebes presumably did not greatly differ from the transport of Marduk at the Babylonian Zag-muk.

[1] The Orphic *Argon.* 470 used εἰσπερᾶν of initiation (see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 73, n. d.), while in Hesiod *O. et d.* 655 it refers to crossing the Euripus in going to a contest.

[2] Ælian *H.A.* ix. 46 διάβασις τῶν ὡρῶν (cf. μετάβασις).

[3] *Cyrop.* ii. 1. 1: cf. Arrian *Anab.* i. 11. 5–7. With this rite one may compare the *peremnia auspicia* of the Romans, regarded as necessary when, after taking the auspices, one crossed a stream. Similar rites were required on passing a boundary. See Festus, pp. 245, 250 Mueller; Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii. 9; *De diu.* ii. 76; and Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer,* p. 457. Cf. above, p. 160, n. 1. A widespread superstition held that evil spirits could not pass running water. Possibly in ancient times this belief held of all spirits and of all boundaries; if so, it might account in part for the double rites—*rites de séparation* and *rites d'agrégation.* In the hajj at Mecca also there are traces of rites before and after the hasty passage (*ifâdha*) over a boundary-wadi.

[4] Xenophon *Hell.* i. 4. 16 *sq.*

[5] Xenophon. *De rep. Laced.* xiii. 2 *sq.* For sacrifices before crossing rivers, see Æsch. *Sept.* 377–378; Arrian *Anab.* i. 4. 2–7; iv. 4. 3 *sq.*; v. 3. 6; v. 28. 4; v. 29. 5; Herod. vi. 76; vii. 113–114; ix. 36; Xenophon *Anab.* vi. 3. 17; *Hellen. Oxyrh.* vii. 4; Dionysius Hal. *Ant.* v. 28. 1; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37. 1.

propitiatory rite performed to insure the good-will of the gods. Passover-rites at the passage of streams appear to have been especially common [1] and furnish the most interesting points of comparison with the Hebrew tradition. One thinks at once of Xerxes's passage of the Hellespont. The king's engineers were unfortunate in the construction of the first bridge, which was wrecked by a great storm.[2] Herodotus relates [3] that Xerxes in great indignation commanded that the river receive 300 stripes and that a set of manacles be let down into it. Less confidently he reports a tale he owed to hearsay, that the infatuated tyrant sent minions to brand the Hellespont. Later he states [4] that on the day of the crossing, when the second passage-way was completed, Xerxes cast a beaker, a golden mixing-bowl, and a Persian poniard into the water, but does not venture to decide whether these were a (somewhat strange) offering [5] to the Sun or whether the king had repented of the insult he had done to the stream. It is very probable that the reported insults to the river are pure fiction, though one might cite plausible parallels to support the assumption that something of the sort was done. The smiting of the river is mentioned elsewhere: Herodotus [6] himself relates that the Egyptian king Pheron, son of Sesostris, moved to folly by an unusual height of the inundation of the Nile, when a wind raised its waves, cast a spear into the mid-eddies and was stricken blind; and in another connection tells of the vengeance which Cyrus visited upon the Gyndes River for drowning one of his sacred white horses [7] that tried to cross [8] it. To the Egyptian, as to the Per-

[1] Cf. Hesiod *O. et d.* 737 *sq.*,

μηδέ ποτ' αἰενάων ποταμῶν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ
ποσσὶ περᾶν, πρὶν γ' εὔξῃ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεθρα,
χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολυηράτῳ ὕδατι λευκῷ.
ὃς ποταμὸν διαβῇ κακότητ' ἰδὲ χεῖρας ἄνιπτος,
τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἄλγεα δῶκαν ὀπίσσω.

[2] So also the Heraclidæ in their first attempt at crossing the Corinthian Gulf at Naupactus were frustrated by the destruction of their ships by a strong wind (Apollodorus *Bibl.* ii. 8. 3).

[3] vii. 34 *sq.*; cf. Diog. Laert. i. 9.

[4] vii. 54.

[5] Cf. Arrian *Anab.* i. 11. 6 for the sacrifice of Alexander.

[6] ii. 111.

[7] The story as a whole is certainly legendary; but Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37 shows that a horse was the Persian sacrifice to a river (Euphrates). Cumont (*Études syriennes,* p. 254 *sq.*), overlooking Herod. ii. 111, cites Dio Cassius xl. 18 and Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 17.

[8] Cyrus wreaked his vengeance upon the river by dividing it into 360 canals. *Isa.* xi. 15 suggests that this was a passover-motive. See below, p.

sian,[1] rivers were sacred; if the kings smote the rivers, we may be sure that their motives were different from those mentioned in the legends. All these stories are concerned with the passage over rivers; and when we recall that Moses smote the Nile and turned it into blood, that he smote the Red Sea and divided it, that he did the same to the Arnon, and that Jacob similarly smote the Jordan and so effected a passage, we may well suspect that here, as in the dividing of other *sacra*, there is reflected an ancient rite connected with passovers.[2] As for Xerxes, we learn from Herodotus[3] that on the day of his arrival at the Hellespont he offered preliminary sacrifices to the gods of Persia and began to transport his army on the second day. Then, we gather, he made the offerings to the water, though Herodotus mentions another story to the effect that the crossing required two days and that Xerxes brought up the rear. All the Persian host in crossing wore garlands, as if it were a festival.

In Xenophon's *Anabasis*[4] we read of an occurrence at Thapsacus on the Euphrates.[5] Now "Thapsacus" is the Hebrew *Tiphsah*, probably derived from *pāsah*, and owing its name to the fact that it was at the *ford* of the river; hence one might reasonably expect passover-rites to be observed there. It was here, as Xenophon relates, that the Greek mercenaries who accompanied Cyrus the Younger mutinied and refused to cross the river; and Cyrus "remained there five days." At this juncture Menon prevailed on his contingent to break the deadlock by crossing, on either the fifth or sixth day. One suspects that some native told him that the time was opportune. But this is not all: there was a miracle wrought. "As they effected the crossing," we read, "no one was wet above the breast by the river. The inhabitants of Thapsacus said that the river had never before been fordable . . . So it was thought to have occurred by an interposition of Providence and that the river

220 *sq.* If the canals were irrigation-ditches, one may compare the New Year (passover) data collected by me, *A.J.P.*, XLV (1924), 232 *sq.*

[1] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37; Justin xli. 3, 6; Herod. i. 138.

[2] One recalls that at Pesah the Israelites celebrated the *hag* staff in hand (*Exod.* XII. 11). At the Jabbok Jacob divided all his people and his herds into two companies (*Gen.* XXXII. 7; cf. Mahanaim), and in his prayer he says (*ibid.* XXXII. 10) "with my staff I passed over this Jordan: and now I am become two companies."

[3] vii. 53 *sq.*

[4] i. 4. 11–18. One may compare also Plutarch *Alex.* xvii. 3 *sq.* and Arrian *Anab.* i. 26. 1 *sq.*, where the sea is said to have retired miraculously, in order to afford a passage for Alexander.

[5] On the cult of the Euphrates, see Cumont, *Études syriennes*, p. 247 *sq.*

was clearly doing obeisance to Cyrus in token that he should be king." No mention is made of a sacrifice to the Euphrates, but it may be safely taken for granted.

Even more significant are two incidents related by Plutarch in his *Life of Lucullus*. This Roman general, having defeated Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, turned to attack Tigranes, king of Armenia, and advanced by forced marches to the Euphrates. He found the river in flood by reason of winter storms, and feared a long delay; but at evening the flood began to subside, and by morning the river again flowed within its banks. The natives here, as in the case of Cyrus at Thapsacus, seem to have regarded this as a miracle; Lucullus, seizing the opportunity, lost no time in putting his army across—obviously on the second day. As they were crossing the river, another miracle occurred. "Heifers pasture there," says Plutarch,[1] "which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a goddess whom the Barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honor. These heifers are used only for sacrifice and at other times are left to roam about the country at large,[2] with brands on them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it; and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice.[3] He offered a bull also to the Euphrates as a passover-victim. Then, after encamping there during that day, on the next and succeeding days he advanced through Sophene." The passover-sacrifice (*diabateria*) on the second day is in itself significant; but when one notes that it is combined with a sacrifice to Artemis, whose day is generally the sixth,[4] it cannot be doubted that

[1] xxiv, tr. Perrin, slightly modified.

[2] Suetonius (*Diu. Iul.* lxxxi) tells of prodigies which presaged the death of Cæsar, among others: *Proximis diebus equorum greges, quos in traiciendo Rubicone flumine consecrarat ac uagos et sine custode dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere.* This *deuotio* took the place (as often) of actual sacrifice; hence the horses were διαβατήρια-victims. Crossing the Rubicon came soon to be as fateful a performance as crossing Jordan; though Cæsar himself does not mention it, the affair soon became embroidered with legends. Cæsar's ominous dream, the mysterious piper who showed the way across the stream, and the casting of the die are all familiar details. Cæsar is said to have hesitated and tarried; but after how many days he crossed the river seems not to be reported. The date too is left uncertain.

[3] Cf. below, p. 306, n. 2, and Cumont, *Rev. archéolog.*, 1905, p. 26 *sq.*

[4] It is Artemis Persia, who was presumably Anāhitis (see Roscher, *Lex.*, col. 1332 *sq.*), worshiped likewise in Lydia and Cappadocia. It is doubtless

this fact, if a coincidence, was regarded as of consequence by the natives, who saw evidence of divine favor in the circumstances of the passage. Again,[1] when Lucullus laid siege to Tigranocerta and Tigranes hovered about with vastly superior forces, the Roman decided to force the issue. He divided his army into two parts, leaving one to continue the siege, while with the other he went to meet the Armenian king. The battle, which we cannot here describe in detail, occurred at the ford of a river on the second day, Lucullus having arrived the previous day. "As Lucullus was about to cross the river," says Plutarch, "some of his officers advised him to beware of the day, which was one of the unlucky days[2]—the Romans call them 'black days.' For on that day Cæpio and his army perished in a battle with the Cimbri. But Lucullus answered with the memorable words: 'Verily, I will make this day, too, a lucky one for the Romans.' Now the day was the 6th October."[3]

Reference has already been made to the Greek legend of the Return of the Heraclidæ, which played a prominent part in the reconstruction of Greek history and marked an era. One sees at a glance that it is somewhat analogous to the nostos of the Hebrews, which was accomplished by the passage of the Jordan; for in neither case does there appear to be satisfactory evidence that the people whose "return" was celebrated had previously been in the regions which in time became their homes. One might regard the fiction of a "return" as dictated by policy, in order to legitimize claims to possession; but while this notion may well have weighed with later

significant that Hecate also bore the name Pers(e)ia; see Roscher, *Lex.*, col. 1899. The *Theol. Arith.*, among other names given to the number six, mentions *Perseia*. This goddess is presumably identical with the Cappadocian Artemis Perasia, whose name apparently signifies "Artemis of the Passover," and whose priestesses could walk barefoot over burning coals. See Strabo xii. 2. 4. For this rite cf. Gruppe, p. 892, n. 4. The second day also was sacred to Artemis.

[1] xxvii.

[2] For the ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, chiefly second and sixth days, see below, pp. 359–372.

[3] One may recall that in IV *Ezra* XIII. 44 *sq.*, in the interpretation of the sixth vision, which shows the Son (Messiah) discomfiting the combined hosts of his enemies at the end of the times, it is said that when the ten tribes in the days of King Josiah were led into captivity "the Most High then wrought wonders for them and stayed the springs of the River [Euphrates] until they were passed over . . . and now, when they are about to come again [at the Last Judgment], the Most High will again stay the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over." This is the occasion which the Jewish ritual calls "the Passover to come."

generations, it is improbable that primitive peoples felt the need of justifying their conquests by such sophistication. The legend [1] of the Return of the Heraclidæ, in fact, seems to show the same ritual schemes and suggestions as we have found in the Hebrew story of the exodus. It relates that the Heraclidæ, informed by an oracle that their return should be accomplished at the third crop, made an unsuccessful attempt in the third year; when they learned that the promise referred to the third generation.[2] One sees, indeed, that the third generation was part of a scheme to which the data of the legend were somewhat forcibly adapted; for there was some difficulty in deciding who were the three descendants of Heracles in question. As to the actual "return," it was apparently accomplished by at least two passovers, one over the Corinthian Gulf at Naupactus,[3] another at a river where the decisive battle was fought. Polyænus [4] relates that this critical battle was joined while the Heraclidæ were engaged in offering a sacrifice to Athena for the passage over the border,[5] and connects with this event the Spartan custom of going into battle to the music of the flute and the institution of the *embateria* or marching-songs. Unfortunately there appears to be no indication of the day of fateful decision.

In this respect we are better informed regarding another mythical event which likewise furnished an era to those who sought to reconstruct the legendary history of Greek lands. In fact the Argonautic expedition was hardly second to the Trojan as a nucleus for

[1] See Apollodorus *Bibl.* ii. 8. 2 *sq.* and Frazer's notes.

[2] The "return" in the third generation is a frequent motive in Greek myth and legend. It has various roots in primitive belief. One of these is the belief that the child is a returning ancestor, for which see Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus.* In Greek lands, as the practice of naming a boy after his grandfather shows, one passed over the father and reckoned from the grandfather. But the "return" in the sixth generation also occurs, as in the myth of Io. Æschylus *Prom. Bound* 853 foretells the return of Io's descendants to Argos in the sixth generation. Cf. the fifth or sixth day in the rape of Io, below, p. 193. The Hebrew scheme also recognized three (or, including the ancestor, four) generations. Sometimes the fourth is added for full measure; cf. *Gen.* xv. 16; *Exod.* xx. 5, xxxiv. 7; *Num.* xiv. 18; *Deut.* v. 9, xxiii. 8; II *Kings* x. 30, xv. 12.

[3] This was the point of departure. Had the ancient epics survived, we should doubtless find in them the account of a sacrifice for the sailing not unlike that offered at Iolcus by the Argonauts to Apollo Embasius or the offering at Aulis to Artemis before the expedition to Troy. That the latter were passover-rites performed on the sixth day (New Year) will be shown below, p. 496 *sq.*

[4] i. 10.

[5] ἔθυον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῶν ὁρίων ὑπερβατήρια.

the formation of those interesting complexes which appear everywhere to herald the coming of history. Like the Trojan cycle it, too, takes the form of an exodus to the land of the dead, succeeded by a nostos; but while it is in its main outlines essentially a reflex of the ancient marriage-rite, it was richly embroidered by the incorporation of almost untold local legends connected with *rites de passage*. We need not enlarge on this theme, because any one who has read the *Argonautica* of Apollonius will understand what we mean. So complicated a structure as is presented by the tale of Jason's expedition cannot of course be reduced to a single scheme; but at beginning and end it is still fairly clear. Among the many threads woven into the fabric, it is not difficult to distinguish one which is related to the courses of the sun and moon and is therefore connected with the cycle of time. Whether or not this motive was the original one, it had considerable influence in shaping the legend. Now there is more than one point of contact between the story of Jason's expedition and the Hebrew passovers. The tale begins with a festival at Iolcus, whether a feast to Poseidon or funeral games for Pelias. To this Jason comes, his coming being a return to the house of his fathers, to claim his ancestral throne. On his way, in passing over a stream [1] he loses a sandal, and so appears at the festival, no doubt with a limping gait; the king, thereby recognizing his destined successor, sends the youth in quest of the golden fleece. As to the scheme in detail we get a precious hint from Pindar, who had it from the sacred story, however mediated: [2] there is nothing to show that he or any other Greek comprehended its meaning. In the Fourth Pythian, he relates that when Jason returned to his father's house he was welcomed with tears of joy: his father's brethren came forthwith and held a feast. "And while they joined in the banquet, Jason, welcoming them with gentle words and offering them befitting hos-

[1] The Anaurus. Here he transported Hera and thereby won her gratitude. One wonders what Hera was doing, according to the myth, that she had to pass the river. Callimachus' *Hymn 6* (*To Demeter*) 12 *sq.* represents Demeter, *during her fast,* while in quest of her daughter, as thrice crossing the Achelous and "each of the everflowing rivers," which must have some connection with her rites. One naturally suspects that Hera also was observing a triadic passover-fast at the time. At the Eleusinia the initiates in their exodus and nostos passed several streams, at which they were taunted (γεφυρισμός). Cf. below, p. 223 *sq.*, and p. 312 *sq.* This was thought to be in imitation of the wanderings of Demeter when seeking her daughter—originally, no doubt, a fertility-rite.

[2] The scholiast refers to Pherecydes, but we do not know whether he gave the special data to which we refer below.

pitality, gave them good cheer without stint, for five full nights and for as many days culling the sacred prime of festal life. But, on the sixth day, speaking in sober earnest, the hero told his kinsmen all the story from the beginning, and they followed his prompting; and at once he leapt with them from the tents [1] and they came to the hall of Pelias." [2] There Jason presents himself as claimant of the throne, demanding it by right of inheritance and recalling that they are sprung from the same forebears in the third generation; and Pelias, the king, craftily admits his claim, but sends him first in quest of the fleece. This occurs, as we see, on the sixth day, following a feast of full five days and nights. This has all the appearance of a New Year's day succeeding an epact of five days. In his address to Pelias, Jason reminds him [3] that men of crafty deceit approach the stern reckoning of the *epibda*. Now the *epibda* was the post-festal day,[4] and such was that sixth day on which Jason confronted the usurper; but *epibda* likewise meant "New Year's day." One surmises, not without good reason, that the day of reckoning for Pelias, destined to come when Jason returned with the fleece, would follow after "a year and a day." Thus the going-forth and the return of Jason would, like the exodus and the nostos of the Hebrews, fall on sixth days at the turn of the year.

In recent years the excavations conducted by the Germans at Magnesia on the Mæander have made known a most interesting rite.[5] The Magnesians, being Ionians, had inherited from their Carian predecessors the cultus of a mother-goddess worshiped at the village Leucophrys, whom they called Artemis, as did many of their neighbors, such as the Ephesians.[6] Her full title was Artemis Leucophryene. Of the earlier cultus of this divinity we know nothing; but late in the third century B.C. the Magnesians, being favored with an epiphany of the goddess, consulted the oracle at Delphi and in accordance with its instructions built a splendid temple and appointed

[1] Of the festival; cf. Sukkot.

[2] 127 *sq.*, tr. Sandys. See below, p. 504.

[3] 139 *sq.*

[4] See the scholiast *ad loc.* The *epibda* will be discussed in connection with Pentecost.

[5] See Otto Kern, "Magnetische Studien," *Hermes*, XXVI, 491 *sq.*, and Nilsson, *Feste*, pp. 248–251.

[6] The sacred day of "Diana of the Ephesians" also was the 6th (cf. W. Schmidt, *Geburtstag im Altertum*, p. 96). This was clearly not due to Greek influence.

a festival to be celebrated with elaborate ceremony, with sacrifices and games. Enough of the documents relating to this festival, which were inscribed on the walls of the temple, is still preserved to acquaint us with the essential facts; among these the following are for our purposes important. A truce of God was declared and sanctioned by other states; the ceremonies include a splendid procession to the temple, and choruses of virgins sing; school-children and slaves have a holiday, and all labor is prohibited. The *mo'ed* (to use a Hebrew term) was the 6th Artemision and the day was to be called *Eisiteria*. This name, which connotes "entrance," is familiar as used of rites performed on New Year's day;[1] and that the Magnesians so understood it is clearly shown by their provision that the market regulations of New Year's day should obtain. Here, then, we have a New Year's rite, attended with a truce of God and an *agōn*, celebrated on the sixth day of a month. But this is not all. We have likewise the commemoration of an epiphany, just as in the Christian Church, on a sixth day; and the correspondence with Epiphany goes even farther. The *prŏcortia*, or pre-festal day,[2] of Epiphany is the 2d January; the Magnesians direct that the clerk of the senate shall read the law instituting the festival annually on the 2d Artemision. This fact is of great interest to us; for it not only shows again the oft-repeated association of the second and sixth days, but it finds

[1] See lexica *s.vv.* εἰσιτήρια, εἰσηλύσια.

[2] The 10th Nisan is the pre-festal day of Pesah, which is thus marked as beginning on a fifth or sixth day, according as it is dated on the 14th or 15th. See below, p. 333, n. 1. In Greek religion there were similar pre-festal rites, of which I have noted several, though my materials are incomplete. The most interesting case is that of the sacrifice of a bull to Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Mæander (see Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 23 *sq.*, and J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 150 *sq.*) where the designation (ἀνάδειξις) of the victim takes place at the beginning of the agricultural year, new moon of the month Cronion; cf. however v. Prott, 25, No. 6, l. 10 *sq.*: χοῖρος προκαυτεύεται καὶ προκαρύσσεται, and note the use of πρόθυμα, πρόσφαγμα, and προτέλεια. In Philo and the Church Fathers, προέορτα and προεόρτια are used chiefly of 'Omer-day in relation to Pentecost. In the hemerologies of the Greek Church προεόρτια is used of the 20th December in relation to Christmas, which is thus marked as a sixth day, and of the 2d January in relation to Epiphany, which thus becomes a fifth day, unless the pre-festal day was fixed with reference to the 7th January. Seven other days (1st February, 24th March, 5th August, 14th August, 7th September, 13th September, 20th November) are noted as προεόρτια of the festivals falling on the days next following, which thus become second days. In this sense, προεόρτια is equivalent to παραμονή, the eve of a festival, corresponding to Heb. *'ereb*. In this respect the Church agrees absolutely with the Hebrew practice.

a complete parallel in the account of the celebration of Sukkot in the time of Ezra.[1] Taken in conjunction with the data which we have brought together and discussed in connection with the ritual scheme of Islam, it makes it fairly certain that we are here dealing with a pattern which had a very wide geographical distribution in Asia: there is no reason for attributing these detailed arrangements to the ingenuity of the Greeks, because from the fourth century onward Greek festivals show increasingly a loss of ritual sense.

This *eisiteria*-rite of the Magnesians shows us the evaluation of New Year's day as a sixth day, and appears to leave no doubt that the scheme embodied in the observance rests upon an epact of five days. We shall find other rites, which are almost certainly New Year's practices, in Greece dated on sixth days; but thus far we have discovered no evidence of an epact of five days in any Greek calendar. Such evidence may come to light; but unless it does and is of such a character as to justify one in regarding it as really of Greek origin, there will be a strong presumption in favor of the view that the rites which embody this scheme are of foreign origin. Now if one assumes that the passover-rites are in good part concerned with the passage from year to year, and further grants that New Year's day, when rated as a sixth day, presupposes a five-day epact, we should expect New Year's eve to fall on a fifth day. We have already called attention to certain data which indicate that Pesah was at times, when referred to the day preceding Mazzot, rated as a fifth day. Further evidence could be added to that already cited;[2] but we will not delay to discuss it at length. There are some interesting facts later to be considered which show that while the second and sixth days are those most commonly regarded as the "black days," less frequently, and under conditions which suggest the possibility at least of Oriental influence, the fifth day takes the place of the sixth. One may instance the ill-starred fifth days in Bœotia, a land which the legend of Cadmus brings into relation with Phœnicia. It will be recalled that the Hebrew tradition connected the rape of the virgins of Shiloh by the Benjaminites and the opening of the wombs of various heroines of old with Passover or New Year's day,[3] which we now know were anciently the same, just as the Roman

[1] *Neh.* VIII. 13, 14.

[2] E. g., one may cite the fact that at Pesah the number of readers in the synagogue is five (*Megillah,* Chaps. III–IV). Of the significance of this we shall say more hereafter.

[3] See above, p. 71 *sq.*

legend dates the rape of the Sabine women at the Consualia.[1] Greek legend similarly explained the origin of the Messenian War as due to the rape of Messenian virgins by Spartan youths at a border-festival [2] celebrated at the shrine of Artemis, and hence presumably on a sixth day. In view of this interesting complex of associations, the account of the antecedents of the Persian War given by Herodotus [3] may take on new meaning. It all began, it will be remembered, with the rape of Io. "The Persian chroniclers say that the Phœnicians were to blame for the quarrel. These, they report, came to our sea from the so-called Red Sea, and after settling in the country they now inhabit, forthwith set about making long voyages; and carrying Egyptian and Assyrian cargoes, they came among other places to Argos . . . On the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, almost all their merchandise being sold, many women came to the sea and among them the king's daughter, whom they in agreement with the Greeks call Io, daughter of Inachus. As the women stood about the stern of the vessel purchasing such of the wares as they most fancied, the Phœnicians in concert rushed upon them. The majority of the women escaped, but Io with others was raped; and the men put them aboard and sailed away to Egypt." With this story we may perhaps connect the curious datum preserved by Epiphanius,[4] who reports that some maintained that the creation of Adam began on the fifth and was completed the sixth day; for Adam, beginning a new era, was naturally supposed to have been fashioned on New Year's day, and he is otherwise said to have been created on the sixth day.

Our last parallel is drawn not from Greece but from Rome. In striking contrast to the Greek calendar, the Roman, both before and after the reform by Julius Cæsar, clearly reveals an epact of five days. Of this we shall later speak more at length; it is here mentioned solely because it may possibly explain a singular rite in

[1] It is worth noting that a fragmentary Roman calendar of earlier date than the Julian reform, which was recently discovered and published (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1921, p. 73 *sq.*), mentions a festival for Consus on New Year's day, the Kalends of January. See below, p. 291, n. 1. The Consualia previously known were dated 21st August and 15th December. Why these dates were observed is not known.

[2] Such border fairs (cf. Demosth. xxiii. 38–39: ἀγορὰ ἐφορία) doubtless afforded in early times the chief occasions for the friendly intercourse of neighboring peoples (ἐπιμιξία), because of the truce of God.

[3] i. 1.

[4] i. 172, l. 6 Holl.

the Roman calendar which has hitherto baffled scholars. We have reason to believe that before the Julian reform New Year fell at different times, fairly boxing the compass; but the efforts of chronologists to reconstruct in detail the history of the Roman calendar seem destined to failure for want of sufficient data. There is, then, no reason to doubt that New Year at some time, perhaps more than once, fell in Quinctilis, later known as July. Now the old sacral calendars date a festival on the fifth of this month which is in many respects exceptional. For one thing, it is the only instance of a festival falling between the Kalends and the Nones; and it is quite evident that no one in later times understood its meaning. It was known as Poplifugia,[1] the "Flight of the People," and was apparently a hajj or hijra. It will be recalled how studiously concerned the chronologists of Islam were to provide for the possibility of regarding the date of the Hijra as a Thursday as well as a Friday. The Hijra, like the Hebrew exodus, was a hasty flight: so too was the Poplifugia. Roman legend busied itself with providing a suitable explanation of the trepidation and flight which left traces in the ritual of the day,[2] as they did in that of the Jewish Passover. Another trait, which this day had in common with Passover, is that on it, according to Roman legend, Romulus, the heroized founder of Rome, disappeared and passed mysteriously to the gods, as Moses, the founder of Israel, disappeared and mysteriously passed to God at the passover of the Jordan. If we assume that the Poplifugia was a hijra on New Year's eve, followed by a return on the 6th Quinctilis (New Year's day) and a Sabbatical morrow after the passover observed on the 7th, at the Nonæ Caprotinæ,[3] we have a most interesting complex of rites which form a fairly close parallel to Semitic festivals. As to their provenience and how they found their way into the festal calendar of early Rome, we refrain from speculating, though one naturally thinks of the Etruscans as possible intermediaries.

Doubtless some who have paid little heed to such matters will be inclined to question the results of our study of the Passover be-

[1] See Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 174 *sq.*

[2] Varro (*Ling. Lat.* vi. 18) says: *Aliquot huius diei uestigia fugæ in sacris apparent, de quibus rebus antiquitatum libri plura referunt.* It is a pity that the traces have disappeared with the treatises in which they were described.

[3] See Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 176 *sq.* It would take too much space to enlarge on the suggestion made above. It seems certain that the rites of the 7th Quinctilis were not properly those of the Nones.

cause of the very fact that so much is here brought into relation with it. It must be owned that the tale is both long and involved, and that the sum total is surprising—to none more surprising than to the writer. But the connection between the Passover and New Year's day seems to be clearly established; and, that being granted, there is little ground for reasonable question that a great part of Hebrew religion was associated with these festivals. Since the Jewish year had a double epoch, we shall find that precisely the same associations are found to gather about Sukkot, or the Feast of Tabernacles, which fell in the seventh month, Tishri, and completely balanced Mazzot in the sacral calendar.

But if one would learn what Passover means to the Jew, one must study the liturgy and ritual for ages in use for this festival.[1]

[1] See especially the song of Joseph bar Jacob for the seventh evening of Passover, tr. Nina Salaman:

"At Passover the faithful sang a song, | That selfsame day when God did save His throng | *In Egypt at Passover.*
At Passover a voice the heavens o'er:— | "Israel is saved of God for evermore"— | *In time to come at Passover.*
At Passover they passed at His command, | And Israel saw that day the mighty hand | *In Egypt at Passover.*
At Passover the glorious Lord alone | Will send His hand again to save His own | *In time to come at Passover.*
At Passover His thronging hosts, content, | Dryshod between the parted breakers went | *In Egypt at Passover.*
At Passover the Lord will shake His hand, | Summon His storm and make the sea dry land | *In time to come at Passover.*
At Passover, 'tis said, amazement dire | Struck Egypt's camp with pillar of cloud and fire, | *In Egypt at Passover.*
The Passover new marvels shall unfold, | Blood, fire, and clouds of smoke beyond the old, | *In time to come at Passover.*
At Passover He faced His foe's array, | But Israel went in triumph forth that day | *In Egypt at Passover.*
At Passover salvation shall not cease, | "For ye shall journey forth in joy and peace" | *In time to come at Passover.*
At Passover all Egypt's pride was shed— | No house there was that held not any dead | *In Egypt at Passover.*
At Passover all they that think to smite, | Shall think in vain—and this shall be their blight | *In time to come at Passover.*
At Passover the gates were wide before | The Lord, the night He passed o'er Israel's door | *In Egypt at Passover.*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

At Passover the Lord will loose the bound, | He will go forth and fight the nations round | *In time to come at Passover.*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

At Passover the foe walked deep in night, | But for the sons of Israel there was light | *In Egypt at Passover.*

The result of religious thought and practice extending over three millenniums, it is a striking monument to the continuity of the Hebrew tradition. If any one is inclined to suspect that we have accorded the Passover too large a place in the religious life of Israel, he will here find that which will silence his doubts; for a great part of those motives and texts, in which we have discovered a connection with passover-rites, is here expressly claimed for this festival of hoary antiquity, which not only embodied the sacred traditions of the past but foreshadowed the future, embodying Israel's hope of the Messiah and the expectation of the great passover to come. Here, as elsewhere in questions of religion, one loses sight of the humble beginnings in admiring contemplation of the stately palace of the soul, into which it has built its reconstruction of time and eternity; for the Hebrew felt and feels himself a pilgrim, called to separate himself from the secular world and keep his rendezvous with God here at the appointed time and place, and hereafter at the great synaxis, when the last trump shall announce the last Passover.

At Passover accept thy Rock's decree | To rise and shine, for light shall come to thee | *In time to come at Passover.*" etc.

Cf. the similar hymn of Jekuthiel bar Jacob for the eighth evening of Passover.

It is not necessary to comment on the allusions to the festal practices contained in this poem written by a ritualist, except perhaps to remark how completely he realized the parallel between the great Passover and the end of the 'Olam, or in other words, the parallel between the associations of the festivals and the eschatology of the Jews. The Jewish liturgy recognizes all the festivals as memorials of the exodus from Egypt, and consequently as Passovers. The Sabbath is constantly called a memorial of creation. All these topics are connected with the New Year; hence the liturgy for Rosh ha-Shanah is especially significant, and its principal suggestions should be borne in mind. It is primarily the day of the blowing of the horn, suggesting the last trump; again, it is the anniversary of creation, and thus celebrates Yahweh as Creator and King and foreshadows the Kingdom of God; finally, it is the appointed day of judgment for the year and the 'Olam. On the Day of Atonement, "the last judgment," the prayer is uttered, "O cast the tempter into fetters; declare to the captives the accomplishment of their hope." One may find practically all the motives of *Revelation* in the suggestions of the New Year festivals.

CHAPTER IV

Sukkot, the Feast of Tabernacles [1]

In comparison with Passover, the problems raised by Sukkot are simpler; but many of them still remain unsolved. Here again the main difficulties arise from our uncertainty regarding the dates and the extent of the redactions to which the Biblical texts have been subjected. We shall give the Biblical data and then consider them briefly.

To J E is assigned the injunction to observe the Feast of Ingathering at the year's end, when the harvest is garnered; [2] and the *hag* is appointed one of the three times when all the males of Israel are bidden to appear before Yahweh with offerings of first-fruits.[3] In *Deuteronomy* [4] the same direction is given, and the occasion is called the *hag* of Tabernacles (booths), to be observed with universal rejoicing for seven days at the central sanctuary. The same book commands [5] that at the end of every seven years on the *mo'ed* of the year of release at the *hag* of Tabernacles, the Law shall be read in the hearing of all Israel. *Ezekiel* [6] appoints a *hag* (with no specific name) for the 15th of the seventh month; the ritual prescriptions are such as to equate it absolutely with Passover. For the same date the Code of Holiness [7] ordains a *hag* to Yahweh to be observed by

[1] After this chapter was completed I obtained a copy of *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes (Laubhüttenfest)*, by Paul Volz (Tübingen, 1912). It gave me no little comfort to discover in it evidence of a far-reaching agreement in method and point of view, though of course we differ at many points. I have thought it best to leave my statement unchanged. Volz is not interested in the scheme of days. Another discussion of this festival of great value is in Morgenstern's "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *The Hebrew Union College Annual*, I (1924), *22 sq.*, which I have read with great profit. The same scholar did me the honor of reading to me some unpublished notes on the ceremony of opening the eastern gate of the temple at Sukkot, which are of so great interest that I trust they may soon be published.

[2] *Exod.* XXIII. 16, XXXIV. 22.

[3] *Ibid.* XXIII. 15–17, XXXIV. 23–26; cf. I *Kings* IX. 25; II *Chron.* VIII. 13.

[4] XVI. 13–17.

[5] XXXI. 10–11.

[6] XLV. 25.

[7] *Levit.* XXIII. 39–43.

dwelling in tents seven days in commemoration of Israel's sojourn in tents during the exodus from Egypt. "And ye shall take you on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook." The first day shall be a *shabbaton,* and likewise the eighth. The Priestly code[1] follows essentially the same lines, appointing for the same date a *hag* of Tabernacles for seven days, the first and eighth to be days of holy convocation and cessation from servile labor. The eighth is here characterized also as an *'azeret,* marked by an offering to Yahweh made by fire. In the sacrificial Torah[2] directions are given for the sacrifices to be offered on the eight days of this *hag.* The *Book of Kings*[3] tells of a *hag* in the month Ethanim, identified as the seventh month, to install the ark of the covenant in the temple of Solomon, which, according to the Hebrew text, the king kept "seven days and seven days, even fourteen days. On the eighth day he sent the people away; and they blessed the king, and went unto their tents joyful and glad of heart." The same occasion is mentioned by the Chronicler[4] and referred to the same month. "Solomon held the *hag* at that time seven days. And on the eighth day they held an *'azeret:* for they kept the dedication of the altar seven days, and the *hag* seven days. And on the 23d of the seventh month he sent the people away unto their tents joyful and glad of heart." *Nehemiah*[5] relates that when the seventh month arrived, the people gathered before the watergate and bade Ezra bring the Book of the Law of Moses, and he read therein. On the second day[6] they found the direction that the people should dwell in booths at the *hag* of the seventh month and gather branches in the mountains to construct booths. "And all the assembly made booths and dwelt in booths: for since the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was great gladness. Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the Book of the Law of God. And they kept the *hag* seven days; and on the eighth day was an *'azeret* according to the ordinance." *Ezra* also tells of the *hag* of Booths kept in the seventh month, when the altar of the temple was built. It is said that "from the first day of the seventh month began they to offer

[1] *Levit.* XXIII. 34–36.
[2] *Num.* XXIX. 12–38; cf. *Ezra.* III. 4.
[3] I *Kings* VIII. 2, 65–66.
[4] II *Chron.* V. 3, VII. 8 *sq.*
[5] VIII. 13 *sq.*; cf. *Ezra* III. 1–6 (III. 8–13); I *Esdras* V. 47–51 (V. 54 *sq.*).
[6] See above, p. 191 *sq.*

burnt-offerings unto Yahweh;" but the foundations of the temple were not yet laid.

It will be acknowledged that this is a puzzling exhibit. J and E contemplate a harvest-festival at the turn of the year. This undoubtedly means the autumnal equinox; but there is nothing to show how closely that date was approximated, nor whether the festival preceded or followed the equinox. The expression "at the year's end," as well as the obvious fact that the festival was originally a fast, point to the conclusion that the observance properly preceded the New Year's day;[1] but the fact that in all the later arrangements Sukkot followed New Year's day is important and suggests caution on this head. As a New Year's festival it naturally resembles Passover. It is to be noted that our oldest sources do not specify the number of days to be observed. There is nothing to suggest that it was seven. Moreover, it is simply a *hag:* there is no evidence that it was specifically characterized as a *hag* of Booths, though no doubt people did dwell in booths during this harvest-festival, as they did at other festivals. The characterization of *Deuteronomy* would be important historically if we could be sure that it belongs to the original text or, if not, to what age it is due. The direction that the Law should be read at the *hag* of Booths at the end of every seven years on the *mo'ed* of the year of release is especially interesting, but tells us very little. The year of release, an analogon of the Jubile year, is peculiar to *Deuteronomy*. There seems to be no evidence of its ever having been observed in practice; the provisions for the Sabbatical years of the land are quite different. What date was contemplated as the *mo'ed* of the year of release is unknown. Perhaps the Sabbatical year of the Priestly code began, like the Jubile year, on the 10th Tishri; but even that is uncertain. The *Mishnah*[2] gives the 1st Tishri as the epoch of both. From what has already been said it cannot surprise us to find here, and in *Nehemiah,* evidence of the practice of reading the Law at a New Year's festival. The custom was presumably very ancient. Since *Deuteronomy* calls the festival

[1] As Morgenstern holds that it did in the preëxilic period. Caution is especially suggested by the observation that New Year Passovers frequently went in pairs. There was in consequence room for several New Year's days, and in the absence of specific evidence it is impossible to say which was the high-day. At Sukkot, moreover, the first and eighth days were ritually equated. See below, pp. 377–394.

[2] *Rosh ha-Shanah,* I, 1. This of course reflects the late practice of dating the year from the 1st Tishri; but it suggests that the provision for these years may have been of late origin.

the *hag* of Booths without offering any details which would justify that title, one is tempted to regard the reference to it as a later addition, prompted by customs which, though possibly very ancient, received ecclesiastical sanction in post-exilic times. If we could be sure that the text of the Code of Holiness remained in this respect unchanged, we should regard it as the first clear evidence for Sukkot; for it not only directs the gathering of branches for the building of booths, but for the first time points the connection between the practice and the *hag* of the exodus. The colorless *hag* of the older sources, including *Ezekiel,* thus becomes an observance with sacrosanct associations, which connect it with the guidance of Yahweh and may include a reference to the Law given during the exodus. The statement of *Nehemiah* that Israel had not built and dwelt in booths since the days of Joshua is commonly understood to mean that the *hag* had not been so observed. If that were true, we should be justified in deleting all references to Sukkot before the Return; but a more reasonable interpretation would take the statement to refer not specifically to the *hag,* but to the custom of dwelling in tents or booths, which had become obsolete after the occupation of Canaan. Even so, however, the return to the ancient custom would mark, as in the Code of Holiness, a conscious connection of the *hag* so observed with the exodus and its sacred associations. As was pointed out in connection with Passover, the association of the *diabasis,* consisting of an *exodos* and a *nostos,* with the exodus from Egypt is secondary, being part of the quasi-historical reconstruction of the nation's past in the interest of the cultus of Yahweh. When and by whom that reconstruction was made we are not in position to say.

The form of the exodus and that of the *hag* were assimilated. In discussing Passover we noted various versions which represented the exodus as accomplished in six days followed by a rest on the seventh. To say that this form was due to the cyclical week, ending on a Sabbath, is impossible; for there is no reason whatever for regarding the cyclical week as primary or even ancient in Israel. This is rather the form of the *hag,* which in time passed with modifications to the week. It is noteworthy that the older sources do not give the length of the New Year's celebration which in time came to be known as Sukkot. When a number of days is specified, it is always seven or eight, the eighth being clearly recognized as an addendum (*'azeret*). How little reliance can be placed on these data is suggested by the reports of I *Kings* and II *Chronicles* regarding the

dedication of Solomon's temple; for here the Hebrew text has quite clearly been altered even after the Greek versions were made.[1] Where the Hebrew, followed by the English versions, represents the dedicatory festival as lasting fourteen days and the dismissal of the people as taking place on the following day, the Septuagint says (I *Kings* VIII. 65 *sq.*), "And Solomon kept the feast in that day . . . rejoicing . . . seven days. And on the eighth day he sent away the people," and (II *Chron.* VII. 8 *sq.*) "And Solomon kept the feast . . . seven days . . . And on the eighth day he kept an *exodion;* for he kept a feast of seven days for the dedication of the altar. And on the 23d of the seventh month he dismissed the people." In the latter passage it is clear that the festival was Sukkot and supposed to begin on the 15th, the invariable *mo'ed* of that festival. In view of this state of the text, one may doubt whether it is possible to assign a date when the hebdomadal term became customary at Sukkot.

Dr. Morgenstern[2] has tried to establish another date of Sukkot by the interpretation of the account of the murder of Gedaliah in *Jeremiah* XLI and the report of the Sukkot in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. According to his view, the preëxilic festival began on the 3d and lasted until the 9th of the month and was followed by New Year's day on the 10th, that being the day of the autumnal equinox. This assumes, what is by no means certain, that the festival term was then, as later, seven days, and also that there was before the exile a calendar of fixed dates. The latter assumption will concern us later; but both passages on which this argument rests seem to be so ambiguous[3] as to be inconclusive. As regards the data of

[1] But, apparently, before Josephus; for he says (*Ant.* viii. 4. 1–5) that the dedication of the temple preceded Sukkot, which lasted twice seven days.

[2] In "Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals" (*Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.,* VIII) and "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel" (*The Hebrew Union College Annual,* I [1924], 28 *sq.*).

[3] If Sukkot began on the 3d, why were the eighty men from Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria, who were bound for Jerusalem to make offerings in the temple, at Mizpah on the 4th or 5th? Since the *mo'ed,* or first day, of the festival was the most important, these men, on Morgenstern's theory, were too late, of which the story gives no hint. In *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* the important date is obviously the 1st of the seventh month. In so loosely constructed a narrative it does not follow that the people set about at once to gather branches for the booths because the law relating to this practice was read on the 2d, especially as the 2d and 6th were days especially appropriate for reading the Law. The relation of Sukkot to the 10th Tishri is yet to be ascertained. In the Priestly code that date was clearly the *proĕortia* of the festival.

the Chronicler, it is obvious that in his time there was much confusion about the New Year festivals, quite possibly due to a shift in the calendar then in progress.[1] This may be further illustrated by the account [2] of the purification of the temple of Hezekiah's reign. "They began on the first day of the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the month they came to the porch of Yahweh; and they sanctified the house of Yahweh in eight days: and on the 16th [3] of the first month they made an end." It is obvious that this account leaves no place for Pesah and Mazzot,[4] as the story of *Nehemiah* leaves no place for the Day of Atonement; both clearly assume the coincidence of the new moon with New Year's day, for the dedication and the reading of the Law alike belong to the New Year and both rites begin with the first day of the month. But since Sukkot was unquestionably a New Year's festival, one cannot see how it should follow from the vague account of *Jeremiah* and *Nehemiah* that it began on the third day.

In the Priestly code, the holy days of Sukkot are the first and eighth; it is obvious, however, that these days are equated, from the fact that they are characterized alike [5] and the term is expressly given as seven days. Both are therefore in some sort first days. The 15th Tishri is called the first day of Sukkot, as the 15th Nisan is called the first of Mazzot. Both festivals were obviously dated from the 10th of their respective months. In later times [6] Sukkot came to be commonly regarded as lasting eight days, as we have seen Passover reckoned as a festival of eight days in Josephus. Thus *Maccabees* [7] reports that Solomon kept eight days of dedication and that

[1] See below, Chapter VII, on the calendar.

[2] II *Chron.* XXIX. 17.

[3] In LXX a variant says the "13th."

[4] The *Mishnah* (*Pesah.*, IV, 9) says that Hezekiah "intercalated a Nisan in Nisan," possibly meaning that the intercalation took place before Nisan. Hence the Passover reported (II *Chron.* XXX. 2) as kept by the king "in the second month" would fall in Nisan proper, while the purification would be supposed to take place in the intercalary month. This statement of the Mishnah may be assumed to be due to the desire to harmonize texts. The Passover held in the second month, according to the Chronicler, would more naturally be taken as due to the fact that, because the temple was not yet purified, the people were regarded as not ritually pure and therefore not ready for a *hag* in the first month.

[5] Each is called *shabbaton* (*Levit.* XXIII. 39) and "holy convocation" (*ibid.* XXIII. 35–36; *Num.* XXIX. 12). The name *'azeret,* however, is given to the eighth only.

[6] Josephus *Ant.* iii. 9. 4. The sacrificial Torah in *Numbers* prepared the way by ordaining sacrifices for the eight days.

[7] II *Macc.* II. 12; cf. *ibid.* I. 1 *sq.*, IV. 36–59; Josephus *Ant.* xii. 7. 6–7.

when the temple was purified in the 188th year of the Seleucid era, the Jews "kept eight days of gladness in the manner of the Feast of Tabernacles, remembering how not long before they kept the Feast of Tabernacles wandering in the mountains and in the caves after the manner of wild beasts." [1] In the Priestly code, however, at least in its earlier stratum, the *hag* proper is said to have a duration of seven days. It is doubtless to this festival that the consecration of Aaron and his sons is referred.[2] The ceremony lasts seven days, and on the eighth the heave-offering, of first-fruits and priests, was made. The Talmud describes the seclusion of the high priest for seven days before the Day of Atonement, when alone he officiated in the Holy of Holies. These ritual forms go together, and it is difficult to say how old they are. Since the Day of Atonement was certainly a New Year's day and Sukkot was as certainly a New Year's festival, we have here further evidence regarding the dedication of temples and temple-servants at New Year; [3] but the diversity of dates forbids conclusions regarding the original New Year's day. Of this more will be said hereafter. Again, it is said [4] that Jonathan was invested with the office of high priest at the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month. No doubt this refers to one of the holy days of Sukkot, which thus becomes, like the Day of Atonement, a day of consecration. In *Jubilees* [5] the investiture of the high priest appears so closely associated with this occasion that the consecration of Levi is brought into relation with the celebration of a *hag* (obviously Sukkot) at Bethel. On the night of the 13th Levi "dreamed that they had ordained him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons forever;" on the 14th Jacob arose and gave tithes of all that came with him, "and Jacob counted his sons from him [Benjamin [6]] upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord, and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands." On the 15th Jacob offered elaborate sacrifices pursuant to

[1] This description certainly suggests that the writer had in mind the ὀρειβάσια held in honor of Dionysus and various Asiatic deities, especially the different "Mothers of the Gods." Whether there was in fact any close connection is not clear. It is hardly sufficient to refer the statement of *Maccabees* to the army of the Hasmonæans operating in the hill-country of Judea.

[2] See Morgenstern, "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *The Hebrew Union College Annual,* I (1924), 44 *sq.*

[3] See my paper, "The Calendar of Ancient Israel," *Proceed. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences,* XL (1925), 41, n. 6.

[4] 1 *Macc.* x. 21.

[5] XXXII.

[6] Benjamin was not yet born!

his vow to give a tenth: this he did seven days. The following night[1] (the 22d) he resolved to build a sanctuary at Bethel; but an angel, appearing to him in a vision, forbade him to build there—"for this is not the place." Obviously the whole scene is connected with the traditions regarding the building of Solomon's temple. The 22d, although not expressly called Shemini 'Azeret, is clearly so conceived; for after relating the dream of Jacob on the night which ushered in that day, *Jubilees* says that the patriarch arose and celebrated yet another day, sacrificing as on the former days, and called its name "Addition," because it had been added, and added it to the seven days.[2] Thus the incorporation of the eighth day in the festival-term is justified. As to the name "Addition" given to this day, it is not difficult to explain: it apparently represents the Greek *epibda,* or added day. On the following day, the 23d, Rebecca's nurse having died, Jacob departed. This was certainly the form which the festival assumed in the centuries just preceding the Christian era; though we may be sure that in the transition from the older hebdomadal term various adjustments of the pattern were attempted, especially when it was a question of combining Sukkot with the Encænia or festival of dedication.

Of the Encænia, or Feast of Dedication, we may not now speak at length. It is known that in later times it was absolutely assimilated in form to Sukkot. It was called "Lights" (Phota) by the Greeks because of the illumination which was one of the features of this festival, but equally so of Sukkot and many others among Semites and other peoples. The Jews, as we have seen, connect this festival with the purification of the temple in the time of the Maccabees, and call it Hanukkah. In the Greek Church, Epiphany is likewise called "Encænia," or "Phota." These facts are mentioned because the equations serve to indicate the evaluation of the festival as marked by its *mo'ed.* The significance of the ritual forms will later become more apparent. As we found the opening of the wombs of Sarah, Hannah and others referred to Passover or New Year's day,[3] Christian legend dates the miraculous conception of Anna, the mother of the

[1] On this night Jacob received the name of Israel (xxxii. 16–17; cf. *Gen.* xxxv. 10–11); he also read his fate in the heavenly tables, as one did at New Year.

[2] Dr. Charles in his note *ad loc.* (xxxii. 27) entirely missed the meaning of this passage, as did his predecessors.

[3] For virgins ravished at festivals in Greece, as reflected in the drama, see Legrand, *The New Greek Comedy,* pp. 188 *sq.,* 210, 231.

Virgin Mary, as occurring at the Encænia; and similarly *Jubilees*[1] explains the origin of Sukkot by relating that it was first observed by Abraham at the Well of the Oath, rejoicing over the blessing received from an angel of the Lord, who announced that the patriarch should beget six sons and see them all ere he died. Abraham, we are told, there erected an altar and "celebrated a festival of joy in this month[2] seven days," and there was no stranger with him nor any that was uncircumcised. Like Sukkot in the later time, the Feast of Dedication was accounted as having eight days; and there is in regard to these days a peculiarity which deserves to be noted. In the sacrificial Torah[3] the *hag* of Sukkot is said to be seven days, and the victims are of the same number for all the seven days, except in the case of the young bullocks: starting with thirteen the number is diminished by one each day, so that on the seventh there are seven. The coincidence in number was clearly intended. On the added eighth day there is a change in the number of all the victims, except the one he-goat for a sin-offering, which is sacrificed on each of the eight days: as for the other kinds, the bullocks fall from seven on the preceding day to one; there is one ram instead of two, and there are seven he-lambs instead of fourteen, on the other days. The reason for the provisions for the eighth day is not clear.[4] But one wonders that there should have been a retrograde count, as it were, in connection with the bullocks, especially as in *Jubilees* we have a similar method of reckoning from Benjamin, the youngest son, back to Levi, in order to show that the latter was the tenth son to be tithed to the Lord, brought into relation with Sukkot. In the Jewish Hanukkah also the Shammaites,[5] who seem generally to represent the older tradition, required that eight lamps should be lighted on the first

[1] XVI. 20–31.

[2] The seventh? But this is nowhere stated except XVI. 16, in a passage which Dr. Charles proposes to remove as a gloss. The text is undoubtedly confused, but it can hardly be entirely omitted, unless Sukkot was to be dated in the third month. See below, p. 214. In that case Sukkot was practically identified with the Feast of Weeks.

[3] *Num.* XXIX. 12–38; cf. Josephus *Ant.* iii. 10. 4. In *Jubilees* XVI. 22–23, the number of victims is the same for all the (seven) days, but differs greatly from the directions in *Num.* Does *Jubilees* here (as often) represent the older practice?

[4] The smaller number of victims indicates, of course, the lesser sanctity of the added day.

[5] See *J. Enc.*, VI, 224 *a*. Adherents of Hillel reversed the process, beginning with one light and increasing the number by one each succeeding night.

night and one less each succeeding night, so that on the eighth there would be but one.

We may be quite sure that these facts are somehow connected, and they probably admit of explanation, however obscure they may appear to be. For the moment we may dismiss this question and return to the festival-term of Sukkot. It seems clear that the 15th Tishri as the *mo'ed* of this festival was originally fixed with reference to the 10th of the month, which was a New Year's day. Its evaluation, therefore, was that of a sixth day. The term in the earlier post-exilic time was certainly seven days, the eighth being an *'azeret* or post-festal day; but it is equally clear that from the date of *Chronicles,* at the latest, the term was reckoned as eight days, and the dismissal was postponed to the ninth day. In connection with this fact there appear indications that the evaluation of the *mo'ed* of Sukkot, as of Mazzot, as a sixth day was often forgotten or ignored. During and after the exile the Jews were ruled by the Persians, and it would not be strange if their sacral calendar should show some influence of the Persian calendar. The latter is in fact such as to compel a comparison with the festival schemes which appear in the Hebrew tradition. The month in the old Persian calendar [1] consists of thirty days divided into four "weeks," punctuated by holy days having the same name: the first two "weeks" are of seven days each, thus covering the 1st to the 14th; on the 15th, the *mo'ed* of Sukkot, begins a "week" of eight days, which was the recognized term of the *hag* of Booths from the time of *Chronicles* onward; and if the festival were repeated for a like term, it would fill out the remainder of the month. One sees how Pesah could be regarded as a Sabbath, falling on the second Sabbath of the month, as Philo says, and how one might fit the fourteen days—"seven days and seven days"—of Solomon's dedication of his temple according to *Kings* [2] into the first half of the month and still have Sukkot (possibly repeated) immediately succeeding on its *mo'ed* for eight or sixteen days. Though the texts are in part confused (possibly because of redaction), so much is explained by the parallel of the Persian calendar that one may

[1] See Ginzel, I, 281, and Gray in *E.R.E.,* V, 872 *a*. Gray protests against the use of the term "weeks" in reference to these divisions of the month; but the name matters little. It is worth noting that the Chinese likewise have "four monthly feasts—at the new, and full moon, the 8th and the 23d days of the month" (*E.R.E.,* V, 843 *a*). If this arrangement is due to Buddhism, it may go back to early times, because common to India and Iran.

[2] 1 *Kings* VIII. 65–66 (Heb. text).

feel a good deal of assurance that one has here a *uera causa.* To recur now to the curious phenomenon above mentioned of the retrograde count in connection with Sukkot and its replica Phota, it may be worth suggesting that this practice likewise may possibly be due to the calendar; for though the writer is not aware of the existence of such a backward reckoning in the Babylonian or Persian calendars, it is familiar in the final decad of the Greek month and in the Roman month throughout.[1] If influence of the Persian calendar on the term of Sukkot be accepted, it must be clear that it made itself felt gradually. The tradition clearly assumes that the term was properly seven days, followed by an *'azeret;* and the added eighth day (Shemini 'Azeret) incorporated in the term, necessitating a formal dismissal on the ninth day, was clearly a later development.

In regard to the scheme of Sukkot, one further point only calls for notice. As we should expect, its *mo'ed,* the 15th Tishri, was singled out for special emphasis. In the Torah this day is marked by the use of the branches, which were carried in the procession. Of the lulab we shall speak more at length presently; for the moment it concerns us solely as a means of distinguishing the first day, or *mo'ed.* That this day shares its honors with the eighth reveals the ritual pattern, which was conceived as a term of seven days. When the eighth day was added, increasing the stated term by one day, the meaning of the *'azeret* was obscured, since it ceased to be the day of dismissal. We shall find that precisely the same process was repeated in the case of the other *'azeret,* Pentecost; and even earlier the seventh day of Passover, once called an *'azeret,* had become incorporated in the term, which was thus increased from six to seven days. In another connection we shall point out that Shemini 'Azeret has its Christian analogues in the "octave" of the Church of Rome and in the "apodosis" or "apolysis" of the Greek Church. A consideration of these parallels confirms the conclusion, which a careful study of the Hebrew festival cannot fail to justify, that the holy day proper of every Hebrew festival was the *mo'ed:* it alone was sacrosanct. How long the observance then begun should continue was more or less

[1] That Sukkot was somehow related to the epact is certain. Consequently it is proper to recall that in the Egyptian calendar the epact was, as a series of *dies non,* reckoned sometimes with the preceding, sometimes with the following, twelvemonth, though not as an integral part of either. Its squinting position might well lead to a backward count, when, as seems to have been usual in the earlier period, its days were regarded as a prefix to the year. Al-Biruni, p. 246, implies that a retrograde count of the days of the month was not unknown in Islam.

optional and subject to the influence of ritual forms in vogue at particular times. In the following study of Sukkot we shall see that it was, with rare exceptions, rated as a sixth-day festival; that in one notable instance it was taken as an eighth day is easily explained by the ritual equation of the *mo'ed* with the eighth day of the festival.

The account of Sukkot in *Nehemiah* [1] is admittedly difficult to interpret. It is not our purpose to take up this subject again; but several points of interest deserve a word of comment. We have seen that the reading of the Law was from olden times associated with the New Year and with Passover and other festivals which anciently fell at the turn of the year. Ezra is represented as beginning the reading of the Law on the first day of the seventh month, which was a New Year's day,[2] and continuing it every day throughout the feast. Other versions [3] represent the feast as Passover, while *Nehemiah* calls it the Feast of Tabernacles. New Year's day is described as holy to Yahweh, and the reading continues until noon with mourning and loud lamentation; [4] from that hour onward the day is regarded as one of mirth and feasting, and observed, as were New Year's day and Passover, with giving gifts to the poor.[5] Just when the feast was

[1] VIII. 1 *sq.*

[2] Ezra's injunction to "eat the fat and drink the sweet" (*Neh.* VIII. 10) could not be misunderstood, because it was a regular New Year practice (above, p. 156, n. 6). Whether this is a later addition or not may be left to others to determine; but Rosh ha-Shanah is admittedly a late institution.

[3] See Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, I, 58. After the introduction of the Seleucid calendar Passover was, as we have seen, celebrated in Tishri by the Sebuæans.

[4] Cf. I *Esdras* V. 61–65. The scene must have been, like the din, indescribable. Of course one could hear little or nothing of the Law under the circumstances. The observance presumably had another purpose, as the blowing of whistles and the firing of cannon at the transition from year to year. II *Kings* XXII. 11 says that when King Josiah heard the words of the Book of the Law, he rent his garments. All these occasions were clearly fast-days or half fast-days; cf. *Isa.* LVIII. When the Law was given on Horeb on the terrible day of assembly (*Deut.* XVIII. 16), it may be supposed that the people received it in a similar manner. Morgenstern ("The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *The Hebrew Union College Annual*, I [1924], 30) quite misses the point.

[5] *Neh.* VIII. 10 corresponds exactly to the Passover practice. At Hanukkah gifts were exchanged as at (Christmas and) New Year: cf. II *Macc.* I. 35. The closest parallel seems to be the Moslem day of atonement, the 10th Muharram. Al-Biruni (p. 326 *sq.*) describes the different ways in which it was observed. He thinks it was a feast until Husein was slain on it, wherefore people came to consider it an unlucky day, especially, of course, the Shiahs. "On the contrary, the Banû 'Umayya dressed themselves on this day in new garments, and painted their eyes with *stibium;* they celebrate a feast, and gave banquets and parties, eating sweetmeats and various kinds of *confiseries.*" Cf. Hurgronje,

supposed to fall is, as we have seen, uncertain. We are told that the Law of Sukkot was read on the second day of the month, and one might infer from the text that the people immediately gathered the branches for the booths; but this inference is not necessary. In view of the equation of the second and sixth days so often observed, and of the Greek and Christian parallels which appoint the second as the pre-festal day of the sixth,[1] another arrangement was clearly possible. The Law was especially associated with the second [2] and sixth days, as with Passover, which commonly fell on those days, and with New Year's day. While *Nehemiah* calls the *hag* "Sukkot," at which *Deuteronomy* directed the reading of the Law on the *mo'ed* of the year of release, another version calls it "Passover." The most probable view appears to be that *Nehemiah* dates Sukkot on the seven days 15th–22d Tishri, followed by the eighth (Shemini 'Azeret) on the 23d, which would thus be equated with the first day of Sukkot. Late Judaism observed the second day of Shemini 'Azeret, the 24th Tishri, as a special occasion for rejoicing over the Law (Simhat Torah),[3] and the day seems to have been known to the prophet Haggai.[4] Now *Nehemiah* [5] relates that on this day "the children of Israel were assembled with fasting, and with sackcloth, and earth upon them . . . And they stood up in their place, and read in the book of the Law of Yahweh their God a fourth part of the day; and another fourth part they confessed, and worshiped Yahweh their God." What they did the remainder of the day does not appear; but it seems certain that this day, like those earlier in the month devoted to the reading of the Law, was divided at midday: in other words, it was a *dies fissus*. As we have before remarked, the *dies fissus* is an unsolved problem; but one may be certain that the di-

Mekka, II, 51 *sq.* (See above, p. 156, n. 6.) The day was called *dies ornationis* because of the attention paid to apparel and cosmetics. Very likely the dresses were borrowed as by the Jews on the Day of Atonement. That the day was a *dies fissus* may be inferred from the statement of Al-Biruni, p. 327, "People maintain that the *dies ornationis*, which is the time for the rendezvous of the sorcerers of Pharaoh, is this day 'Ashûrâ, *especially the time after noon.*"

[1] This arrangement has the appearance of a ritual compromise, intended to give a certain recognition in the scheme to the two days on which fasts anciently fell. The history of this accommodation is obscure, but, as we have seen, it reappears in the pattern of the triduum incorporated in the hebdomad, when the second and sixth days coincide.

[2] Attention was called above to the fact that the law of Pesah is represented as given at Succoth, the second stage of the exodus pilgrimage.

[3] *J. Enc.*, XI, 269 *b*, 364 *b sq.*

[4] II. 10, 20.

[5] IX. 1–2.

vision marked it as one of peculiar sanctity. In this connection it may be proper to refer again to the ritual acts of division performed at the *haggim,* most especially at Passover, and to the dividing of the waters on the second day of Creation. That a rite of the same sort was performed at Sukkot will presently be pointed out. Sukkot, whose *mo'ed* was a sixth day, began on the 15th Tishri. In later Judaism the fifteenth day of every month appears to have had the same associations. *Jubilees,*[1] e. g., appears to date the covenants of Noah and Abraham on the fifteenth day of the third month (Siwan), and refers Pentecost to the same day,[2] which it declares to be "of a double nature." This unexplained description may be taken to mean that it was a *dies fissus,* as was apparently its analogue 'Omer-day. In late Judaism, Pentecost was observed for two days in commemoration of the giving of the Law, and it may be due to this fact that *Jubilees*[3] says, "It came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spake to Moses, saying: Come up to me on the mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the Law." Here again, therefore, we may be justified in seeing a second day of the Law.

If one looks for parallels for such observances, one will do well to study the New Year celebrations. At Rome and throughout Europe during the Middle Ages and down to modern times the New Year practices on the kalends of January and March are well known. Of the Saturnalia which were connected with the turn of the year we may speak hereafter; at present let us briefly consider Janus, as the patron deity of the turn of the year. He is a mysterious being, whose origin and history we cannot trace; but he is clearly connected with certain gateways[4] in market or street. Very properly, as a passover-god presiding over the transition from year to year,[5] he looks forward and backward, and may in fact be called the *deus fissus.* Was his day a *dies fissus*? One cannot say; but it is with ob-

[1] VI. 17–18, XIV. 20 with Dr. Charles's notes.

[2] VI. 17 *sq. Jubilees* does not call it Pentecost, but "the Feast of Weeks." See below, p. 350 *sq.*

[3] I. 1. It is to be noted, however, that the Feast of Weeks is appointed for one day only.

[4] See Fowler, *Roman Festivals,* p. 286 *sq.* One may recall the practice of dividing the victim and passing between the parts, as between the jambs of a door, in making a covenant.

[5] And from month to month; for the kalends of all months were sacred to him, as to Juno.

vious intention that Seneca [1] says of him, "He was postmeridian consul-designate for the kalends of July, a shifty fellow indeed, who always looks forward and backward." Whatever else these words may mean, they seem certainly to imply that Janus had a special relation to the kalends of July (7th month) as well as of January. These days correspond in the Roman calendar to the epochs of the late Jewish calendar: each properly a New Year's day, the year being divided, as with the Jews, into halves of six months. As to the provenience of this scheme we decline to offer a conjecture: it is enough to point out the parallel. This being admitted, one asks whether Janus can have been called "postmeridian consul" solely because of his connection with the kalends of July. This is possible, of course; but there would be added point, if the days especially sacred to Janus were *dies fissi,* divided at midday. Whether they were or not, our sources hardly permit us to decide.

The days for the reading of the Law were, as we have seen, observed with fasting, at least until midday. Nowhere in the Old Testament does one find so vivid a suggestion of the character of these days as in *Isaiah,*[2] who seems to have had in mind a New Year's festival: "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto my people their transgression, and to the house of Jacob their sins. Yet they seek me daily,[3] and delight to know my commandments: as a nation that did righteousness and forsook not the ordinance of their God, they ask of me righteous judgments;[4] they delight to draw near unto God. Wherefore have we fasted, they say, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye transact business and collect your dues.[5] Behold, ye fast for strife and contention,[6] and smite with the fist of wickedness; ye fast not this day so as to make your voice heard on high. Is such the fast that I have chosen—the day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to Yahweh? Is not this the fast I have chosen: to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo

[1] *Apocolo.* ix.

[2] LVIII. 1 *sq.*

[3] As this seems to refer to the cultus, "daily" probably means during the festival; cf. *Neh.* VIII. 18.

[4] This is, of course, a constant motive of New Year's day, as the day of judgment.

[5] This, as Marti and others have suggested, appears to be the meaning.

[6] As at Meribah and Massah. See below, p. 220 *sq.*

the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy healing shall spring forth speedily." Here the prophet apparently takes his text from the festival practices as regards both the strictures he utters on the conduct of the people and the course he wishes to commend. If he refers to the yoke of the bondman,[1] one recalls the *hag* of Sukkot in the year of release, and the liberty, even to license, permitted to slaves at the Saturnalia. That in ancient as in modern times there was a slave-mart connected with the fair of the *hag* seems certain.[2] The transaction of business and the collection of debts at these times was most natural, especially at the end of the year; but so was the reunion of kindred also and the largess and hospitality to the poor. The law and commandments of God were an inevitable topic for the prophet; and in the lights of the *hag* [3] he found a suggestion of the promise to the righteous of a light that should break forth as a new day and of a sun of righteousness rising with healing in his wings.[4]

Perhaps it may be questioned whether the prophet really drew his suggestions from a festival, because they cannot be proved to be more intimately related to one festival than to another; for, besides Passover and Sukkot, one might readily find in the passage thoughts associated with the Day of Atonement. Upon consideration, however, it will be seen that this objection is not valid. It has just been pointed out that the festival recorded in *Nehemiah,* though there called Sukkot, is elsewhere called Passover, and in the preceding chapter we had occasion to observe that there were some who kept Passover in the autumn and that the connection of Succoth with various Passovers was intended to suggest the booths of the *hag,* which came to be the titular observance of Sukkot. Presently it will be shown that the association of Palm Sunday with Holy Week is in part due to the equation of Sukkot with Passover, and that Easter Sunday is

[1] This is not certain; but it seems the most reasonable interpretation.

[2] Cf. *Joel* III. 2–8. Robertson Smith (art. "Mecca," in *Enc. Brit.*[11], XVII, 951 *b*) refers to the connection of the slave-trade with the hajj.

[3] These were common also in Egypt and Greece. For the Arabian hajj, see Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.,* p. 954 *a.*

[4] The allusion to the New Year and indirectly to sun-worship in ancient Israel at Sukkot is unmistakable.

another Shemini 'Azeret. In like manner it will be shown in the sequel that the Day of Atonement was equated with Passover and had certain points of contact with Sukkot. As they were one and all New Year's festivals, these equations and resemblances are not difficult to comprehend.

In fact Sukkot, being merely a *hag,* inevitably bore the marks proper to the group to which it belonged. The practice of living in booths, to which it owed its distinctive name, was common to all the festivals; but since in the post-exilic period it equaled, if it did not exceed, Passover in the favor it enjoyed, it not unnaturally attracted to itself many observances which may have been proper to other occasions. Among those which became prominent in the celebration of Sukkot one may mention the dwelling in booths, the reading of the Law, circumcision, the libations of water drawn from Siloam and mixed with wine, the brilliant illumination, and the procession with the lulab, consisting of palm-branches bound together and hung with fruits. All these rites we shall have to consider in comparison with their analogues among other peoples. We shall find inevitably a number of other practices to which attention has not hitherto been drawn.

As we proceed to take a nearer view of Sukkot, it may help our understanding of the festival if we call to mind the account of the visit of Jesus to Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles.[1] Scholars have in this case long remarked the obvious connection of certain of the Master's words with the ritual practices and suggestions of the occasion, though even here they have not nearly exhausted the lessons to be learned. In this study we have tried to apply the same method in other instances, believing that Jesus was employing the form of instruction which had so well served his predecessors, the prophets of old. One great difficulty in interpreting the prophets is that too little attention has been given to the festivals, at which they appeared and uttered their messages to the people. We know their preaching chiefly in its literary dress and regard it solely as literature without reference to the occasion, just as students of Greek tragedy[2] since Aristotle have judged the plays, composed for festivals and acted at them, as just so much literature. In the

[1] *John* VII. 2 *sq.*

[2] Latterly an intelligent interest has been shown in the connection between the drama and the ritual of the festivals; but a beginning has barely been made.

case of the prophets, we rarely know the precise occasion, though it is safe to say that in the older time they found their opportunity at the *haggim:* only in late[1] post-exilic times did the gatherings in the synagogues, chiefly on the Sabbath, serve for a hearing of the prophets, who had now ceased to preach and were heard, as was the Law, only as read and interpreted from the pulpit.

Joshua,[2] as we have noted, reports that the Israelites were circumcised at the first Passover celebrated in Canaan, where they had found rest; and this rest was understood as that of the Sabbath. In the law for Passover[3] also it is emphasized that the circumcised only shall participate in it. These facts suffice to show that circumcision, an ancient *rite de passage* not peculiar to Israel, was intimately connected with Passover, and particularly with the morrow after Passover, which was a Sabbath or seventh day, anciently called an *'azeret.* Among the Arabs circumcision is still the occasion of a festival celebrated with circular dances.[4] In post-exilic times, when Sukkot had become prominent, this festival shared the honor with Passover: *Zechariah,*[5] for example, lays stress on the fact that the circumcised only may take part in it. One might be tempted to think that this association of ideas was due solely to the fact that circumcision was a sign of the covenant; but this explanation hardly suffices. *Jubilees,*[6] which strongly emphasizes the command to circumcise on the eighth day and declares that Isaac was the first to be so initiated, dates the birth of this patriarch at the Feast of Weeks, on the 15th Siwan, and his circumcision (by implication) on the 22d. The latter date, as the octave, corresponds absolutely to Shemini 'Azeret; and it cannot be doubted that this equation was in the thought of the author, who proceeds to say that Abraham instituted Sukkot as a festival of joy. This can hardly be otherwise explained than on the supposition that this festival was observed by Abraham in the third month in connection with the birth and circumcision of Isaac, or that by a natural association of ideas the author passed from the one *'azeret* (Pentecost) to the other which fell on the same day of the seventh month. Either assumption would justify the be-

[1] An exception must be made of the epistolary prophecies of the exile; but we do not know when or where they were read.

[2] v. *2 sq.*

[3] *Exod.* xii. 44 *sq.*

[4] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* i, 168 *sq.*

[5] xiv. 16–18; cf. *Jubilees* xvi. 25.

[6] xv. 11 *sq.,* xvi. 14 *sq.* See Dr. Charles's note on xv. 14.

lief that in later Judaism circumcision was especially connected with the *'azeret,* which was in turn equated with the *mo'ed* of Sukkot. There were, in consequence, good reasons for practising the rite on either a seventh or an eighth day; but owing to the conception of the Sabbath in later Judaism, it was inevitable that the propriety of the former observance should be called in question. No doubt the problem presented itself in the form of the query, which of the two signs of the covenant, circumcision or the Sabbath, should have precedence in case the eighth day of the child's life coincided with the weekly Sabbath,[1] though this formulation obviously came only with the establishment of the cyclical week. The debate would moreover naturally connect itself with Sukkot, because in later Judaism all the holy days of the festivals were regarded as Sabbaths [2] and in this particular festival it might well be asked whether the last day was the seventh or the eighth. This being so, one readily understands why Jesus should have said [3] at the Feast of Tabernacles, "Moses hath given you circumcision [not that it is of Moses, but of the fathers]; and on the Sabbath ye circumcise a man. If a man receiveth circumcision on the Sabbath, that the law of Moses may not be broken, are ye wroth with me, because I make a man every whit whole on the Sabbath?" One recalls that the subject of Sabbath-observance was a frequent topic of Jesus on the Sabbath.

With the question regarding circumcision Jesus here combines that of the Law, which had before been broached in the words,[4] "Did not Moses give you the Law, and yet none of you doeth the law." In neither case does the context explain the words of the Master. Indeed, this is frequently to be observed in the gospels. If one is to comprehend the thought, one has to supply the proper context, which can be done only by studying the occasions and the ideas associated with them. The topics, as in liturgies, are suggested by the observances of the *hag.* As regards the Law, we have already noted that it was anciently connected with the Passover as a New Year rite and that in later times it was equally associated with Sukkot: *Deuteronomy* and *Nehemiah* bring the reading of the Law into relation with this festival, and even the law of Passover is represented as given at Succoth. On Horeb the Law was given on the day of assembly, a day of terror to Israel; and the occasion when Moses

[1] *J. Enc.,* x, 596 *b.* Cf. Epiphanius *Panar.* xxxii, p. 379, 2 Holl.
[2] Epiphanius *Panar.* xxxii, p. 377 Holl.
[3] *John* vii. 22–23.
[4] *Ibid.* vii. 19.

brought down the tables of the Law and broke them at the foot of the mount was that on which Israel celebrated the *hag* to Yahweh for the golden calf. Of this festival Philo says,[1] "The madmen drew up choruses about the calf, singing and dancing, no song of wine and revelry like the air sung at feasts and banquets, but the true dirge as for the dead," no doubt conceiving of it as quite like the fast observed in Egypt for Apis.[2] In *Jeremiah* [3] we read that the prophet commanded his scribe to write down the words of Yahweh which he dictated, and Baruch read in the book the words of Yahweh on a fast-day. *Isaiah* [4] also connects the Torah of God with the *haggim*. Thus it is seen that the Law was by innumerable associations connected with the *haggim* held on second and sixth days,[5] and that these were properly fasts.

Still another saying of Jesus is to be explained with reference to the observances of Sukkot: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." [6] These words were suggested by the illumination which was a marked characteristic of this festival, as of its replica, the Feast of Dedication, or "Lights." In this as in other matters the holy days (the *mo'ed* and Shemini 'Azeret) were especially distinguished, and the words of Jesus are referred to "the last day, the great day of the feast." [7] In Jewish thought the lights were closely associated with the gift of the Holy Spirit (Shekinah). As the lights were created on the first and fourth days of the hexaëmeron, so the Shekinah also was created on the first day.[8] *John* says [9] that on that day Jesus stood and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, from within him shall flow rivers of living water," and adds, "But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified." It has long been seen that this saying was suggested by the libations

[1] *De ebriet.*, p. 371 M.
[2] Plutarch *De Iside* xxxv.
[3] xxxvi. 4–8.
[4] i. 10–12.
[5] As was pointed out above.
[6] *John* viii. 12.
[7] vii. 37. This reference is not affected by the question of the "pericope" about the woman taken in adultery (vii. 53—viii. 11), which does indeed add a day (viii. 2), but, if retained, would at most serve to distinguish between the 7th and 8th days.
[8] *Hagigah*, 12 *ab*.
[9] vii. 37–39.

of water drawn from Siloam. Libations of water were an ancient observance of the fast;[1] the use of wine was clearly an innovation of relatively late times. The *Mishnah*[2] reports that at Sukkot a pitcher of gold was carried to the altar filled with water from Siloam; there it was poured into a basin on the west, while wine was poured into one at the east.[3] Both basins were perforated so that the liquid might flow out. The Talmud does not explain where the libations flowed, and of course betrays no knowledge that the libation of wine was of later origin. The latter may be assumed to have come into the festal observance from the daily offering[4] in the temple, which was apparently unknown to *Ezekiel*. The prophets abound in allusions to such *haggim,* but they give no hint of the wine-offering. Thus *Zechariah,*[5] referring to the great and terrible last day, says: "It shall be one day which is known to Yahweh; not day and not night; but it shall come to pass that at evening time there shall be light. And it shall come to pass in that day that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the eastern sea, and half of them toward the western sea."[6] Here one is almost compelled to think that the prophet had in mind a festival like Sukkot, except that there was no wine, water being offered as a libation both east and west. The living waters are those of a spring, and they are divided as were all *sacra* in the Hebrew religion. We shall presently have to speak of the incident of Meribah which was brought into relation with Sukkot. It is of the living waters springing from the pierced Rock of Israel that Jesus also was thinking; at least so Paul[7] would seem to suggest: "They drank of the spiritual rock

[1] I *Sam.* VII. 6; II *Sam.* XXVI. 16.

[2] *Sukkah,* Chap. IV.

[3] To the Hebrews, as to the Greeks, the West was associated with the dead and the chthonians, who do not receive wine. Since the libation of water was clearly the older rite, it is of special interest to see it offered toward the west: the rite is proper to a fast-day, and we are told in a hymn, still sung on the second evening of Sukkot, that of old it was performed on the second day.

[4] *Exod.* XXIX. 40.

[5] XIV. 7 *sq.*

[6] This passage has moreover connections with the living fountains of the earthly paradise: *Gen.* II. 10 *sq.*; *Ezek.* XLVII. 1 *sq.* (where observe the *'ābar*-motive); *Isa.* XII. 3; *Rev.* XXII. 1, etc.

[7] I *Cor.* X. 4. Not only did the cleft rock, from which flowed the waters of Meribah, follow Israel, but the well or water did likewise (*Targum of Onkelos* on *Num.* XXI, p. 300 Etheridge). It ceased to flow after Israel crossed the Arnon (*Targum of Jerus., ibid.,* p. 412). The latter statement implies that the passover of the Arnon ended the *hag* of the exodus. See above, p. 178.

that followed them: and that rock was Christ." The Hebrew tradition, especially in the hallel for festivals, frequently refers to God as the Rock of Israel, and Christian hymnology retains the figure in referring to Christ as the Rock of Ages cleft for sinners. As the rite of drawing water at Sukkot was the most ecstatic of all, being celebrated with dances in which even the sages participated with lighted tapers,[1] the *Talmud*[2] speaks of the *sukkah,* the booth of the *hag,* as "the house of the drawing of water" because the Holy Spirit is drawn from it. Since in the Christian tradition the gift of the Holy Spirit is referred to the *'azeret*—either to Easter Sunday, which corresponds to Shemini 'Azeret, or to Pentecost,[3] the *'azeret par excellence*—we readily comprehend not only the association of ideas which prompted the saying of Jesus, but also its specific reference to "the last day, the great day of the feast." Whether among the Jews also these same conceptions were connected specifically with the *'azeret* we cannot say; but they are in the prophets certainly brought into relation with harvest-festivals at the turn of the year, which clearly corresponds to Sukkot.[4]

[1] *Sukkah,* Chap. IV. The rite seems to have been quite like that of Easter-eve at the Holy Sepulcher. That the latter was a New Year's observance was pointed out above, p. 63, n. 2.

[2] See *J. Enc.,* XI, 661 *b* for references. The wells of salvation (*Isa.* XII. 3), from which Israel shall draw water in the last day, have of course been associated with Sukkot, at which salvation shall come.

[3] The Rabbis consciously equated these days, saying, "The closing feast of Sukkot ought rightly to have been, like that of Pesah, on the fiftieth day [cf. Pentecost], but in order not to force the people to make another journey to Jerusalem in the rainy season, God fixed it as early as the eighth day . . ." —*J. Enc.,* XI, 269 *b*. In the gospels the same equation is clearly made. Thus Jesus forbids Mary to touch him because he had not yet ascended to the Father (*John* XX. 17), this being Easter Sunday; when (*ibid.* XX. 27) Thomas is bidden on the octave to put his hand in the Saviour's pierced side, it is implied that the ascension has meanwhile occurred. On this same occasion (XX. 22) Jesus, obviously as having been already glorified, bids the disciples receive the Holy Spirit, which according to *Acts* was given at Pentecost. Of the glorifying of Jesus we will presently speak in connection with the Transfiguration, which *Luke* (closely linked with *John*) refers to the eighth day. Cf. *Ps.* XXIX with its topics, which are significant, as it was used for Sukkot (especially for Shemini 'Azeret) and Pentecost.

[4] *Hag.* II. 1–5 connects the mention of the Spirit of Yahweh with the 21st Tishri; i. e., he identifies the seventh day of Sukkot as "the last day, the great day of the feast." *Isa.* XXXII. 9 *sq.* associates the pouring-out of the Spirit with a vintage-festival at the turn of the year. Wellhausen (*Prolcg.,* p. 108) infers an autumnal New Year: as for the "days beyond a year" (*Isa.* XXXII. 10), one wonders whether they do not refer to an epact (the supernumerary days,) *ἡμέραι ὑπερβαίνουσαι,* as Macrob. *Sat.* i. 13 calls them; (Jews speak of

The ceremony of drawing water from Siloam at Sukkot was by the Jews associated with the traditions about Meribah. This raises a number of interesting questions which are little understood and cannot be fully answered. How ancient the rite of Siloam was we cannot certainly say; as such, it was of course not older than the pool itself,[1] but similar observances were obviously connected with other sacred wells, as is shown by the connection of Meribah with Horeb and Kadesh no less than with Siloam. Biblical scholars appear in this case, as in many others, to have been chiefly preoccupied with the stratification and redactions of literary documents. In this instance we need not enter into this difficult question, because Meribah is confessedly a part of the tradition from the oldest times and occurs in all the strata of the Pentateuch. We are concerned with it solely as it may shed light on the cultus and the ritual observances of the *hag*. Meribah is first mentioned[2] in conjunction with Massah. When the Israelites journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, where at the quail-Passover the manna was first given, they next encamped

the leap-day as *yōm 'ibbūr*). *Isa.* IX. 2–3 again refers to a harvest-festival: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy, they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest." For the Messianic application, cf. *Matt.* IV. 16; *Ephes.* v. 8. Had not the prophet in mind a harvest-festival—whether Sukkot or another—in which after a season of fasting and mourning there appeared a great light in token of salvation? The light would then naturally come at the close of the festival. If the speaking with tongues at Pentecost be regarded as a sign of the gift of the Spirit, one may compare the similar phenomenon in the cultus of Apollo. In the *Delian Hymn to Apollo* 156–164, the Delian maidens at Apollo's festivals speak with tongues and each bystander thinks they speak in his own tongue. This was certainly a seventh day, as was also the inspiration of the priest of Ptoan Apollo, who spoke in the Carian tongue (Herod. viii. 135; cf. Pausan. ix. 23. 6). These parallels, taken in conjunction with *Hag.* and the known fact that Shemini 'Azeret was an added day, suggest that anciently the day of the giving of the Spirit was the seventh and that it was shifted to the eighth in later times. Cf. also *Num.* XI. 17 and the *Targum of Palestine, ad. loc.*, p. 374 Etheridge: "And He made enlargement of the Spirit of prophecy that was upon him [Moses] so that Mosheh lost nothing thereof, but He gave unto the seventy men, the elders: and it was that when the spirit of prophecy rested on them, they prophesied, and ceased not."

[1] Perhaps it is as old as the time of Hezekiah. The tunnel of Samos built by Polycrates (Herod. iii. 60) would naturally be compared, but it shows a finer technique, which may however be explained otherwise than on the supposition of a later date. If *Isa.* VIII. 6 refers to the pool of Siloam, it is important, provided one may be satisfied as to its preëxilic origin.

[2] *Exod.* XVII. 1–2, 7 (J).

at Rephidim.[1] Here there was no water for the people to drink, wherefore they strove with Moses and "he called the name of the place Massah, and Meribah, because of the striving of the children of Israel,[2] and because they tempted Yahweh, saying, Is Yahweh among us or not?" The sacred story relates to a fast and xerophagia. According to the critics this version has been combined with another [3] which obviously represents the incident as connected with a passover-rite.[4] When the people murmured, "Moses cried unto Yahweh, saying, What shall I do unto this people? they are almost ready to stone me.[5] And Yahweh said unto Moses, Pass over [6] before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river,[7] take in thy hand and go. Behold, I will stand before thee upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel." An earlier version apparently identified Yahweh with the rock on which he is here represented as standing; for Moses and Aaron are bidden to speak to the rock.[8] The whole Hebrew tradition in fact seems to presume that the cleft rock is the God of Israel.[9] Moses cleaves the rock, and from it issues water, which is presumably to be divided, as at Sukkot it poured from several basins. The rod in Moses's hand is that wherewith he smote the river—presumably the Nile. In *Exodus* there is no mention of his doing so except when he changed its waters into blood; but the context would rather suggest that he divided its

[1] The critics assign the setting and time-scheme to P. To what locality J referred the rite cannot be determined. Rephidim also cannot be located.

[2] Cf. *Gen.* xxvi. 19–22.

[3] *Exod.* xvii. 3–6 (E).

[4] The connection with a passover-rite is suggested by *Exod.* xvi. 1 *sq.* (P), where the murmuring of Israel in the wilderness of Sin is dated on the fifteenth day of the second month; for this is apparently a duplicate of Meribah. Cf. *Deut.* xxxii. 51.

[5] Stoning is naturally associated with the passover and the fast. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 15. 4) says that Israel stoned Moses at the passage of the Red Sea. The stoning of Naboth at a fast solemnly proclaimed (1 *Kings* xxi. 9) is well known. This is connected with the treatment of the scapegoat and the Pharmakos, as a comparison of Greek rites would show.

[6] *'ābar.* Does not this suggest a ceremonious crossing of the wadi?

[7] This is said in order to connect the incident with the (Passover) flight from Egypt.

[8] *Num.* xx. 8. Even if this is P, the conception is clearly older.

[9] Cf. 1 *Sam.* ii. 2; *Deut.* xxxii. 31. When *Jer.* (ii. 13, xvii. 13) speaks of Yahweh as a fountain of living water, the allusion is presumably to an old rite like that at Meribah.

waters with his rod. Of a tradition that he did so there seems to be no trace unless it be in *Isaiah*,[1] "And Yahweh will utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his scorching wind[2] will he wave his hand over the river, and will smite it into seven streams, and shall cause men to march over dryshod.[3] And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people that shall remain from Assyria, like as there was for Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt." The "river" is here generally understood to be the Euphrates, though the remnant of Israel is admittedly to come from Egypt as well as from Babylonia. Would it not be more natural to understand the prophet as referring to the Red Sea and the Nile (*septemgeminus Nilus*[4]) smitten into seven streams to insure a passage? If that were so, we might infer that an ancient tradition accounted for the seven mouths of the Nile as having been formed when Moses smote the river to prepare the highway for Israel at the Egyptian Passover.[5] The liturgy of the Jewish Passover refers the event foretold by the prophet to the passover to come; but then, presumably, the lost tribes of Israel will return over the Euphrates.[6]

These subtle links of association, thoroughly characteristic of the Hebrew tradition, leave no room for doubt that the incident of Meribah was connected with a rite consciously equated with the passovers. That it was a rite, and one in which the God of Israel was sanctified,[7] is as clearly as possible expressed in another connection, where there is suggested a further link with the *hag*, in that the death of Moses before the entrance of the people into Canaan is explained by the rebellion of Israel at Meribah.[8] In *Numbers*[9] it is said that Moses smote the rock twice, and water came forth abundantly. This older account clearly knew nothing of the addition of wine in the libations at Sukkot in the rite of carrying water from Siloam; but one may infer that this practice was associated with Meribah soon afterwards, as in the *Targum of Palestine*[10] we read

[1] XI. 15–16.
[2] As at the Red Sea.
[3] "With sandals," which the Israelites wore at Pesah.
[4] As it is frequently called by the Latin poets.
[5] Cf. above, p. 184 *sq.*, and Herod. i. 75 for the story of Thales dividing the Halys to enable Crœsus to transport his army.
[6] *J. Enc.*, v, 213 *a*.
[7] *Num.* XXVII. 14; cf., however, XX. 12–13 and *Deut.* XXXII. 51. Kadesh was obviously supposed to be so called because Yahweh was sanctified there.
[8] *Num.* XXVII. 12 *sq.*
[9] XX. 11.
[10] On *Num.* XX, p. 406 Etheridge.

that when Moses smote the rock "at the first time it dropped blood, but at the second time there came forth a multitude of waters." The Hebrew was quite familiar with the figure here implied, as wine was known as "the blood of the grape." [1] Possibly the sacred story originally meant that the water of the Nile was changed into wine when Moses smote it with his rod; in any case one is reminded that the wine of the Passover supper became in the eucharist the blood of Christ, the spiritual Rock, from whose side, pierced at the Crucifixion by the soldier's spear, "straightway there came out blood and water." [2]

This rite of immemorial sanctity was, as we have already pointed out, associated with various sacred localities: with Horeb, with Kadesh, with Siloam. The Hebrew text represents Meribah and Massah as place-names. How ancient this attempt to convert ritual into geography may be we have no certain means of determining; but the

[1] *Gen.* xlix. 11; *Deut.* xxxii. 14; *Sirach* xxxix. 26; l. 15.

[2] *John* xix. 34; cf. iii *Bar.* iv. 15. This phenomenon can hardly be dissociated from the miracle of changing water into wine commemorated at Epiphany (6th January). This, in turn, is to be compared with the Dionysiac festival of the 5th/6th January on Andros (Pliny *N.H.* ii. 231). On the same day fell the festival of carrying water of the Nile at Thebes (Epiphanius *Hæres.* li. 30. 3 certainly connected it with the Pamylia falling in the Egyptian epact, when the birth of Osiris was proclaimed [Plutarch *De Iside* xii]). These are all connected with the turn of the year. With these festivals and with Sukkot we must associate the rite of blessing the waters of the Jordan at Epiphany, and the Persian New Year ceremonies, chiefly observed at Naurôz, described by Al-Biruni, pp. 199, 202, 203, 206, 215. They were variously connected with opening the sluices of irrigation-canals and the giving of rain after drought, and were marked by rites of washing and sprinkling one another with water. The synagogue-service for the Day of Atonement says, "Sprinkle clean water upon us, as it is written [*Ezek.* xxxvi. 25] 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your defilements and from all your idols will I cleanse you,'" clearly implying at this autumnal New Year the same rites as those observed by the Persians. That the Babylonians followed the same practice is shown by a hemerology (see Weidner, p. 85 *sq.*) which under the month of Tishri notes: "The dwellings are cleansed [as at Mazzot?]; people and prince bathe themselves." When Isaiah (i. 16) said "Wash you, make you clean," he may have been alluding to these or similar rites practised in Israel. See *Enc. Brit.*[11], xvii. 557 *a*, for the Mandæan festival of baptism celebrated during the five epagomenal days. The Armenians asperse one another in church at Transfiguration "in commemoration of the Flood." In pagan days, the Deluge was commemorated on the first day of the Armenian year (*E.R.E.*, v, 836 *a*). Transfiguration is of course a sixth day. Among traces of paganism in Armenia is reckoned the feast Vardavar. "The last five days of the year (*awelikh*) were sacred to the goddess Astlik (*varddzri* = 'she who makes the rose grow')."—*E.R.E., ibid.* These five days are clearly the epact.

Septuagint and the Targums commonly ignore it and frankly translate the supposed names. Even while treating the words as geographical names, the Hebrew text explains that they were given "because of the striving of the children of Israel, and because they tempted Yahweh," while the Septuagint renders Meribah with "railing" or "raillery" [1] and Massah with "temptation." [2] As for Massah, one suspects that the Jews connected this (place of) temptation with *mazzah* [3] and manna, the bread of affliction and temptation, the unleavened cakes [4] of the fast and of the *hag*. At the fast Israel tempted [5] Yahweh by saying, "Is Yahweh among us or not?" *Joel*,[6] speaking of a fast heralded by the blowing of trumpets, asks, "Wherefore should they say among the peoples, Where is their God?"

We may be quite sure that Meribah was not properly a place-name, but the name of an observance of the *hag*, which was essentially a fast. As Massah perpetuates the memory of the trial of strength which frequently took the form of a contest or *agōn*, so Meribah is related to the raillery of the fast-day. Travelers in Arabia emphasize the latter practice among the Bedouins at their festivals even now; [7] and as a religious rite it is widely distributed.[8] One has only to recall Iambe and her rôle in the Eleusinian Mysteries: she cheers the mourning and irate Deo (Demeter) when, searching for her daughter, Cora, and withdrawing from the company of the heavenly gods, she sits on the "laughterless stone" or on the lowly seat covered with the *dioskodion* in the halls of Celeus, fasting, abstaining from

[1] λοιδόρησις.

[2] πειρασμός.

[3] Cf. *Isa.* LVIII. 4; *Prov.* XVII. 19. The association does not imply an etymological connection between *massah* and *mazzah*.

[4] These cakes were *perforated*, as the body of the Saviour given in the unleavened bread of the eucharist was pierced on the Cross.

[5] It is worth while to consider the references to "tempting" in the O.T. In *Gen.* XXII. 1, Abraham is tried in the matter of Isaac. *Jubilees* XVII. 15 *sq.* clearly dates the averted sacrifice of Isaac at Passover. In *Exod.* XV. 25, Yahweh tempts Israel at Marah; *ibid.*, XX. 20, at Sinai; in *Exod.* XVI. 4, *Deut.* VIII. 16, with the manna; in *Deut.* VIII. 2, in the wilderness; in *Deut.* XIII. 2–3, with false prophets: and in *Judg.* II. 22, III. 1. 4, with idolatrous neighbors. On the other hand, Israel tempts Yahweh at Meribah and Massah (*Exod.* XVII. 2, 7; *Deut.* VI. 16; *Ps.* XCV. 8; in *Deut.* XXXIII. 8, it is Levi who tempts Yahweh there), and in the desert (*Ps.* CVI. 10). "Tempting" means "putting to the proof." It is always connected with fasting, it seems, as Jesus fasted during the Temptation. Cf. *Dan.* I. 12.

[6] II. 1–17; cf. *Deut.* I. 42; XXXI. 17, 29. See *J. Enc.*, VIII. 133 *a*, and XI, 667 *b*, for the liturgy of the fast and the themes of the Tahanum.

[7] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 168.

[8] See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 688 *sq.*

wine, and taking no food but the *kykeōn,* the gruel of the fast. At the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, as is familiarly known, the initiates were greeted with coarse jests at certain bridges, near Eleusis and at Athens.[1] These localities might as well have received the name of "Raillery," as the raillery received the name of "bridging" (*gephyrismos*). It was, however, in the Dionysiac festivals that this and similar observances found their fullest and most striking development. Of the ritual forms observed in the cultus of Dionysus we shall have to speak at some length in a subsequent chapter, where it will be shown that they differed little from those of Yahweh; for the present we may confine our attention to a few suggestions afforded by the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, a comedy in which the literary artist has most closely followed the rites and the sacred story of the god.

In this play the contention (*agōn*) and the raillery, so characteristic of the festival of Dionysus that they received the honor of a special ritual development in the economy of the drama, are brought into relation with the descent of the god to the underworld; for the entire action of the *Frogs* is framed by this journey. One can readily show that the scenic and dithyrambic *agōn,* like the athletic, was properly connected with the *dies nefastus,* which in the triduan Dionysia was unquestionably the second day.[2] At the close of the *Frogs,* Dionysus indicates his intention of returning to the upper world and bringing with him the poet Æschylus: their return was of course to be a resurrection on the third day. Once the conformity of the plot to the ritual scheme is noted, we are prepared to recognize the parallel to the Hebrew rites. Perhaps no other Aristophanic comedy is so full of banter: not only does it characterize the exchanges between the god and his human servant (Xanthias) throughout the first half of the play, but there is likewise a formal *agōn* between them to see which can endure without complaining the worse beating and thereby prove himself the god. It is in this scene that Dionysus proclaims

[1] Cf. Mommsen, *Feste,* pp. 227–231. It is quite possible that the raillery at the bridge was originally conceived of as a "passover"-rite; according to one account a person in disguise, either a man or a harlot, played the rôle of Iambe. The actions of this Iambe must have been coarser even than those staged in the old Attic comedy.

[2] See below, Chapter IX. The days of the *agōn* are generally the second or the sixth. In festivals which because of their popularity were extended to longer terms, the ancient scheme was sometimes obscured. The lyric *agōn* occupied a place apart; in the cultus of Apollo it fell on the seventh day.

himself a god, the son of the most high god, Zeus.[1] It happens that in the *Frogs* there is no pretense of dividing the god, for which the *sparagmos*[2] of Dionysus in the myth would have supplied the justification; but we know that this rite formed part of the Dionysiac Mysteries and belonged to the *dies nefastus*. In the latter half of the play there is staged a second *agōn*, in which the ghosts of Æschylus and Euripides contend for the throne of tragedy in the underworld. As we noted before,[3] it is terminated, as the frolic of ghosts should be, by Dionysus imitating cockcrow. Thus the *Frogs* enables us to comprehend the contention and the raillery of the festival, and marks their connection with the fast which is observed when the god has departed and is regarded as sojourning with the dead; but it likewise gives us the technical name for the raillery—*loidoresmos*,[4] the very term used to render "Meribah."

Thus viewed, Sukkot appears in the light of a *hag* with the characteristic marks of a fast; and the special observances connected with Meribah and Massah, as we see them in the older tradition, indicate a connection with festivals which we have with reason called passovers. If one seeks evidence regarding the evaluation of Sukkot, one can hardly find a better clue than that which a study of certain data of the gospels affords; for the early Church was both keenly interested in ritual forms and in close touch with Judaism.

The attentive reader can hardly fail to note the pointed reference to Sukkot in the account of the Transfiguration. "Jesus," we are

[1] 628 *sq.* Cf. 633 with *John* XIX. 7. Compare the beatings administered to participants in the rites of Artemis of Ephesus at the Katagogia (Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 416 *sq.*), and the διαμαστίγωσις of the Spartan boys at the altar of Artemis Orthia, no doubt on a sixth day (Plutarch *Mor.* 239 C—D).

[2] Pentheus, who belongs to the circle of Dionysus, was (like the god) dismembered, and his flesh was eaten raw: in the myth he is the pretender to the divine power, and Dionysus stands by and mocks while he is being torn limb from limb. Plutarch *De defect. orac.* 417 C refers both the σπαραγμός and the ὠμοφαγία to the ἀποφράς.

[3] P. 139, n. 2. The resurrection here follows cockcrow.

[4] 758. LXX shows λοιδόρησις (*Exod.* XVII. 7) and λοιδορία (*Num.* XX. 24); elsewhere ἀντιλογία, except *Ps.* XCV. 8 (παραπικρασμός) and *Deut.* XXXIII. 8 (ἐλοιδόρησαν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀντιλογίας). For *Massah*, LXX shows πειρασμός (*Exod.* XVII. 7; *Deut.* VI. 16, IX. 22; *Ps.* XCV. 8) and πεῖρα (*Deut.* XXXIII. 8). Both terms are likewise used of the Temptation of Jesus, in which the fast is emphasized; they may suggest "affliction," like ἀγών, ἀγωνία. The connection of the ἀγών with the fast is shown in many ways, as by the abstinences practised by the contestants in the games, for which various reasons were assigned. Even musicians followed this practice. Meribah and Massah, converted into geographical names, recall Succoth. Greek religion affords examples essentially similar.

told,[1] "taketh with him Peter, and James, and John, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart by themselves: and he became transfigured[2] before them: and his garments became glistering, exceeding white.[3] . . . And there appeared unto them Elijah and Moses: and they were talking with Jesus. And Peter answereth[4] and saith to Jesus, Rabbi, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles: one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah. For he wist not what to answer;[5] for they became sore afraid. And there came a cloud overshadowing them: and there came a voice out of the cloud, This is my beloved son:[6] hear ye him. And suddenly looking round about, they saw no one any more, save Jesus only with themselves." The significance of this episode has been the subject of much discussion, and we may well leave it for

[1] *Mark* IX. 2 *sq.*; *Matt.* XVII. 1 *sq.*; *Luke* IX. 28 *sq.*; II *Pet.* I. 16–18.

[2] μετεμορφώθη, "was metamorphosed." The Transfiguration is Μεταμόρφωσις. In *Luke* IX. 28, ἐγένετο . . . τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον is an intentional variant, to prepare for εἶδον τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ (IX. 32). Here some mss. and versions seek to introduce the motive of the metamorphosis, as when ἠλλοιώθη is added. In *Luke,* however, as in II *Pet.* I. 16–18 and II *Cor.* III. 7 *sq.*, the scene is differently conceived, as a glorifying (*"Verklärung"*) of Jesus, the Son. Characteristically, *John,* which has no account of the metamorphosis, repeatedly emphasizes the glorifying of the Son. The spurious ending of *Mark* XVI. 12, speaking of Easter Sunday (an eighth day), says that Jesus was manifested in another form (ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ) to two disciples as they walked in the country—obviously referring to the Lucan account of Jesus' appearance at Emmaus. Since *Luke* IX. 28 dates the Transfiguration on the eighth day, this is clearly not a coincidence. At Emmaus the disciples, whose eyes had previously been holden, recognize Jesus in the breaking of bread (*Luke* XXIV. 16, 31, 35) as the Christian communicant does at the eucharistic table on the Lord's day. *John* I. 14 and XII. 20–36 may be regarded as equivalents or references to Transfiguration in the spirit of the Lucan account.

[3] *Matt.* XVII. 2 adds, "and his face did shine as the sun." In *Exod.* XXXIV. 29 *sq.*, Moses, descending from Sinai with the tables of the Law, "knew not that the skin of his face shone;" II *Cor.* III. 7 refers to this scene, which, as we have noted, was the *hag* to the golden calf. *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo* XIX. 16 reports of Moses just before his death that "his face was changed gloriously." That, according to *Deut.,* was a passover; in Pseudo-Philo, Moses's death falls at a great epoch, though the condition of the text does not admit of a precise determination of it. See James' note, p. 131 *sq.* On that day the choir of the heavenly angels ceased, as a token of mourning for Moses, as in Christian churches there is no hymn on Good Friday.

[4] *Luke* IX. 33 adds that Peter made this suggestion as Moses and Elijah were parting from Jesus.

[5] *Luke* IX. 33: "not knowing what he said." Why this remark is reported is not clear; Tertullian (*Adu. Marc.* iv. 22) saw in it evidence of the ecstasy that attends prophecy.

[6] *Matt.* XVII. 5 and II *Pet.* I. 17 add "in whom I am well pleased."

the consideration of theologians; our concern is rather to point out the complex of rites and conceptions with which the scene must have been associated in the thought of the early Christians. In order to do so, we must take up a number of details and show their connection with various occasions certainly standing in relation to rites.

And, first, we note that Jesus was transfigured or (as the Greek has it) metamorphosed. A study of Greek rites, which cannot here be set forth in detail, shows that metamorphosis is exceedingly common on second and sixth days. It is most familiar as the disguise of the actor or mummer in the ancient drama, at the Saturnalia, and at the carnival. The practice of wearing masks must have been equally common at Jewish and other Semitic festivals.[1] It will be recalled that when his brethren set out to attend the Feast of Tabernacles, Jesus said,[2] "I go not up [3] unto the feast . . . But when his brethren were gone up unto the feast, then went he also up, not publicly, but as it were in secret." This familiar rendering hardly suggests the obvious meaning: Jesus went up, not openly, but incognito, that is to say, in disguise. Similarly, Jewish tradition [4] suggests that at the last Passover also Jesus came to Jerusalem in disguise, so that Judas must betray the Master that he might be identified. One recalls, also, that the Docetæ refused to believe that Jesus was really crucified; and Basilides taught that Simon of Cyrene (who in the gospels is reported to have borne the cross), and not Jesus, was slain on the cross, Jesus having assumed the guise of Simon, and Simon that of Jesus, who stood by watching the Jews in their act of misprison and mocked them.[5] Here again the *Frogs* of Aristophanes

[1] Men wore women's and women wore men's garments at marriage and at festivals; for the latter see *Acta sanct.* for January 1st and *Acta S. Dasii* iii. (*Analecta Bollandiana,* xvi, 12). Christians called this "putting on the form of the Devil." That it was common at Canaanite festivals is shown by the prohibition, *Deut.* xxii. 5. The saffron robe worn by Dionysus in the *Frogs* was, according to the scholiast on vs. 46, that of a woman; it was in fact that of the bride; Dionysus in wearing it in his descent to Hades is characterized as the departing bridegroom. Change of garments and other means of effecting a disguise are common practices in rites ancient and modern. For the rites on sixth days disclosed by the Babylonian hemerologies, see below, p. 388 *sq.* One recalls that in the "last days" false prophets are expected, who will come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves (*Matt.* vii. 15). In *Sib. Or.* iii. 63 *sq.,* Beliar is expected to come in the guise of the Messiah.

[2] *John* vii. 8 *sq.*

[3] Some mss. add "yet."

[4] *J. Enc.,* vii, 172 *a.*

[5] *Iren.* i. 24. 4. One recalls likewise the purple robe and the crown put on

presents the most striking parallel. On his descent to Hades, Dionysus first appears dressed in the robe of the bride or bridegroom, but over this histrionic garb is thrown the lion-skin characteristic of Heracles, whom he means to personate, and he carries likewise the latter's club. A good part of the farcical fun of the play is occasioned by the frequently shifted rôles, as Dionysus seeks to escape a succession of dangers by exchanging garments with his slave, who carries the baggage. When the surrogate suffers, the god stands by and jeers, and Xanthias returns the compliment in full measure.[1]

Next we turn to the proposal of Peter that they build three tabernacles. This cannot have failed to suggest to Greeks and Hellenistic Jews the *hag* of Sukkot, which was familiarly known to them as "the building of tabernacles" (*skenopegia*[2]). Indeed, there can be no doubt of the original meaning[3] of the evangelical account when it is said that a cloud overshadowed the company on the mount of Transfiguration; for reference is unquestionably made to the cloud of glory, the Shekinah, which the Hebrew tradition intimately associated with Sukkot, Succoth, and with the tent of meeting (*mo'ed*[4]). This is evident from a great variety of considerations, which it would be tedious to enumerate; a few points will suffice. The Talmud[5] says that the Shekinah does not descend to the ground, but only to within ten spans of it: hence ten spans shall be the minimum height of the *sukkah*. The Targums also show the connection by speaking of Sukkot as the "feast of shades"[6] and saying,[7] "In bowers shall you dwell seven days . . . that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell under the shadow of clouds when I brought them forth from the land of Mizraim." It was at

Jesus at the Crucifixion. They are taken as marking him as king of the Jews; did they not likewise suggest the departing bridegroom? Cf. below, p. 294, n. 5. Tertullian saw in all uses of the crown a suggestion of death.

[1] *Frogs* 644 *sq.*

[2] LXX in *Deut.* XVI. 16, XXXI. 10; *Zech.* XIV. 16–19; I *Macc.* X. 21; Josephus *Ant.* viii. 4. 1; *John* VII. 2. For the Greeks, see below, p. 238 *sq.*

[3] Is there a hint of a changed view in the statement that Peter's suggestion was not understood by himself?

[4] Cf. *J. Enc.*, IX, 661 *b*. As to the "tent of meeting," it was perhaps in the first instance the tent of the *hag*. In the Pentateuch several conceptions undoubtedly combine, but their origin is obscure. One would have expected a clear resemblance to the cave on the Mount of Yahweh (*Exod.* XXXIII. 22 and I *Kings* XIX. 9), but the description reveals none. One suspects that the Babylonian *bit aqitu* suggested some of the details.

[5] *Sukkah,* Chap. I.

[6] *Targum of Onkelos* on *Levit.* XXIII, p. 134 Etheridge.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Succoth on the border of Egypt, at the first station of the exodus, that the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night first appeared;[1] and the *Targum of Palestine*[2] speaks of Succoth as "a place where they were protected by seven[3] glorious clouds," or clouds of glory. Indeed the notion of "overshadowing" appears to have been associated from the most ancient times with the *sukkah;*[4] and with this notion is paired that of the great illumination which is common to Sukkot and Transfiguration.

From this brief statement it must be clear that for Christians of Jewish birth the Transfiguration was surcharged with suggestions of the greatest sanctity associated with festivals, whether Passover or Sukkot. It is desirable to pursue these matters farther. The motive of "overshadowing" recurs but once more in the Gospels, in connection with the Annunciation.[5] The appellation of Jesus by the divine voice recurs at the Baptism in the Jordan;[6] but a Jew would recall that when Moses presented himself on Sinai with the second tables of the Law "Yahweh descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed Yahweh by name. And Yahweh passed over before him, and proclaimed, Yahweh, Yahweh."[7] For Yahweh the Hellenistic Jew said "Lord," and the Christian was prone to interpret "Lord" as referring to Jesus. As to the acclamation of Jesus at the Baptism, early Christians differed in their interpretation of the declaration "Thou art my beloved son," some taking it to

[1] *Exod.* XIII. 21 *sq.*; cf. *Deut.* I. 33.

[2] On *Num.* XXXIII, p. 460 Etheridge.

[3] The number of days of Sukkot.

[4] Compare the meanings of Heb. *sākak:* it is several times in the *Psalms* rendered by ἐπισκιάζειν. Cf. Plato *Tim.* 74 D for κατασκιάζειν with reference to the σκῆνος, or the earthly tabernacle of the flesh (II *Cor.* V. 1). Burton (III, 207) quotes from a prayer offered in the circumambulation of the Kaaba, "O Allah, shadow me in thy shadow on that day when there is no shade but thy shadow," referring to the great synaxis of the last day (cf. *Isa.* XXV. 4–5; IV. 5–6).

[5] *Luke* I. 35.

[6] *Ibid.* III. 22. Cf. *John* XII. 28–30.

[7] *Exod.* XXXIV. 5–6. LXX of course gives κύριος for "Yahweh." That this relates to a passover was noted above, p. 172, n. 4. The proclamation of the Lord by the divine voice might well be referred by Christians to the "Lord's day." *Luke,* as we shall see, dates Transfiguration on the eighth day. Here, too, one might cite Jewish precedent; for *Ps.* XXIX (which according to LXX was designed for Sukkot, especially for Shemini 'Azeret, and according to the Talmud was used at Pentecost, the *'azeret par excellence*) celebrates the voice of Yahweh, "and in his temple everything saith, Glory." (This fact makes it difficult to limit the reference of the *kebōd* of Yahweh solely to the equinoxes.)

imply a spiritual generation, others an adoption. The former view is expressed in the addition, which appears in some manuscripts, "this day have I begotten thee," taken from the second *Psalm* and applied to Jesus. As a Messianic psalm, this was certainly intended for some festival, most probably for Passover. The adoptionists might equally well cite the words spoken by Yahweh to Israel on the day of the passover of the Jordan,[1] "This day art thou become the people of Yahweh thy God;" for the parallel between Christ and Israel as the son of Yahweh was a commonplace of early Christian thought,[2] and the passage of the Jordan was doubtless, like the passage of the Red Sea, regarded as a type of baptism.[3] In this connection it is to be noted that Epiphany, as commemorating the Baptism, was known as Phota ("Lights"),[4] a name anciently given to the Encænia, acknowledged to be a replica of Sukkot.

The circumstance that Moses and Elijah appear with Jesus on the mount of Transfiguration is not difficult to explain. As Yahweh declared himself from the cloud to Moses at the giving of the Law and chose Israel as his son at the passage over the Jordan, so at the Transfiguration Jesus the Son was acclaimed and commended to the hearing and obedience of the world. There the Law and the Gospel meet, and the former is superseded by the latter. As for the parallel with Sukkot, the special connection of the Law with this festival in later Judaism has already been pointed out. As Moses typifies the Law, so Elijah represents the Prophets, who likewise had their associations with the festivals.[5] Moreover Elijah seems to have had a special association with Sukkot,[6] as with Passover, when a cup of wine was set out for him; and he was always expected on the Day

[1] *Deut.* XXVII. 9.

[2] Cf. *Matt.* II. 15 with *Hos.* XI. 1, interpreted by *Isa.* XLIX. 3, as well as *Acts* XIII. 33, *Heb.* I. 5, v. 5, in relation to *Ps.* II. 7. The same conception presumably underlies the use of the epithet "the chosen" applied to Jesus, *Luke* IX. 35, XXIII. 35.

[3] 1 *Cor.* X. 1–2: "Our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses [i. e., unto the Law?] in the cloud and in the sea." John's practice of baptism at the Jordan may be assumed to have had a foundation in older belief and usage.

[4] In various non-canonical gospels (see Tischendorf on *Matt.* III. 17) it is said that a bright light appeared at the Baptism, as at the Transfiguration. In fact φώτισμα and φωτισμός were technical terms for baptism. See Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*[2], p. 168, n. 3.

[5] Cf. the interesting remarks about the connection of prophecy with the Arabian hajj in Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums,* p. 87.

[6] See *Sukkah,* Chap. I.

of Atonement and on the eves of the *haggim* and of the Sabbath. Hence his rôle of forerunner of the Messiah in the gospels.[1]

No doubt the very wealth of associations which we have pointed out will suggest to the reader that the method we are here using is thereby condemned: the excessive refinement of cross-references, it may be said, piles up a structure which must collapse by its own weight. Despite this hesitation, which the writer himself long felt, we must follow the clues we have found a little farther, noting the evaluation and dates of the festivals, Jewish and Christian, which are thus apparently brought into relation one with the other.

The *mo'ed* of Sukkot, as has already been pointed out, was the 15th Tishri—the sixth day, reckoning from the Day of Atonement, which stood in the same relation to this festival as did the 10th Nisan to Pesah and Mazzot. The festival might thus be referred to a sixth day; but its holy days were the first and eighth, which were in a way ritually equated—the more readily because the 15th might well be reckoned (as at Passover) as the morrow after the second Sabbath of the month (or year). Thus the *mo'ed* of Sukkot might be regarded either as a sixth or an eighth (first) day. That this scheme accords in the main with that of Passover we have already shown; it remains for us to see how it agrees with that of the other occasions (Transfiguration, Baptism, and Annunciation) to which we are referred. As to the Transfiguration, there is no difficulty; for *Mark* and *Matthew* date it on a sixth, *Luke* on an eighth day.[2] Of the calendar-date to which it was assigned in the Christian year we shall speak later. The Christian festival of the Annunciation was apparently instituted quite late, it being appointed for the 25th March,[3]

[1] Enoch, Elijah, and Moses, as men who were taken up without seeing death, were expected to herald Messiah at the Last Day (IV *Ezra* VI. 26, where see the note of Dr. Box). Another reason for associating Moses and Elijah with Friday, especially Good Friday, the fast-day *par excellence* of Christendom, may be found in the fact that each fasted forty days; a circumstance which exerted a determining influence on the term of Lent. The "two witnesses" of *Rev.* XI. 3 are apparently Moses and Elijah (cf. XI. 6).

[2] *Mark* IX. 2. *Matt.* XVII. 1: "after six days;" *Luke* IX. 28 "about eight days after." In all three the events last mentioned suggest a reference to the Lord's day; if this were true, it would make Transfiguration a Friday for *Mark* and *Matt.*, a Sunday for *Luke*. The former two obviously date the episode of the demoniac lad on the same day, the latter on the day following—apparently another equation of the second with the sixth day of the week.

[3] If the 25th March be Good Friday or Holy Saturday, the Annunciation is observed on the Monday following Whitsunday. See above, p. 72, n. 3, for the conception of the Virgin Mary on the 25th March.

nine months before the Nativity; the 25th December was not, however, the date of the latter in the earliest times, but rather the 6th January (Epiphany). The latter is of course a sixth day; and, even when the date of the Nativity was changed, it was evidently so regarded, as is shown by the fact that its pre-festal day (*proëortia*) is on the 20th December. Whether a day of Annunciation was anywhere observed when the Nativity was dated at Epiphany, we do not know; if it was, it probably fell on the 6th April.[1] In default of direct evidence, one naturally casts about for parallels which might have been used as precedents by the makers of the Christian calendar; and such parallels, both Christian and pagan, are not wanting. The closest Christian analogue is naturally the miraculous conception of Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, which the non-canonical gospels date at the Encænia,[2] a replica (as we have seen) of Sukkot. Anna, when she is visited by the angel of the annunciation, is seated under a laurel-bush,[3] which is presumably regarded as her *sukkah*. The same sources [4] represent Mary as receiving the blessed annunciation in her "house," presumably meaning a tent, in the precincts of the temple;[5] but they record a twofold annunciation on the second and third days.[6] As Mary is represented as attached to the temple, and no special indication of a festival occurs, one can gather no more information from these sources. The account however is certainly modeled on that of the opening of Hannah's womb,[7] when she conceived and bore Samuel; and since Jewish tradition dated the latter event at Passover or New Year,[8] it is possible that the conception of Mary also was thought of as occurring at a festival. We noted above the fact that the Annunciation and the Nativity were referred to the same day of the month, but nine months apart. In Greek myth and ritual there is manifested a tendency to confuse the time of conception with that of birth, which came in the fulness

[1] See above, p. 72, n. 3.

[2] *Eu. de nat. Mariæ* II; *Pseudo-Matth.* II. May the "Encænia" here mentioned be Epiphany (Phota)? *Proteu. Iacobi* I–II refers it to the eve of the "great day."

[3] *Proteu. Iacobi* II. There she is "overshadowed" by the spirit of God. The discussion of this subject by Norden (*Die Geburt des Kindes*, p. 92 *sq.*) adds little of value.

[4] *Proteu. Iacobi* XI, there is an appellation at the fountain, and a formal annunciation in the house (οἶκος). See *A.J.P.*, XLI, 45 *sq.*

[5] Cf. the *sukkah* in the courts of the temple, *Neh.* VIII. 16.

[6] *Pseudo-Matth.* IX.

[7] *Judg.* XIII.

[8] See above, p. 72.

of time or at the expiry of a "year." [1] Hence one may properly compare ritual schemes of the birth of certain gods.[2] As Isis and the infant Horus (Harpocrates) are known to have served as a model for the Virgin and the Child in more than one respect, it is not without interest to note that Isis conceived on the 6th Phaophi,[3] the second month of the Egyptian year, and that the birth of the divine son of the virgin in the rites of the Coreion at Alexandria was celebrated on the 6th January.[4] This, as we know, is the precise date of Epiphany,[5] anciently observed as the Nativity, and subsequently as that of the Baptism, in which, whether by spiritual generation or by adoption (which simulated the actual form of parturition), Jesus became the acknowledged Son of the Father. Epiphany, moreover, commemorates the theophany or first miracle of Jesus at the marriage at Cana. The Fourth Gospel [6] at this point indicates a sequence of six days, referring the Baptism to the second, the marriage to the sixth.[7] The Church harmonizes these data by referring both

[1] The sacred day of a god was likely to be celebrated as that of his conception and birth, the latter coming when the cycle of the "year" was completed; cf. Hesiod *Shield* 87. Empedocles inferred an ancient year of seven months from that period of gestation. One may still see traces of a similar view among Hebrews, e. g., in *Jubilees*.

[2] This is not the place to deal with all the "birth days" of the gods; they follow various schemes.

[3] Plutarch *De Iside* 377 B.

[4] *Epiphanius Panar.* li; cf. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 18. 9; Cosmas *Indicopleustes* (*P.G.*, xxxviii, 464).

[5] But not the only date: see art. "Epiphany" (by Lake) in *E.R.E.*, v, 330 *b sq.* Epiphany has recently been discussed at length by Karl Holl ("Der Ursprung des Epiphanienfestes," *Sitzb. der preuss. Akad.*, 1917, p. 402 *sq.* He clears up many points, but leaves much still to add. The festival is a New Year's observance from many different angles. Thus it includes the blessing of the waters, which may be compared with the Persian rite. "On the 19th Spendarmat fell *Naurôz anhar u miyah jāri* ('new year of rivers and running waters') when rose-water, perfumes, etc. were cast into the streams (Al-Biruni, 217; Hyde, 260)," says Gray in *E.R.E.*, v, 874 *a*. See also *A.J.P.*, xlv, 232 *sq.*

[6] *John* i. 19 *sq.*

[7] See B. W. Bacon, "After Six Days," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, viii (1915), 94 *sq.* The marriage at Cana, occurring "the third day" (*John* ii. 1), should probably be reckoned as falling on the sixth day of the series, counting as did the Greeks; for the day last mentioned was the fourth. However, those who dated Epiphany on the 7th January probably reckoned as Professor Bacon does, when he assigns the marriage to the seventh day. At Epiphany in the Eastern Church occurs the "blessing of the waters" (for baptism and also as a fertility-charm), which offers another parallel to the rite of Siloam at Sukkot. Epiphanius says that at this blessing the water was converted into wine, a rite practised at the Nile as well as at the Jordan. We cannot now pursue this topic farther, but refer to Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 123.

events to the 6th January and making the 2d January the pre-festal day.

Regarding the early observance of Transfiguration we know little except that it was celebrated on Mount Tabor:[1] it was relatively late before the festival received liturgical development and a place in the calendar of the Church of Rome. Then the date appointed was the 6th August.[2] We do not know just why this day was chosen: it is commonly supposed to have been done to meet the preponderant testimony of the evangelists, who refer it to a sixth day. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the date is, and was from the first considered, a sixth day; for it is the day of St. Sixtus,[3] whose name was obviously understood to mean the "Sixth." There is another St. Sixtus,[4] whose day is the 6th April. The saint who shares the honors of the day of Transfiguration, according to Prudentius,[5] suffered martyrdom by crucifixion, his consummation, like that of his Saviour, falling on a sixth day.[6] Late legend must have played with this interpretation of his name; for so, no doubt, one must account for the fact that Raphael in his Sistine Madonna pictured the martyred Pope with six fingers on his right hand.[7]

[1] First mentioned by Origen *Com. in Ps. lviii* 13.

[2] The *Armenian Breviary* dates Transfiguration on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost, thus giving it the value of an eighth day.

[3] Pope Sixtus II. If "Akistus, bishop of Rome," whose day was the 1st August in the *Syrian Martyrology*, was Xystus (Sixtus) II, the interpretation of the name is of late date, as it is clearly of Latin origin.

[4] Pope Sixtus I.

[5] *Acta sanct.*, XXXI, 130.

[6] Photius (*Bibl.* 468 *b* 4 *sq.*) quotes the statement that the Apostle Timothy was slain at the Ephesian καταγώγιον, which was a sixth day. The manner of the observance is indicated there: it included the wearing of masks πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιγινώσκεσθαι.

[7] Such things were regarded as significant; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 16, p. 812 P.: "Thus, you observe, the Lord, ascending the mount [of Transfiguration] the *fourth* [with Peter, James, and John], comes to be the *sixth* [when joined by Moses and Elijah], and is illumined round about with spiritual light, laying bare the power proceeding from him so far as it might be seen by those elected to behold it, by the *seventh*, the Voice, proclaimed to be the Son of God, in order that they, persuaded by him, might find *rest*, whereas he, figured by the Nativity [Epiphany, the 6th January], which the *hexad* revealed, might appear as being the number *eight* [alluding to the eighth day in *Luke*], God manifesting his power in the flesh, reckoned indeed as man [in the Valentinian ogdoad ἄνθρωπος is the eighth; cf. also II *Pet.* II. 5 and *Jubilees* VII. 34, where Noah 'the eighth' is clearly a type of Christ the Son], but concealing his identity [by the disguise of the μεταμόρφωσις]; for in the series of numbers *six* is listed, but the alphabet does not [I add οὐ before γνωρίζει] note the unwritten sign [referring to ϝ,

We observed above that the evangelists date the Transfiguration now on the sixth, now on the eighth day. We should expect a corresponding difference in their conception of the occasion; for the sixth day naturally suggests a fast, whereas the eighth would lead one to expect an observance like that of the Lord's day or Easter Sunday. Whether Transfiguration was in the early Church generally observed as a fast-day is not clear: Tertullian,[1] to be sure, so regarded it; but he may have been speaking as a Montanist only. In another passage[2] he represents it after the Lucan manner as an occasion on which Jesus was glorified, and brings it into relation with the theophany on Sinai. The canon for Transfiguration, as it ultimately prevailed in the Church, suggests a compromise, the date chosen being a sixth day, while the liturgy resembles that of Easter Sunday.[3] In later times, we know, the metamorphosis of Jesus was understood as typifying the transubstantiation of the wine in the eucharist;[4] and it is not impossible that this interpretation may have been very ancient in the Church.[5] If the Transfiguration was

employed as a numeral = six, but obsolete as a letter]. Here, in the numerals, each digit is kept in its order up to *seven* and *eight*, but in the alphabet Z comes to be the *sixth* and H the *seventh;* but the sign [ϝ] having somehow fallen out in writing, the *seven* comes to be the *sixth*, and the *eight* becomes the *seventh*. Wherefore also man, who became faithful to the Sign [apparently ϝ, regarded as a Cross and as signifying Christ], is said to have been created on the *sixth* day, to receive straightway the *rest* [Sabbath] of the Lord's inheritance." The latter part of the passage is concerned with the shift in the ritual scheme whereby the rôle of the seventh day (Sabbath) passed to the eighth (Lord's day) in later Judaism as in Christendom. The late Professor Newbold called my attention to the fact that Salmon (*Dict. of Christ. Biography*, II, 161) shows that Clement is here using a commentary of Marcus the Gnostic. In the genealogy of *Matt.* I. 1–16, as interpreted by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. 21, p. 409 P.), Jesus comes at the close of τρία διαστήματα ἓξ ἑβδομάδας τελειούμενα, being thus at once *third* and *sixth*! See below, p. 422 *sq.*

[1] *De ieiunio* vi.

[2] *Adu. Marc.* iv. 22. The Valentinians took the same view (Clem. Alex., p. 966 P.).

[3] Bäumer-Biron, *Histoire du bréviaire*, I, 428.

[4] So in John of Würzburg *Descr. terr. sanctæ, Epist.*, p. 190 *sq.*, ed. Tobler, and in Sicard of Cremona *Mistrale* ix. 38. The latter connects the new wine of the Resurrection (*Matt.* XXVI. 29) with the ceremony of pressing new wine at Transfiguration and blessing the grapes of the eucharist. This ceremony is observed in the pontifical service of Transfiguration in the Lateran.

[5] One recalls the rite of Siloam at Sukkot and the miracle of changing water into wine at Cana. When Mary at Cana appealed to Jesus (presumably to convert water into wine), he replied "Mine hour is not yet come" (*John* II. 4). Was this understood as referring to the Crucifixion, at which water and blood (the wine of the eucharist) issued from the Saviour's side?

thus connected with the Passion, it might well have seemed desirable to combine the suggestions of the Last Passover, at which the eucharist was instituted, with those of Easter Sunday, when it was most especially taken by the communicants and the competents.

When we come to know more of its observance, the festival of Transfiguration is one of the vintage and includes the blessing pronounced on the fruit of the vine. Such a blessing was pronounced in the Synagogue over the *Kiddush* drunk on the Sabbath and on the wine drunk at Passover; and in the Christian eucharist it is of course continued. Nor can one doubt that from most ancient times a blessing was spoken over the offering of the first-fruits of the vineyards. Whether or not the *hag* to Yahweh in the vineyards at Shiloh was the direct antecedent of Sukkot, these festivals were undoubtedly of the same general nature. In the Syrian Church a festival of precisely the same character was celebrated on the 15th Ab (August) and associated with the passing of the Virgin Mary.[1] This date may be explained as meant to conform to that of Sukkot for the day of the month, or to observe the full moon, which in later Judaism had come to be recognized as the fitting time for a festival; but that the 6th August was selected for the same ceremony and connected with the Transfiguration reveals certain equations as recognized among the makers of the Church calendar.

With this we dismiss the Transfiguration, which one may be inclined to think has too long occupied our attention, seeing that Sukkot is really the subject under discussion; but we trust that a careful consideration of the facts here presented will justify the apparent digression. Sukkot, like Transfiguration, was only a typical autumnal *hag*, and as such combined practices and associations not peculiar to itself, but common to a large group of festivals, a comparison of which in detail best serves to bring out the ritual principles embodied in the provisions of the Torah.

Sukkot derives its name from the practice of living in tents or booths at the festival. The Hebrews explained the custom as a commemoration of the exodus, during which Israel dwelt in tents, while Yahweh went before to mark the place where they should be pitched. Philo,[2] while mentioning this motive, suggests others besides: no doubt, because he was aware that other peoples, having no such

[1] I owe this reference to Morgenstern's article "Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals," *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.*, VIII, 52 *sq.*

[2] *De septen.* CCVI, p. 297 M.

excuse, likewise lived in booths at similar festivals. The practice was in fact one of the most common throughout the ancient world, so far as we know it. It would, therefore, be quite inexcusable to occupy ourselves with tracing parallels of this usage of the *hag*. Festivals observed in booths are not confined to agricultural celebrations in the autumn; that of Anna Perenna held at Rome on the 15th March was clearly a New Year rite, and was witnessed even by Ovid.[1] The Hebrew prescription that the *hag* be kept seven or eight days is clearly of later growth, the original custom calling perhaps for but a single day, which was likewise New Year's day. Plutarch, speaking of observances of the Jews which suggested the identity of Yahweh with Dionysus, says,[2] "When they celebrate their so-called fast at the height of the vintage, they set out tables laden with all sorts of fruits under tents and booths woven of vines, particularly of ivy.[3] And the day preceding the feast[4] [or festival] they call Tabernacle." Of what occasion Plutarch (or his authorities) may be speaking is not clear. In his time the temple at Jerusalem had been destroyed, and according to the Talmud all the pilgrimages at the central shrine ceased with its destruction.[5] The context in Plutarch, however, mentions "the temple," presumably meaning that at Jesusalem: from this we might infer that the account was derived from earlier writers. Yet it is quite possible that different data are here combined and that the statement about the "Tabernacle" does not relate to an observance at Jerusalem at all; for the Talmud itself takes cognizance of celebrations of Sukkot in the country.[6] In any case, it is interesting to find attested a single Tab-

[1] *Fasti* iii. 503 *sq.*

[2] *Qu. conuiu.* 671 D.

[3] This fact is cited in support of the assumption that the God of the Jews was Dionysus: this does not follow. The ivy was sacred not only to Dionysus but also to Apollo, as the laurel was sacred not only to Apollo but also to Dionysus (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 80). The ivy is not often mentioned in connection with the *sukkah*, but the *Mishnah* (*Sukkah*, Chap. v) permits the use of detached branches of it.

[4] *τὴν προτέραν τῆς ἑορτῆς.* Some render this "the first day of the feast." By *ἑορτή* the *νηστεία* may be meant; but more probably it means the *feast* which followed the fast. In the latter case *σκηνή* and *νηστεία* would refer to the same day.

[5] This is, of course, not strictly true; only the rites performed in the temple were affected, and the Talmud was chiefly concerned with them. Pilgrimages, with many of the ancient observances, continued long afterwards.

[6] *Sukkah*, Chaps. III–IV. The reference may be to celebrations in the synagogues.

ernacle-day kept by the Jews in connection with a festival known as their "fast." One might be tempted to identify the "fast" as the Day of Atonement; but this must be left undecided.

Pausanias gives an account of a rite performed in Phocis. "In the territory of Tithorea," he says,[1] "festivals are held twice a year in honor of Isis, one in spring and one in autumn.[2] Two days before[3] each festival the persons who are free to enter the shrine clean it out in a certain way; and whatever remains they find of the sacrificial victims which were cast in at the previous festival, they always carry to the same spot and bury them there . . . That is what they do to the sanctuary on this day. On the next day the hucksters set up booths of reeds and other improvised material; and on the last of the three days they hold a fair for the sale of slaves and all kinds of cattle, also garments, and silver and gold. After noon they betake themselves to sacrificing. The richer people sacrifice oxen and deer, the poorer folk sacrifice geese and guinea-fowl. But it is against the custom to use swine, sheep, and goats for this sacrifice. Those whose duty it is to burn the victims and bring them into the shrine must wrap the victims in bandages of linen . . . : the mode of dressing them is the Egyptian. All the animals sacrificed are led in procession: some convey the victims into the shrine, others burn[4] the booths in front of it and depart in haste. They say that once upon a time, when the pyre began to burn, a profane fellow who had no right to go down into the shrine rashly entered it out of curiosity. The whole place seemed to him full of specters;[5] and scarcely had he returned to Tithorea and told what he had beheld when he gave up the ghost. I have heard a like story from a Phœnician man.[6] He said that the Egyptians hold the festival of Isis at the time when they say she is mourning for Osiris.[7] At that time the Nile begins to rise, and it is a common say-

[1] x. 32. 14 *sq.*, tr. Frazer.

[2] Corresponding at least roughly to Passover and Sukkot. Such an arrangement often occurs.

[3] *τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον.*

[4] *καθαγίζουσι*, the regular term used in ritual for a holocaust.

[5] *εἰδώλων.*

[6] What interest had the Phœnician in the occurrence? Was he a devotee of Isis, or was he concerned because his people had like beliefs and practices?

[7] Plutarch (*De Iside* 366 D) connects the subsidence of the Nile with the shutting of Osiris in his coffin. As the rites were in autumn and spring, at the beginning and end of the inundation of the Nile, there is no difficulty, and the double reference is readily explained. The rite is primary: myth explains

ing among the natives that it is the tears of Isis that cause the river to rise and water the fields. Well, then, my informant said that at that season the Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go down to the shrine of Isis at Coptus. The man who was sent in returned from the shrine, but after he had told all that he had beheld, he too, I was informed, immediately expired. Thus it appears to be a true saying of Homer's that it is ill for man to see the gods in bodily shape." Pausanias further states [1] that the shrine at Tithorea was the holiest which the Greeks erected to the Egyptian goddess, and that the people did not dwell round it, and no one entered it except those to whom Isis gave the favor of an invitation by dream,[2] a procedure which he compares to that observed in the cities on the Mæander in the cult of the chthonian gods. That the cult of Isis was in fact chthonian is certain, whether her shrine was subterranean or not. The ceremonies were those of appeasement and were accompanied by a fast.[3] Pausanias mentions a slave-mart in connection with the festival, and inscriptions found on the site attest the practice of manumission by an act of sale to Sarapis.[4] Thus we find certain points of similarity between this festival of Isis and the Hebrew and Arabic *haggim* mentioned above.

This festival Pausanias expressly attests for Tithorea only; but it is natural to infer, both on general grounds and from his own account, that it reproduced even to details that held at Coptus in Egypt, where according to the sacred story [5] Isis received intelligence of the slaying of Osiris. We are, therefore, referred to Semitic lands for the antecedents of this complex of rites, a circumstance which makes it worthy of our special attention. The festival is triduan, while the developed ritual scheme of the central sanctu-

it as best it may. However it is obvious that it was essentially a fast, observed when Isis was in mourning.

[1] x. 32. 13.

[2] This motive recurs many times: one recalls Paul and Ananias, Peter and Cornelius, St. Abercius and Lucilla. Apuleius too receives his invitation to the Mysteries of Isis by a dream; and Paulina was the recipient of a similar invitation to be initiated in the temple of Isis at Rome by a dream purporting to come from Anubis (Josephus *Ant.* xviii. 3. 4).

[3] The Greeks identified Isis with Demeter; and her quest for Osiris (whom she found in his son) was certainly parallel to Demeter's quest for her daughter, Cora. During this time, as when Ishtar sought Tammuz, the whole earth fasted.

[4] *C.i.G.*, ix, i, nos. 187–194.

[5] Plutarch *De Iside* 356 D.

ary of Judaism in general called for an hebdomadal term. On the first day the sanctuary is cleaned or sanctified; on the second, booths are constructed; on the third, a fair is held in the forenoon, whereupon the sacrifices begin: such, in outline, is the scheme. Before taking up these practices in detail we may note that the high-day, the third, which Pausanias calls the *panegyris,* is apparently a *dies fissus,* divided at noonday.

We need not here discuss the rite of purging the temple, because we shall have to consider it somewhat at length in a subsequent chapter. In the present connection we are chiefly concerned with the second day, as devoted to the building of the booths. A hasty reading of Pausanias might lead one to suppose that these booths were designed solely for the use of the merchants in displaying and selling their wares; but that is certainly not his meaning. There being no permanent dwellings near the shrine, it may be taken for granted that the people gathered for the festival built booths, like the *sukkot* of the Jews, to dwell in. Moreover Pausanias mentions among the rites of appeasement performed on the third day the ritual burning of the booths[1] before the sanctuary, using the same technical term which he employs in reference to the apotropaic burnt-offering of the victims; and those who thus burn the booths depart in haste. Surely these booths were not those of the merchants only: what were they, and why were they so disposed of? The question is not easily answered; but one may recall that a similar rite was performed at Delphi,[2] where, at a festival called Stepterion, a sumptuous structure in the form of a booth[3] was burned. A boy who personated Apollo was led to this booth by men carrying torches, who overturned the table, set fire to the booth, and fled through the gates of the temple without looking back. The boy became a fugitive and required purification. In the meager accounts of this interesting rite, two things point to the conclusion that it was somehow connected with marriage: first, the boy who functioned in it was one whose parents were both living,[4] a provision chiefly made in connection

[1] The booths of Sukkot were taken down (and probably burnt) on the seventh day.

[2] Cf. Strabo ix. 3. 12, p. 422; Plutarch *Qu. Græc.* 293 C.; *De defect. orac.* 418 A.

[3] Pausanias (x. 5. 9) says that the most ancient temple of Apollo was built of laurel in the form of a booth (καλύβη).

[4] ἀμφιθαλής, clearly chosen for the good omen.

with pre-nuptial rites; second, the boy (Apollo) is supposed to have slain the Python, and the myths represent Artemis as assisting in the killing, from which we may infer that either at Delphi or elsewhere a girl, whose parents were both living, once figured in the rite.[1] At all events we may safely conclude that the booth, which Plutarch likens to a royal palace, was originally a "house of god" or a "tent of meeting" [2] with the spirit that insured fertility. The booth, in which god and man have met and presumably broken bread together,[3] is holy, and to prevent profanation or worse consequences, it is burned after its purpose has been served. One who fled, as did those who set fire to the booth at Delphi, without looking back, did so because he feared to see pursuing spirits, of which the "royal palace" was presumably thought to be full. This is not mentioned in Pausanias's summary account of the rite at Tithorea; but it is safe to say that the booths before the shrine, from which those who burned them fled in haste, were likewise "tents of meeting"

[1] In the Greek marriage-rite, a boy and a girl (ἀμφιθαλεῖς) functioned as fertility-charms. Apollo is generally said to have slain Python, but another version said Python slew Apollo: a sure sign that "slaying" did not mean actually killing. The mysterious episode of *Exod.* iv. 24–26 is referred to Sukkot by one ms. of *Jubilees* xlviii. 2–3, which (like the Targums) says it was Mastema that would have slain Moses. Though there is confusion in the text, which has been Bowdlerized, circumcision is here clearly a pre-nuptial rite (cf. the use of *hatan*), as it is in the story of David and the Philistines (1 *Sam.* xviii. 25–27) and of Dinah and Shechem (*Gen.* xxxiv).

[2] Cf. the "house" (tent?) of Mary in the precincts of the temple (see *Neh.* viii. 16) and the laurel-bower of Anna. One may compare also the incident of Zimri and Cozbi (*Num.* xxv. 6 *sq.*) slain in the "pavilion" (LXX κάμινος = *fornix*) on the mourning-day of Peor. If the sacred marriage of Marduk and Sarpanit was consummated in the *bit aqitu* of the Babylonian New Year's festivals, that too may be considered as possibly parallel. In the Messianic kingdom God will tent with men (*Rev.* xxi. 3), as at the beginning of our era the Word tented among us (*John* i. 14). See Plutarch *Iulius* ix, for the tents of Bona Dea brought into relation with the exploit of Clodius. At New Year it is a common custom in many lands to lay out food (cf. the "feasts of Hecate") for the spirits: to this class of observances we may refer the cup set out for Elijah at Passover and probably at Sukkot.

[3] The table overturned in the rite suggests a repast. Every *hag* of course ended with a feast. In Eurip. *Ion,* when Xuthus "finds his son" at Delphi, he prepared for him a feast in the "sacred tents" as a πρόθυμα. Ion's mother, Creusa, attempted to poison him. In the temple of Isis at Rome Paulina was feasted by the supposed Anubis. Al-Biruni (p. 316) says that the Sabians (Mandæans?), whom he supposed to be the descendants of the Israelites remaining behind in Babylonia after the captivity, "celebrate the Feast of Tents in this month [Tishrin II], beginning on the 4th and ending on the 18th," i. e., for fifteen days. The Mandæan festival-term is regularly five days.

with the supernatural powers, and as full of spirits as the shrines at Tithorea and Coptus are reported to have been.

We cannot of course assert with assurance that this interpretation is correct; but the unquestionable fact that the Jewish tradition referred the opening of the wombs of the mothers of old to the New Year festivals and the known practices at festivals of other Semitic peoples make it plausible enough.[1] If it be granted, we have a striking parallel to Sukkot; for though the dwelling in tents is in the Torah enjoined for a longer term, it is clear that the command properly applied only to the *mo'ed* of the festival (the 15th Tishri), which, as we know, was reckoned as a sixth day. At Tithorea (and presumably at Coptus) there was one tent-day only, to wit, the second. We thus have once more the familiar equation of the second day with the sixth. In the rites at Tithorea the fair falls on the third day, which immediately follows the tent-day. In the Hebrew scheme, which uses the hebdomadal term, this day would be a Sabbath.[2] To the Jew after the exile, who may not even carry money on his person on the Sabbath, such an observance of the day would of course be intolerable; but plainly it was not always so. The indignation of the exilic and post-exilic prophets and priests at the profanation of the Sabbath has already been mentioned; *Nehemiah,* however, affords us a complete parallel to the fair at Tithorea. "In those days," he says,[3] "saw I in Judah some men treading wine-presses on the Sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses therewith; as also wine, grapes, and figs, and all manner of burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day: and I testified against them in the day wherein they sold victuals. There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, who brought in fish, and all manner of wares, and sold on the Sabbath unto the children of Judah, and

[1] One might cite many Greek festivals in which booths were used either in intimate connection with the ritual or as shelters for the participants. Convenient references may be found in the index (*s.v.* "*Hütte*") in Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 488. Nilsson and others have remarked that booths are especially common in festivals concerned with fertility-rites.

[2] Plato's story of Er, son of Armenius, seems to contain suggestions of such a rite. The spirits, who return at the close of a cycle, gather in the meadow οἷον ἐν πανηγύρει κατασκηνᾶσθαι (*Rep.* 614 E). After tarrying there seven days, they depart on the eighth (616 B). Whence Plato derived the myth of Er, we do not know; but as Er was a Pamphylian, Semitic influence is not impossible. Since the πανήγυρις of booths falls between cycles, it is possible that the rite to which the myth was attached fell in an epact.

[3] XIII. 15–18.

in Jerusalem. Then I contended with the nobles of Judah, and said unto them, What evil is this that ye do, and profane the Sabbath-day? *Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? Yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath.*" Thus it is confessed that by the Israelites before the exile the Sabbaths were observed, as they were by the Tyrians, as market-days and regarded as profane. In keeping with this fact is the other, likewise confessed by the Jews, that the Sabbatical years were not observed before the exile. It is clear that anciently the Sabbaths were not the holy days of Israel. If, as seems certain, the second and sixth days were the most holy days, it was natural that the seventh, as the post-festal day, should have been "profaned."

On the island of Cos there was found not many years since an inscription[1] relating to a festival[2] which should be compared with Sukkot. It is fragmentary, beginning and end being lost, and dates apparently from the first half of the second century B.C. What remains of the inscription falls into two distinct parts, of which the first directs certain publicans to build booths and offer sacrifices, while the second prescribes the victims to be offered to Poseidon, to Cos, and to Rhodos. Cos and Rhodos are clearly the eponymous Heroes of the islands whose names they bear. Unfortunately the date appointed for the observance has been lost, and we are consequently reduced to conjecture guided by the known principles of procedure. Leaving Poseidon out of account for the moment, it is to be noted that the recipients of the sacrifices were Heroes; and Heroes, as we know, were commonly worshiped on the parasceves of feasts with rites appropriate to the dead and to the chthonian gods. If, as it appears, Poseidon was to receive his sacrifices at the same time, he may be assumed to have been in this rite, as in some other known instances, regarded as a chthonian.[3] We should then conclude that the day of the booth-building and sacrifices on Cos was a nefast day, and as such it was very probably either a

[1] See Ziehen, No. 137, p. 338 *sq.* It has been discussed by Ziehen (*ibid.*) and by Töpfer, *Mitteil. des deut. arch. Instituts, athen. Abt.*, XVI, 411 *sq.*

[2] The festival is not named, but it is clearly a σκηνοπηγία; cf. the repeated σκανοπαγείσθων.

[3] Schmidt (*Geburtstag im Altertum*) knows only of rites to Poseidon on eighth days. Here, as elsewhere, he has quite disregarded a large number of data which might easily have been found. They show that the god was worshiped on a variety of days with very different rites.

second or a sixth day. This conclusion would receive a certain confirmation if Ziehen were right, as he appears to be, in his conjecture that the inscription was a list of officiants and sacrifices drawn up in connection with the regulations for the sale of a priesthood. The practice of selling priesthoods to the highest bidder grew up in the last centuries preceding the Christian era, replacing earlier methods of selection. The successful candidate was then consecrated, presumably at the time of the booth-building. This would be quite parallel to the consecration of the Jewish high priest at Sukkot. The consecration of a priest or priestess, generally a youth or a virgin, frequently involved the taking of a vow of chastity, and was thus quite parallel to the consecration of a monk or a nun. So far as we have been able to survey the dates, the time set apart for such rites of consecration, in paganism as well as in the Christian Church, was generally a sixth day. Ziehen has, moreover, well pointed out [1] that the building of the booths was a preparation for a feast.

There remains to be mentioned another striking usage of Sukkot, the carrying of palm-shoots. The Jews find the authorization for this custom in the words of *Leviticus*,[2] "Ye shall take you on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before Yahweh your God seven days." This text stands in the Code of Holiness, but whether it originally belonged to that document may be questioned, because the Samaritans do not use the lulab, as the palm-shoot is called by the Jews. Regarding this observance the statements of Jewish authorities reveal differences of practice and interpretation. Josephus [3] seems to imply that the lulab was carried on each of the eight days of Sukkot; the *Mishnah* [4] expressly states that this was done six days only, except when the first day of the festival was a Sabbath, in which case it was carried seven days.

We have seen that the lulab is not certainly a part of the ancient celebration of Sukkot. Whether we can arrive at any sure conclusion or not, we are bound to look more closely into this rite. The Rabbis laid down several curious rules regarding the lulab.[5] The shoots of the palm, they said, should be three hand-breadths in length; there

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 238 *sq.*
[2] XXIII. 40.
[3] *Ant.* iii. 10. 4; cf. II *Macc.* x. 6–7.
[4] *Sukkah*, Chap. IV.
[5] *J. Enc.*, VIII, 205 *sq.*

were to be joined with it three twigs of myrtle with leaves in whorls of three, and three branches of willow: the whole was to be bound together with three rings of palm-strips, and to it was to be attached the *etrog*, or citron, representing "the fruit of goodly trees," and with the palm, the myrtle, and the willow constituting the required "four kinds." [1] Of these directions we will speak presently. The Hellenistic Jews seeking for Greek equivalents for "lulab" employ different terms. *Maccabees* [2] says that at Hanukkah, which was observed in the fashion of Sukkot, the Jews carried "thyrsi and fair branches and palm besides;" and Plutarch [3] likewise says that the Jews celebrate a festival of branch-bearing and thyrsus-bearing at which they enter the temple with thyrsi in their hands. Josephus,[4] however, calls the lulab an *eiresione*. The thyrsus for Plutarch served as evidence that Yahweh was to be identified with Dionysus, and his choice of the word might be regarded as due to this belief; but to the writer of *Maccabees* this prejudice could not, of course, be imputed. Interesting as one must find the inevitable comparison with Dionysiac rites implied, or at least suggested, by the use of the term "thyrsus," no conclusions as to the ritual significance of the lulab can be drawn from it; for, while it is abundantly attested that thyrsi were employed in the cultus of Dionysus, there appears to be no evidence to show that they were regarded as more appropriate to one phase of the festivals than to another. Moreover the thyrsus had only a slight resemblance to the lulab. Of greater importance is the statement of Plutarch that a few days after the so-called fast of the Jews,[5] whose eve or *'ereb* was called Booth-day, they celebrated another festival, expressly named *Bacchos*. This statement has been lightly dismissed, probably because the name was assumed to be intended as that of the god; but this interpretation is of course not necessary. We learn [6] that the Greeks applied the name not only to Dionysus; but all those who celebrated the orgies, and the twigs which the initiates bore, were likewise called *bacchoi*. That being so, it is very probable that Plutarch meant to say that the Jews observed a festival which they called, say, "Palms," immediately

[1] Cf. Josephus *Ant.* iii. 10. 4.
[2] II *Macc.* x. 7.
[3] *Qu. conuiu.* 671 E.
[4] *Ant.* iii. 10. 4.
[5] See above, p. 237.
[6] See the texts in Tresp, p. 111.

afterwards described by him as "a festival of branch-bearing and thyrsus-bearing." [1] While one may not be dogmatic here, one may perhaps venture a conjecture, and ask whether he or his source did not refer to a practice, possibly observed in rural communities,[2] where the lulab was carried on the post-festal day, which in the urban rite of Jerusalem was known as Shemini 'Azeret.

Several considerations may be cited in favor of this suggestion. It was noted above that Josephus translated "lulab" with *eiresione*. This term was certainly well chosen, because the *eiresione* of the Greeks closely resembled the lulab. It consisted of a sprig of the sacred olive, or of laurel, bound with woolen fillets and hung with fruits, and was certainly regarded as an offering of first-fruits and connected with New Year's day and with other occasions which in the several rites were rated as first days.[3] We observed above the special connection of the lulab with the first day of Sukkot, and may be quite sure that it was at least occasionally used on Shemini 'Azeret,[4] which in most respects duplicated the other holy day of the festival. The Rabbis [5] seem to have associated the ceremonial waving of the lulab with the wave-offering of the *'omer,* and therefore discuss it in connection with "the day of Noph" (16th Nisan), which was a day of first-fruits. When they say that the use of the lulab on the second day of Sukkot rests solely on rabbinical authority, they are probably alluding to this fact and consciously equating the 16th Tishri with the 16th Nisan.[6] From all this we may safely conclude that the lulab was in fact the analogue of the *eiresione* and especially appropriate to New Year's and other first days. The pronouncement of the *Mishnah* must accordingly be regarded as adequate, if at all, to

[1] The text is open to suspicion. If the interpretation above suggested be accepted, we should probably read ἔστι δὲ [καὶ] κραδηφορία κτλ.

[2] Though the temple is mentioned; see above, p. 237.

[3] Cf. Tresp, p. 61. Pseudo-Herodotus (*Uit. Homeri* xxxiii) says that Homer composed an *eiresione*-song which was sung on Samos at a festival of Apollo on the first day of the month. The days sacred to Apollo were (aside from the sixth) the first and the seventh of the month (see below, p. 494 *sq.*). The *eiresione* occurs on the latter day also, which will later be shown to have been reckoned a first day in the cultus of Apollo.

[4] See above, p. 244.

[5] See *Sukkah,* Chap. III. Philo (*De septen,* clxvi, p. 294 M.) calls the 16th Nisan "a festival within a festival" (ἑορτὴ ἐν ἑορτῇ): it was in fact an observance which properly had nothing to do with Mazzot, being the post-festal day of Pesah.

[6] This equation would in principle resemble that which converted the first day of Pesah-Mazzot into a lulab-day (Palm Sunday).

nothing more than a quite late phase of the ritual practice in the temple service at Jerusalem.[1]

This same service had apparently quite ignored the old valuation of the 15th Tishri as a sixth day. No hint of it is to be found in the specifications for the lulab, which contain a surprising number of threes, and emphasize the need of "four kinds," [2] but show not a single six.[3] This would be readily explicable if it were true, as certain indications suggest, that the ritual of the lulab was adopted some time after the exile, when the eight-day "week" of the Persian calendar had influenced the scheme of Sukkot and tended to efface the ancient pattern of the festival.

The operation of these same influences may be seen in another way. It has long been suggested that the practice of carrying palms on Palm Sunday was derived from that of bearing and waving the lulab at the prayer Hoshannah, while crying "Hallelujah" and praising the Lord.[4] That this is true seems to admit of no doubt; but the practice, as we have seen, belonged properly to the first day of Sukkot, while Palm Sunday is embodied in Holy Week, which continues the tradition of Passover. Thus Holy Week begins and ends with an Hilaria, Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday being identified as the first days of successive weeks. This scheme, justified by the narra-

[1] The 15th Tishri, as a sixth-day New Year, was also a first day, because the scheme embodied the five-day epact.

[2] The description of the *eiresione* (= lulab) by Josephus shows that the rabbinical interpretation of *Levit.* XXIII. 40 is older than the Christian era. Obviously the *etrog,* as the fourth "kind," is connected with the offering of first-fruits on the fourth-day *epibda* following a triduum. In regard to the other three kinds, the provisions for them show an insistence on threes which is certainly not accidental: in view of the frequent equation of the third day with the seventh (Sabbath) it may perhaps be taken to have regard to the evaluation of Sukkot as a Sabbath. But if that be true, it is hardly possible that the offering of first-fruits, symbolized by the *etrog,* was not made on Shemini 'Azeret. We should then have the familiar equations: $3 = 7$, $4 = 8$.

[3] As in the shewbread and other *sacra* of older date. That the *Mishnah* recognized the bearing of the lulab for six days only might be regarded as dimly reminiscent of the old signature of Sukkot; but that it should make an exception in the event of Sabbath falling on the first day of the festival is presumably due to the fact that the Sabbath is regarded as a separate festival, and the coincidence of the two festivals would justify or require a double celebration. Moreover, the Sabbath, as we shall see, was even in later times occasionally regarded as the proper time for the offering of first-fruits. In the cultus of Apollo, the seventh days were observed as proper for Daphnephoria, as well as for Pyanopsia, and Oschophoria, at which the *eiresione* was borne in procession.

[4] *Sukkah,* Chap. III.

tive of the Last Passover in the synoptists, cannot have been invented by non-Jewish Christians, but must clearly reflect the Jewish observance of Passover at the beginning of the Christian era. In the preceding chapter we have tried to sketch the development of Passover, and have pointed out how it grew from an observance of one day to a term successively of six, seven, and eight days. It is to the last of these that Josephus [1] refers, when he says that the Israelites observed the Feast of Unleavened Bread eight days, presumably reckoning Pesah as the first and having it succeeded by the seven days of Mazzot. As the seventh day of Mazzot was to be an *'azeret,* it naturally came to be identified as a Sunday, which entailed a similar rating of Pesah. On such a day, being at once the first of the festival and the first of the week, the waving of the lulab and the singing of Hoshannah was not unnatural. But in this arrangement the ancient evaluation of Pesah, Mazzot, and Sukkot as sixth days was necessarily obscured.

Thus in the end Sukkot and Passover came to be in form more or less completely assimilated to one another. This result cannot surprise one who surveys the history of these festivals. That they were both in origin New Year rites [2] appears to admit of no doubt, and, as such, Sukkot might equally well be called a Passover, while the old tradition of Succoth on the Egyptian border and the practice of dwelling in booths at all the festivals might have justified one in calling Passover Sukkot. The gospels report that Jesus at the Last Passover lodged (in a booth?) on the Mount of Olives.[3] Never-

[1] *Ant.* ii. 15. 1.

[2] At the close of Sukkot it was customary to make prognostications regarding the weather and the crops for the ensuing year. This may have been an inheritance from the ancient feast of ingathering at the turn of the year; at all events it appears to have been an extremely ancient practice in many parts of the world. The historians of Alexander report it from India, and it is perpetuated in the farmers' almanacs to the present day. One still may find people who prognosticate the weather for the year by that of the first twelve days of January.

[3] *Matt.* xxi. 17; *Luke* xxi. 37. Cf. *Rosh ha-Shanah,* Chap. i. These statements and the prominence of the Mount of Olives in the account of the Last Passover recall the fact that Jewish tradition, as still echoed in the synagogue-service for Hoshana Rabba, expected Messiah to come at the Feast of Tabernacles and stand and proclaim salvation on the Mount of Olives. The same service lays stress on the fact that Messiah should make his triumphal progress to Mount Zion, as Jesus did on Palm Sunday. Nothing could more clearly show the equation of Passover and Sukkot, especially as the same hopes were entertained of the coming of Messiah at Passover. In view of the connection of the day of Yahweh with Sukkot in *Zech.* xii–xiv, the discussion of the

theless, owing partly to the difference in season, partly to other influences no longer clearly to be traced, a considerable differentation between Passover and Sukkot must have come about in the course of time. Whether the tendency to efface these differences and cause the observances of the two great festivals to approach one another was in any degree conscious, one cannot say. The fact, however, that these conflicting forces may be seen operating in the tradition shows that the festivals had a vitality of their own quite independent of Priestly enactment. The more one studies the *haggim,* the clearer it becomes that their relation to the cultus of Yahweh is not of their essence: the festival was far older in Canaan than the cultus of Yahweh, and was only superficially affected by the latter.

Gemara (*Sukkot,* Chap. v) is highly interesting, because it brings the Passion of Messiah into relation with Sukkot and the mourning of Hadadrimmon (*Zech.* XII. 10–11). The parallel, indeed, extends much farther. The prayer for the seventh and last circumambulation with the lulab at Hoshana Rabba, with its constant repetition of the word "fire," shows that the rite is essentially the same as that performed at Easter at the Holy Sepulcher. It is an ancient New Year rite, doubtless originating in Sun-worship and intended magically to rekindle the fire and light of the sun, while the lulab unquestionably had a connection with a rain-charm, coupled with the prayers for rain. Greek Mysteries, in such formulas as ὗε, κύε, and the revelation of the "new light," afford ample parallels. For the latter see Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*[2], pp. 165 and 174.

CHAPTER V

Pentecost

Pentecost, or the *hag* Shabu'ot, as described in the Old Testament, is relatively simple, being confined to a single day and a single observance—the offering of the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest. This fact makes it easy to define its relation to the ritual scheme, which is brought out with perfect clearness by the provisions of the Priestly code; the Deuteronomic ordinance is somewhat less definite, but quite intelligible; but when one considers data assigned to documents of earlier date, one meets problems not so easily solved.

Pentecost, as a harvest-festival, is indeed not essentially different from the other Hebrew *haggim,* which had one and all acquired a connection with the several harvests at a date earlier probably than any extant document of the Hebrew tradition. Wellhausen [1] was clearly right in asserting that the three traditional festivals of the Hebrews were all alike occasions for the offering of first-fruits. Shabu'ot was reckoned one of these three annual pilgrimages, though not consistently represented as a distinct festival, but commonly attached to Passover as its *'azeret.* We have already remarked that the Hebrew calendar really provided room for but two festivals, which occurred at the turn of the year, though they tended to be repeated and hence to go in pairs. If the injunction to observe "three times in the year" really belongs to the pre-Deuteronomic documents in which it is found,[2] it constitutes a puzzling problem. It is assumed that Shabu'ot is meant by "the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labors, which thou sowest in the field," [3] because *Exodus* [4] elsewhere commands, "thou shalt observe the *hag* of Shabu'ot, of the first-fruits of wheat-harvest;" but if the injunction antedates the

[1] *Proleg.,* p. 89 *sq.*

[2] Morgenstern gives it as his judgment that the prescription is late Deuteronomic.

[3] *Exod.* XXIII. 16, generally regarded as redactorial, though embodied in CC.

[4] XXXIV. 22, generally assigned to J, though this view is open to question. Cf. II *Chron.* VIII. 13 contrasted with I *Kings* IX. 25.

centralization of the cultus contemplated by the Deuteronomists, one wonders whether the practice at local shrines everywhere observed three festivals in the year. One naturally asks whether this command may not have been of relatively late origin.

In any case, the earlier sources furnish no data capable of advancing our present inquiry. Only in *Deuteronomy* and subsequent documents does one find anything that throws light on the ritual scheme; and for reasons which will presently become obvious we will first consider the data of the Priestly code. In so doing we cannot divorce Shabu'ot from 'Omer-day, with which it is connected: indeed, we shall presently see that they are ritually equivalent festivals. The principal text is assigned to the Code of Holiness;[1] but since this document has clearly been revised by later hands comformably to the Priestly code, especially in the matter of the festivals, the distinction may be here disregarded. "When ye are come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest[2] thereof, then ye shall bring the sheaf of the first-fruits of your harvest unto the priest; and he shall wave the sheaf before Yahweh, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the Sabbath[3] the priest shall wave it[4] . . . And ye shall eat neither bread,[5] nor parched grain, nor fresh ears, until this selfsame day, until ye have brought the oblation of your God. . . . And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering; seven Sabbaths shall there be complete: even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new[6] meal-offering unto Yahweh. Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave-loaves of ten parts of an ephah: they shall be of fine flour, they shall be baken with leaven, for first-fruits unto Yahweh[7] . . . And ye shall make proclamation on the selfsame day;

[1] *Levit.* XXIII. 10 *sq.*

[2] The barley-harvest; cf. Josephus. *Ant.* iii. 10. 5; Philo *De septen.* clxxv. II. p. 294 M. (*Exod.* IX. 31).

[3] LXX: *τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης.*

[4] *Levit.* XXIII. 12–13 prescribes the offering of a he-lamb for a burnt-offering, a meal-offering mingled with oil, and a drink-offering of wine. Presumably these directions are of quite late origin.

[5] Leavened bread.

[6] I. e., of new grain.

[7] *Levit.* XXIII. 18–20 prescribes seven lambs, one bullock, and two rams as a burnt-offering, together with their meal-offering and drink-offering; also one he-goat for a sin-offering, and two he-lambs as peace-offerings. Cf. *Num* XXVIII. 26–31.

there shall be a holy convocation unto you: ye shall do no servile work."

With this we may compare the account of the same services as given by Josephus:[1] "On the second day of Unleavened Bread, which is the sixteenth of the month, they partake of the fruits which they have harvested; for before that day they do not touch them. And believing it just first to honor God, from whom they receive their bountiful provision, they offer unto him the first-fruits of the barley in the following manner: after parching a sheaf of the ears and braying them and cleaning the barley-grains for the grinding, they bear an assaron to the altar for God; and, after casting one handful upon the altar, they remit the remainder for the priests. Henceforth it is permissible publicly and privately to reap their harvest. In connection with their oblation of the first-fruits of the grain they sacrifice a lamb also as a burnt-offering to God. When the seventh week has passed after this sacrifice—the days of these weeks are forty-nine—on the fiftieth day, which the Jews call Asartha—which signifies Pentecost—they offer to God a loaf of two assarones of wheaten flour made with leaven and two lambs for sacrifice. These the rite requires merely to *present*[2] to God; they are prepared as a repast for the priests, and it is not permitted to leave any of it till the morrow."[3]

It is not necessary to signalize the differences in procedure implied in these reports; for they concern chiefly the accessory sacrifices, which are hardly to be regarded as of great antiquity. It will be noted that Josephus makes no mention of the libations of wine; but the omission may be accidental. As to the unit, the *tenth* (assaron), it may be regarded as certain that it is connected with the tithe, the ceremony of offering the first-fruits being thereby characterized as a manner of tithing; for the tithe belongs to Yahweh

[1] *Ant.* iii. 10. 5–6; cf. *Levit.* ii. 14–16; and Beer, *Pesachim*, p. 52.

[2] προσάγειν, as *Levit.* xxiii. 18 (LXX); *Levit.* xxiii. 14–17 has προσφέρειν, xxiii. 11 ἀναφέρειν.

[3] Cf. *Exod.* xxiii. 18; xxix. 34. The same provision occurs in regard to the Passover (*Exod.* xii. 10; xxxiv. 25; *Num.* ix. 12; *Deut.* xvi. 4), the peace-offering (*Levit.* vii. 15), the thank-offering (*Levit.* xxii. 30), and the manna (*Exod.* xvi. 19 *sq.*). A comparison of *Levit.* vii. 15–18 and xix. 5–8 suggests that there was a conscious effort made by the priests to readjust the provisions for certain sacrifices to the change of scheme resulting from the addition of a day. These same considerations, rather than the uncertainty regarding the new moon, may account for the fact (*J. Enc.*, ix, 593 *a*) that many Jews after the exile added a "second day of Shabu'ot."

and is made over to the priests. It is possible that the "fourth" of a hin of wine is in like manner to be brought into relation with the ancient scheme, in which the fourth day is proper for the first-fruits. Despite the ritual prominence given to Pentecost in the Priestly code by the multiplication of victims, which are much reduced in Josephus, the parallel between 'Omer-day and Pentecost is plainly indicated: both are days of first-fruit offerings, the former of barley, the latter of wheat.

These rites are with the utmost precision marked as falling on the post-festal days—the former on "the morrow after the Sabbath," the latter on the morrow after the seventh Sabbath. This, as we have repeatedly pointed out, is regularly the place assigned to the offering of first-fruits. If, as one cannot well doubt, the Hebrew *haggim* from time immemorial included this offering, we may take it for granted that it always fell on the post-festal day. Hence the evidence in regard to the time of the offering is of great importance in reference to the length of the festal term and the ritual schemes of the Hebrews at different periods of their history.

The distinctive rites of 'Omer-day and Pentecost are no less sharply differentiated and defined than the time. One notes at once the exceptional provision that the wave-loaves shall be prepared with leaven, which is otherwise, as in the *mazzah* of the *hag* and in the shewbread of the presence, strictly excluded.[1] Whatever else may follow from this fact, it is clear that the offerings of 'Omer-day and Pentecost have no affinity with the oblation and ritual eating of unleavened bread; and we shall expect to find the ritual scheme providing means of separating these irreconcilable offerings. The first duty of the ritualist, therefore, is to disengage these disparate elements and to discover their respective places in the ritual scheme.

So far as the unleavened bread is concerned, this has already been done; for we have shown that it was offered on second or sixth days. The leavened bread and the sheaf of first-fruits were offered on Pentecost and on the morrow after the Sabbath. The Septuagint, to be sure, says that the priest shall wave the sheaf of first-fruits on the morrow after the first day, meaning the morrow after the first day of Mazzot; but this designation clearly arises from the later

[1] The Priestly code otherwise mentions leavened bread only in peace-offerings for thanksgiving (*Levit.* VII. 13); *Amos* IV. 5 also mentions it in the sacrifice of thanksgiving, which suggests its association with joyful occasions —not with the fast—and its antiquity in Canaan.

practice, of which more will presently be said. In order to determine the ritual significance of the act, we shall do well to institute a comparison with other occasions when it was observed. Of the origin of the wave-offering we really know nothing, and of its character hardly more. It is said, indeed, to have consisted in causing the offering to approach the altar, and then withdrawing it; but this cannot be confidently affirmed of the original ceremony. Of the place of this act in the ritual scheme of the Priestly code one may, however, speak with greater assurance; for it recurs in other connections which are clearly defined. Thus we know that one suspected of being a leper must dwell without the camp seven days; then he was bidden to bring his offering on the eighth day, when it was to be waved by the priest.[1] The Nazirite also, who like the leper shaved off his hair, brought his offering on the eighth day, and it was waved before Yahweh by the priest.[2] The wave-offering of jealousy, offered by a wife suspected of adultery,[3] is not dated; but it is certain that she too would be set apart as unclean for a term, which we may assume to have been seven days or a multiple thereof, so that her oblation would have been brought and waved on the eighth day.[4] So too the consecration of Aaron and his sons [5] is dated on the eighth day, following a term of separation lasting seven days, as was that also of the Levite who, equally with his offering, was waved before Yahweh.[6] Now the ceremony of consecrating the priests is clearly a replica or analogue of the ritual observed in the annual consecration of the high priest on the Day of Atonement,[7] which we shall see was a New Year's day. It is not without interest, therefore, to observe that the *Targum of Palestine* [8] dates the consecration of Aaron

[1] *Levit.* XIV. 10, 23.

[2] *Num.* VI. 10, 20.

[3] *Num.* V. 25.

[4] Cf. *Levit.* XV. 14, 29 for men and women ceremonially unclean. Their offering has suggestions of a tithe.

[5] *Levit.* IX. 1.

[6] *Levit.* VIII; *Num.* VIII. 10–21; *Exod.* XXIX. 24–28. Since the Levites were regarded as the tithes of the Israelites, and as a surrogate for the sacrifice of the first-born, this rite, whether literally carried out or not, was quite in accordance with the procedure in analogous cases. If we knew more about the act of waving the priest, we might answer the question, which naturally suggests itself, whether it had any relation to the Greek ἀώρα.

[7] He had been set apart seven days.

[8] On *Levit.* IX, p. 170 Etheridge. *Rosh ha-Shanah* (7 *b*) calls Pentecost "the New Year of the two loaves." For sacrifices of peace-offerings and of thanksgiving, see II *Chron.* XXXIII. 16; Bertholet, p. 48; and *Pesah.*, I, 5 *a*, with Beer's note.

and his sons on the 1st Nisan, which yields another significant equation. The remaining references to the wave-offering are connected with the freewill-offerings and the peace-offering [1] of the children of Israel, which fell to the portion of the priests and the Levites.[2] The context here makes it clear that these, like the tithes, were in the Biblical documents, as in other sources,[3] interpreted as offerings of firstlings and first-fruits. It is well known that the firstlings were accorded to the Torah to be offered or redeemed on the eighth day,[4] and that the Levites were represented as dedicated in lieu of the first-born. We have before suggested that the reference of circumcision to the eighth day was due to the circumstance that the rite was regarded as a surrogate for the sacrifice of the first-born.[5]

This ritual scheme, by which the wave-offering is consistently assigned to a first day, or to the eighth, as following a term of seven days, and associated with an offering of the firstlings, of the first-born, and of the first-fruits, suggests a conjecture as to its possible origin. Of the first-fruits of the barley-harvest a sheaf was waved before Yahweh, as were the loaves of leavened bread at Pentecost, and a handful of meal was burned on the altar. The Old Testament, as well as pagan sources, gives abundant evidence that a similar rite was performed with the first-born among Israelites and other peoples, not all Semites. The story of Jephthah's daughter, as we have seen, is connected with an annual rite, presumably performed at the turn of the year, lasting four days and ending in a ceremony suggesting the burning of a first-born child. The rite of the fourth day, which in the Jewish hebdomadal scheme was transferred to the eighth day, cannot have been other than that which is commonly

[1] *Levit.* VII. 30 *sq.*; IX. 21.

[2] *Num.* XVIII. 11.

[3] Josephus *Ant.* XVI. 6, 7; 1 *Cor.* XVI. 2; *Didache* XIII. 3–4.

[4] *Exod.* XXII. 30, which critics assign to CC; but is this reference right? *Levit.* XXII. 27 (H?) and *Ezek.* XLIII. 27 are apparently due to the same scheme, though it does not specifically refer to firstlings, and assumes a week or festal term of seven days. The phrase "from the eighth day and thenceforth" looks nominally to the life-cycle of the victim; but it must be due to the exigencies of offerings at a central sanctuary. *Deut.*, however, contemplates the offering of firstlings and first-fruits on the Sabbath (seventh day).

[5] That this also was a Passover or New Year rite has been pointed out above. It is assumed in the Christian view that the sacrifice of Isaac was a type of the offering of Jesus, as the only-begotten of the Father, at Passover. The synagogue-service also connects the sacrifice of Isaac on Mt. Moriah and the attendant covenant of God with Abraham with Passover. The Church accepts the blood of the Lord shed at Passover as the blood of the new covenant.

called passing the first-born through the fire to Molech. The same rites were performed in Phœnicia and Greece, in the cultus of Heracles, on fourth and eighth days.[1] That the fourth day in the triduan scheme was the *epibda* or post-festal day is certain, and that it was frequently understood to be a New Year's day is equally clear. Now the technical term for passing the first-born through the fire was, as has already been pointed out, *'ābar*,[2] which we have found in use in reference to a considerable number of passover-rites. One might be inclined to regard this association as accidental, were it not for the fact that Pesah likewise has the most intimate connection with the slaying, the redeeming, and the "passing-over" of the first-born of Egypt and of Israel. In view of these considerations, the wave-offering may be thought to be a relic of an ancient ceremony of making over the first-fruits and the first-born to the tribal god on the passage from year to year, or more generally at a *rite de passage* performed at some critical moment[3] in the individual life or the development of the crop. Pentecost was of course distinctly a harvest-festival, and in the Talmud is called "the New Year of the two loaves." In later times the making-over of the first-born to the god became symbolical only, the child being brought to the hearth and removed or, as in the Greek Amphidromia, borne round the hearth-fire. Greek myth, as we have said, preserved reminiscences of the same rite, as when Heracles was passed through the fire to the gods on the fourth day. Other myths told how Demophoön, the well-beloved son of Celeus at Eleusis, was to have been made immortal by Deo by being hidden like a brand in the fire, when he was reclaimed by his anxious mother,[4] or how his divine mother Thetis would have similarly treated Achilles.[5] The myth told at Byblus[6] regarding Isis and her son essentially agrees with the Eleu-

[1] That the day of Heracles was the 4th is well known; cf. Suidas, *s.v.* τετράδι γέγονας. From the relation of Heracles to Theseus, whose day was the 8th, it might have been concluded with certainty that the latter also was sacred to him; but Iamblichus (*Uit. Pyth.* 152) expressly attests the fact.

[2] Cf. the offering to be made when Israel is numbered (*Exod.* xxx. 11–16). It is a heave-offering of atonement analogous to the freewill-offering for the behoof of the temple, on which it is apparently modeled. Does the ceremony reflect a *rite de passage* performed when the Israelite entered the class of mature men at the age of twenty?

[3] That fourth and seventh days are critical is a commonplace in Hippocrates. Seven as an ἀριθμὸς τέλειος is quite familiar to the Greeks from Solon onwards.

[4] *Hymn to Demeter* 238 *sq.*

[5] Apollodorus *Bibl.* iii. 13. 6, with Frazer's note.

[6] Plutarch *De Iside* xv–xvi.

sinian story of Deo and Demophoön; and of Dionysus a like story was told.[1] *Amos*,[2] probably in allusion to this rite, speaks of Israel as "a brand plucked out of the burning," and *Zechariah*[3] represents Yahweh as rebuking Satan and asking regarding either Israel or its representative, the high priest Joshua, on the day of his consecration—clearly a day of atonement—"Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" In view of these parallels, one may well suppose that the story[4] of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, who, on the day when their father and brethren were consecrated, offered strange fire before Yahweh and were consumed by fire that came forth from before Yahweh, is reminiscent of this same rite; the strange fire here motivating the doublet and explaining why two sons were consumed,[5] whereas the others were spared (passed over) by the kindly flame kindled by Yahweh and intended only for the acceptable sacrifice and the wave-offering. Whatever may have been the place of this rite in the preëxilic ritual, in the Priestly code it clearly belongs to the eighth or post-festal day.

[1] Statius *Theb.* 271: *Tunc forte dies noto signata Tonantis | fulmine, quum te, o tener Euie, partus* | TRANSMISERE *patri; Tyriis ea causa colonis | insomnem ludo certatim educere noctem | suaserat.* This refers to Bœotian Thebes as a Tyrian colony. It seems to imply that the myth of the birth of the infant Dionysus in the seventh month was connected with the rites of a (Semitic?) thunder-god (identified with Jupiter), on whose day the divine child was *passed* (a passover?) amid flames of fire from the (earth) mother to the divine father('s thigh), the occasion being celebrated with jesting and athletic contests as well as with a vigil.

[2] IV. 11.

[3] III. 2.

[4] *Levit.* x. 1 *sq.* The *Targum of Palestine, ad loc., p.* 173 Etheridge, attempts to harmonize the statements that the offenders were consumed by the fire issuing from the altar and that they were carried by their brethren without the camp, by saying that the fire divided itself into four streams and penetrating their nostrils consumed their souls without destroying their bodies.

[5] The classical student will recall the case of Meleager. According to Bacchylides v. 111 *sq.*, that Hero and his companions fought the Caledonian boar six days, whereupon they fell to fighting among themselves for the hide of the beast and slew one another. Because in the mêlée Meleager slew his maternal uncle, his mother cast the brand, which was his life-token, into the fire, and as it was consumed, he died. All this is evidently conceived as occurring on the sixth day, sacred to Artemis Agrotera; for it is said (v. 122 *sq.*) that she had not ceased from her anger. *Homer* (*Il.* ix. 534) explains the anger of Artemis as due to the failure of Œneus to offer to her the sacrifices of the first-fruits of the harvest (θαλύσια) on the threshing-floor. Since the θαλύσιον, the bread made of the first-fruits, was identified with the θάργηλος (Athenæus 114 A), we may probably connect the death of Meleager on the sixth day with the Pharmakos-rites of the 6th Thargelion. Both rites may be confidently claimed as belonging to New Year's day.

The wave-offering is so closely associated with the heave-offering that one is tempted to regard them as originally identical or at least ritually equivalent. However that may be, a study of the heave-offering, which first appears in the Deuteronomic code, shows that it is throughout its history connected with tithes, firstlings, and first-fruits. It naturally belongs, therefore, to the same part of the ritual scheme, and in the Priestly code every indication points unmistakably to the eighth day. In view of this circumstance, it is noteworthy that we find not only the leavened loaves of Pentecost, but in other rites unleavened bread or wafers, likewise waved before Yahweh; the sole difference noted being that, while the leavened loaves were merely waved and then made over to the priests, the unleavened wafers were burned on the altar.[1] The latter offering is mentioned among the continual sacrifices in the Torah for the consecration of the priests [2] and of Aaron and his sons [3] and in the directions for the oblation of the Nazirite.[4] How this double rite referred to the same day is to be explained is not certain; but it is to be recalled that the daily offering necessarily entailed a disregard for the special requirements of particular days, with which it might conflict in spirit, and that both 'Omer-day and Pentecost were recognized as possessing a two-fold rite and a twofold character. Possibly each was regarded as a *dies fissus*. As for 'Omer-day, its twofold character is at once expressed and explained by Philo [5] when he calls it "a festival within a festival." How it came to be such and how its status affected the ritual, will presently become apparent. Whether the same explanation will properly account for the character of Pentecost is by no means clear.

As a harvest-festival, Pentecost ought to have been dated with reference to the condition of the wheat-crop; but in the Priestly code its time is arbitrarily determined with reference to 'Omer-day, the beginning of the barley-harvest, being appointed for the fiftieth day thereafter, to which fact it owes its current name.[6] While the

[1] *Levit.* II. 4, 11.
[2] *Exod.* XXIX. 23.
[3] *Levit.* VIII. 27.
[4] *Num.* VI. 16–20.
[5] *De septen.* CXLII. II, p. 294 M.: ἑορτὴ δέ ἐστιν ἐν ἑορτῇ ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα. Philo's discussion shows clearly that he regards the two offerings as incompatible (cf. *ibid.* CLXXXII); but he throws no further light on the problem.
[6] The name "Pentecost" occurs, e. g., *Tob.* II. 1; II *Macc.* XII. 32; Josephus *Ant.* III. 10. 6; Philo *De septen.* CLXXVI; *Acts* II. 1; I *Cor.* XVI. 8.

interval thus fixed corresponded roughly to the demands of agriculture, exigencies must have arisen which may be supposed to have been met in the particular case by the sort of legal fiction familiar among all peoples. The precise number of days, however, was clearly determined by ritual considerations, the fiftieth being the post-festal day of a term regarded as a week of weeks.[1] This term was among the Jews, as later among Christians, considered one long festival. When this scheme, of considerable importance for the history of the hebdomadal week among the Hebrews, was adopted, it is difficult to ascertain; it is noteworthy, however, that *Ezekiel,* except in the obviously corrupted Masoretic text,[2] makes no mention of this festival, and that the reference to the "weeks" of the harvest in *Jeremiah* [3] is subject to the suspicion of having been interpolated. In view of these facts, one turns with especial interest to the text of *Deuteronomy,* which enjoins:[4] "Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing grain shalt thou begin to number seven weeks. And thou shalt keep the Feast of Weeks [Shabu'ot] unto Yahweh thy God after the measure of the freewill-offering of thy hand, which thou shalt give, according as Yahweh thy God blesseth thee: and thou shalt rejoice before Yahweh thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the sojourner, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are in the midst of thee, in the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose, to cause his name to dwell there. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt."

Here several peculiarities at once arrest the attention. One feels instinctively that the expression is forced: one expects *"thou shalt make a freewill-offering according to the amount that thou canst afford,"* rather than "thou shalt keep the *Feast of Weeks* . . . according as Yahweh blesseth thee," and one suspects that the name of the festival has here been foisted into the text, as in the Masoretic text of *Ezekiel.* If that were so, the specification of the time also would most probably be an addition of a redactor of later date; but in that case we should not be justified in referring the revision to

[1] Philo *De septen.* xli: ἡ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ὄντως ἑβδόμη, it being likewise the seventh of the ten annual festivals.

[2] *Ezek.* XLV. 21.

[3] v. 24. See Cornill's note *ad loc.*

[4] XVI. 9–12.

the Priestly school.[1] This is obvious from the notable differences in regard to the dating of the occasion; for while the Priestly code dates Pentecost from the morrow after the Sabbath, or from the second day of Mazzot, our text reckons from the time when the sickle is put to the standing grain, which is left undefined; and again, where the Priestly code with great particularity appoints the morrow after the seventh Sabbath, the Deuteronomic text obviously has in view the seventh Sabbath itself—that is to say, the forty-ninth[2] instead of the fiftieth day. The latter difference, hitherto commonly ignored, is not to be set down to the carelessness or oversight of the legislator; for a like difference appears in Judaism in regard to the Jubile year, which is referred by a late stratum of the Priestly code to the fiftieth year, while other late Jewish sources with equal distinctness appoint it for the forty-ninth. The striking parallel between the Feast of Weeks and the Jubile year is possibly of importance for the date of the festal scheme of the former. The Sabbatical years of fallow, acknowledged not to have been observed in preëxilic times, were apparently first proposed during or after the exile. It may be that the seventh Sabbatical year was then supposed to be especially important: even later it was sometimes regarded as identical or coinciding with the Jubile year; and certainly the observance of a Jubilee immediately following a Sabbatical year involved difficulties too great to be lightly accepted. Independent evidence of the actual celebration of a Jubile year is late and not altogether convincing: at all events it is significant that even in the second century B.C.[3] the Jubilee might be regarded as falling in the forty-ninth year, while the form of the statement[4] in the Priestly code regarding the Feast of Weeks is such as to suggest that the designation of the fiftieth day may have been added by a later hand.[5] Certainty is here not attain-

[1] The entire Torah is surprising in *Deut.* If Shabu'ot was to be a *hag*, as here enjoined, especially one at the central shrine, was not a definite *mo'ed*, to be proclaimed, a necessity?

[2] In this connection one may note Philo *De uita contempl.* lxv, p. 481 M.: οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθροίζονται δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἁπλῆν ἑβδομάδα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ["square," i. e., 49] τεθηπότες· ἀγνὴν γὰρ καὶ ἀειπάρθενον αὐτὴν ἴσασιν· ἔστι δὲ προέορτος μεγίστης ἑορτῆς, ἣν πεντηκοντὰς ἔλαχεν, ἀγιώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος ἀριθμῶν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου δυνάμεως, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως, συσταθείς. Cf. *De septen.* clxxvi and *De congr. erud. gratia* cix. Philo means to glorify the number 49 as well as 50.

[3] As in *Jubilees.*

[4] Especially in *Levit.* xxiii. 15–16.

[5] The date of the shift in ritual schemes cannot be at present determined; hence the change, assuming it to have been made, may be contemporaneous

able, but a consideration of these data may justify the query whether the whole record of Shabu'ot is not of rather late post-exilic origin.

Deuteronomy expressly brings Shabu'ot into connection with the release from the Egyptian house of bondage. Since the term of the bondman was six years, the release fell at the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh year. If Shabu'ot and the Jubilee were to commemorate the liberty of the captive bondman, the forty-ninth day or year, as a higher power of the seventh, was more natural than the fiftieth, which succeeds it. The added day or year is simply due to the fact that the first-fruits, connected with Shabu'ot, belong to the post-festal day; but, as we have already pointed out, the earlier scheme regarded the seventh day as the added *'azeret* and therefore as the proper time for release from servile labor, as the seventh year was the year of release, the term proper being six days or years. Whether or not the text of *Deuteronomy* is original and hence pre-exilic, the provision which appoints the forty-ninth day for Shabu'ot may be confidently regarded as older than that which dates it on the fiftieth.

Deuteronomy does not expressly state that Shabu'ot was to be the occasion for offerings of first-fruits, but no careful reader will doubt that this was the intention. Elsewhere [1] in this code we read the provisions for the offering of first-fruits: "And it shall be, when thou art come in unto the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it and dwellest therein, that thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the ground, which thou shalt bring in from thy land that Yahweh thy God giveth thee; and thou shalt put it in a basket, and shalt go unto the place that Yahweh thy God shall choose, to cause his name to dwell there. And thou shalt come unto the priest that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I profess this day [2] unto Yahweh thy God, that I am come unto the land which Yahweh sware unto our fathers to give us. And the priest shall take the basket out of thy hand,[3] and set it down before the

with the original and due to unknown influences. Thus *Num.* xv. 18–21 seems to belong to P, but shows no essential change from *Deut.* xxvi. 1–11, presently to be considered. There were various strata of D as well as of P, and their relations in detail are not certainly known.

[1] *Deut.* xxvi. 1–11. Philo (*De septen.* ccxv *sq.*) says this quasi-festival was observed at no fixed time, but as each person chanced to bring his offering.

[2] The day of the arrival in Palestine or a day commemorative of that event: that is to say, a New Year's day.

[3] The *Targum of Palestine, ad loc.*, p. 635 Etheridge, regards this as a heave-offering: "And the priest shall receive the basket of early fruits from

altar of Yahweh thy God. And thou shalt answer[1] and say before Yahweh thy God, An Aramean ready to perish was my father; and went down into Egypt, and sojourned there, few in number; and he became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous. And the Egyptians dealt ill with us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage: and we cried unto Yahweh, the God of our fathers, and Yahweh heard our voice, and saw our affliction, and our toil, and our oppression; and Yahweh brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and . . . brought us into this place, and hath given us this land . . . And now, behold, I have brought the first of the fruit of the ground, which thou, O Yahweh, hast given me. And thou shalt set it down before Yahweh thy God, and worship before Yahweh thy God: and thou shalt rejoice[2] in all the good which Yahweh thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thy house, thou, and the Levite, and the sojourner that is in the midst of thee." One cannot doubt that this passage relates to such an occasion as Shabu'ot and reproduces the ritual and liturgy of the festival; as understood by the targumist, the oblation was a heave-offering.

The pilgrimage here contemplated commemorates the arrival of Israel in the land of promise, and obviously presupposes observances of self-affliction recalling the agonized cry of the Israelites which Yahweh heard in Egypt and then brought forth his people amid signs and wonders. Just such occasions were Pesah and the other passovers which we pointed out in an earlier connection. It is therefore not surprising that the profession of this Deuteronomic passage has been embodied in the liturgy for Seder. The festival of first-fruits, moreover, specifically commemorates the deliverance from the Egyptian bondage and the arrival in the promised land, recalling the allotment of lands in severalty to the Israelites.[3] One cannot too often emphasize the fact that the Torah is not conceived as history, but as a body of directions for the cultus, and assumes the form of

thy hand, and take, bring, uplift, and lower it, and afterward lay it down before the altar of the Lord your God." Cf. *Num.* xv. 18–21.

[1] A liturgical term: the whole prescribes a liturgy, doubtless already existing.

[2] Philo (*De septen.* clxxxv) connects the elation of the joy (Hilaria) with the elevation caused by leaven: *πᾶν τὸ ἐζυμωμένον ἐπαίρεται· χαρὰ δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστιν εὔλογος ἔπαρσις, κτλ.* He may have been thinking also of the heave-offering.

[3] Whatever practice underlay this tradition, it was obviously associated with the Sabbath of the land. When its analogue, the Jubile year, was appointed, its epoch was dated on the 10th Tishri. The entire tradition associates the giving of lots with New Year's day.

a sacred story in order to explain and sanction the ritual observances. Hence one comprehends the words of Moses uttered, according to tradition, on the day of the passover of the Jordan:[1] "Ye are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance which Yahweh thy God giveth thee. But when ye go over the Jordan, and dwell in the land which Yahweh causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety; then it shall come to pass that to the place which Yahweh your God shall choose, to cause his name to dwell there, thither shall ye bring all that I command you: your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave-offering of your hand, and all your choice vows[2] which ye vow unto Yahweh. And ye shall rejoice before Yahweh your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your men-servants, and your maid-servants, and the Levite that is within your gates." Here it is stated with all possible clearness that the day of rejoicing before Yahweh is the Sabbath of rest succeeding the passover of the Jordan. In the later scheme, which regards the Sabbath as the last day of an hebdomadal week, the day for the offering of first-fruits, be it 'Omer or Pentecost, is the morrow after the Sabbath or the eighth (fiftieth) day.

With the directions of *Deuteronomy* regarding Shabu'ot and the offering of first-fruits one is bound to compare the account of the morrow after Pesah which we find in *Joshua;* for that *Joshua* is closely related to *Deuteronomy* is beyond question. It will be recalled that in an earlier chapter we showed that Joshua accomplished the passage of the Jordan, which was regarded as a passover, on the sixth day; and that he was said to have come up out of the Jordan on the 10th of the first month, which was the old New Year's day. The directions of the Deuteronomic code, which we have just been considering, would naturally lead one to expect that, the following day being a Sabbath, the first Sabbath of rest in the promised land, it would have been observed by Israel in acknowledgment of Yahweh's deliverance and the gift of the land flowing with milk and honey. Such a day would of course have been an *'azeret* or *epibda* marked by an offering of first-fruits. If we are right in our reconstruction of the *'ābar*-passovers from the sacred story, it follows

[1] *Deut.* XII. 9–12.

[2] As was pointed out above, the Day of Atonement is now regarded as the last day for the payment or cancellation of vows. There is no doubt that it is a New Year's day. See *Rosh ha-Shanah,* Chap. I.

that New Year's day did at one time witness such ceremonies; for even in late Judaism Pentecost was known as the New Year's day of the two loaves and the day of judgment for fruits. As it stands, however, the text of *Joshua* represents the offering as falling, not after the *'ābar*-passover, on New Year's day, but after Pesah, which was the only Passover recognized in later times. "The children of Israel," we read,[1] "encamped in Gilgal; and they kept Pesah on the fourteenth day of the month at even in the plains of Jericho. And they did eat of the produce of the land on the morrow after Pesah, unleavened bread and parched grain, in the selfsame day. And the manna ceased on the morrow, after they had eaten of the produce of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year." The improbability, not to say the impossibility, of this account, regarded as history, has already been noted. A people that had taken possession of a land would not wait until the sixth or seventh day to enjoy the fruits of it; the supposed delay is obviously not due to the exigencies of a conquest, which must have required much more time, but to a recognized ritual scheme. The Rabbis, to be sure, held that this date was due to an interposition of Providence. "A miracle occurred," we are told,[2] "and the grain which had been hidden in the walls and ant-holes was discovered. They sowed this grain on the 2d, 3d, and 4th Nisan;[3] on the 5th Nisan the second rain fell, and on the 16th they already offered up the new grain that had ripened." Though patently inconsistent with the record that the Israelites came up out of the Jordan and entered Canaan on the 10th Nisan (?), the rabbinical gloss is doubtless correct in bringing the account into relation with 'Omer-day.

It is beyond question that the report of the first Passover in Canaan is wholly or in part due to the Priestly code; but the analysis of the text in detail is very uncertain. *Exodus*[4] says "The children of Israel did eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat the manna until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." This statement is itself apparently conflate, combining one which regarded the manna as the food of the desert

[1] *Josh.* v. 10–12.

[2] *Ta'anit*, Chap. I. With this story compare that of the discovery of cane-sugar by Jamshid told by Al-Biruni (p. 200).

[3] This assumes that Israel entered Canaan on the 1st Nisan, the New Year's day of later Judaism.

[4] XVI. 35. Cf. above, p. 153.

and the *hag* of the exodus with another which understood the entrance of Israel into Canaan as the end of the exodus;[1] but it seems to assume that the Israelites received no manna after they had arrived in the land of promise. From this account we should infer that the fruit of the land of Canaan was enjoyed on the day when the Israelites took possession. That this was reckoned as New Year's day cannot be questioned; and, as we have seen, *Joshua* dates the entrance of Israel into Canaan on the old New Year's day, which was however the *proëortia* of Pesah,[2] whose post-festal day or *'azeret* was 'Omer-day, when the first-fruits of the barley-harvest were offered and thereafter enjoyed by the faithful. Thus far all is simple: the account as a whole certainly presupposes the arrangements of Judaism after the exile. But when one descends to details difficulties multiply. When it is said that the Israelites kept Pesah on the 14th at even, we do not doubt that the actual observance of the paschal supper was referred to the 15th, which began at sunset; but the time when the produce of the land was eaten and the manna failed to be given is quite uncertain, because of the tradition of the text. The Hebrew states that "they did eat of the produce of the land *on the morrow after Pesah*,[3] unleavened cakes and parched grain, *in the selfsame day*.[3] And the manna ceased *on the morrow*,[3] after they had eaten[4] of the produce of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more; but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year." The Septuagint says, "They ate of the grain of the land unleavened and new. On that day the manna failed after they had eaten of the grain of the land, and manna was no longer provided for the children of Israel." It will be seen that in the Greek version the time-references largely disappear; but the relation of the two versions is not at once clear. The probability is strongly in favor of the Septuagint; for it is intrinsically improbable that the translators would have ignored the important data furnished by the Hebrew text, if they had had them at hand. On the other hand, the Hebrew account is not difficult to explain; for it obviously had in view the late practice, sanctioned by the Pharisees, of observing 'Omer-day on the 16th Nisan. The "morrow after Pesah" might indeed be differently interpreted—either as the day

[1] It disregards the trans-Jordanic tribes.

[2] *Exod.* XII. 3.

[3] Phrases omitted by LXX. See Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Massoth* . . . ," *Am. Jour of Theol.*, XXI, 278, n. 1.

[4] Rather, "as they ate" the manna failed to be given.

following Pesah proper, which, being in late times definitely assigned to the 14th Nisan,[1] would refer the eating of unleavened bread and the new grain (enjoyed only after the offering of the 'Omer) to the 15th; or to Mazzot, which likewise went by the name of Pesah and always dated on the 15th Nisan. In the latter case the "morrow" would mean the 16th Nisan,[2] the recognized date of 'Omer. To insure this latter interpretation, in the manner of the Rabbis, the word "morrow" was repeated, since the mention of the 14th as the date of Pesah might lead to confusion. We conclude, therefore, that, at least in its present state, the Hebrew text dates after the acceptance of the view of the Pharisees regarding the date of 'Omer-day;[3] regarding possible intermediate stages we decline to offer an opinion.

Joshua is peculiar in several respects; it says nothing of a *hag* of Mazzot, and it provides for one day of first-fruits only, making no mention of Shabu'ot, or Pentecost. These omissions must not be unduly pressed;[4] but it is deserving of note that on the morrow after

[1] *Num.* XXXIII. 3.

[2] Only if the *mo'ed* alone was considered; if Mazzot as a whole was understood, the "morrow" would be referred to the 22d.

[3] Others take a very different view; cf., e. g., Beer, *Pesachim*, p. 39. n. 1.

[4] Taken in conjunction with the omission of Shabu'ot in *Ezekiel*, however, they do suggest that this festival was of late origin, or at least was not accepted as part of the Church Year before a quite late date. As has been pointed out, the Israelite year afforded room for two, but hardly for three, New Year's epochs: the more reason for doubting the antiquity of the "three times." How the requirement of "three times" originated we do not know; but one may hazard a conjecture. Attention was called above to indications in older documents that Passover was at one time a triduum, which might be repeated. Triduan *rites de passage* are of very common occurrence in all parts of the world. If three days were of obligation, as in the Mohammedan hajj, rites at the sanctuary "three times" in the year might come to be required, either by analogy or by substituting "times" for days. There is abundant evidence that in all the pilgrimage-festivals the *mo'ed* was the important day. When Judaism instituted 3-day or 7-day fasts, the days were not consecutive. The same principle is applied in other cases. *Hosea* VI. 2, with obvious reference to a triduan Mystery-rite, says, "After two days he will revive us: on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him." This scheme we have seen embodied in eschatology, the general resurrection of the dead being expected after either 3 or 7 days. In the synagogue-service for the 2d morning of Rosh ha-Shanah the words of *Hosea* are thus interpreted: the two days are those of Rosh ha-Shanah, the 3d is the Day of Atonement. New Year's day suggests not only resurrection but also the creation, which was completed on the 6th day (epact plus New Year's day). The old Persian scheme is the same: creation comes on New Year's day after the 5 epagomenal (Gatha) days; but this scheme has led to the institution of 6 festivals distributed throughout the year and connected with the seasons, and these Gahanbars (though each lasting 5 days) are the "times" of creation, which is completed on the 6th.

Pesah the Israelites are said to have eaten unleavened cakes and parched or new grain on the selfsame day. The ceremony is explained by the Levitical provision[1] for 'Omer-day: "Ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched grain, nor fresh ears, until this selfsame day, until ye have brought the oblation of your God." From this direction we may infer that 'Omer was a *dies fissus,* divided probably at noon: the unleavened cakes would then be eaten before the sheaf of first-fruits was waved,[2] and the parched grain and fresh ears would be enjoyed thereafter. Though the Old Testament contains no similar indication regarding the observance of Pentecost, we may be sure from the recognized parallel of these days that the practice was quite similar; and it is indeed difficult to understand what else can have been meant by the author of *Jubilees,* when he says[3] of Shabu'ot, "this feast is twofold and of a double nature;" for he cannot be thought to refer to the late custom of observing Pentecost for two days.[4]

The Hebrew tradition appears to take it for granted that "the morrow after Pesah" and "the morrow after the Sabbath" are but variant designations of the same calendar-day. As was above suggested, the time most natural for the offering of the first-fruits of the land would have been the morrow after the passover of the Jordan. This arrangement would seem to be the more commended by the fact that at the exodus from Egypt and the nostos into Canaan passovers go in pairs and are chiastically arranged, and by the further fact that Pesah (as distinguished from the *'ābar*-passover) was in the thought of the Hebrew associated with the departure rather than with the home-coming. Howbeit, the *'ābar*-passovers as such found scant recognition in the centralized cultus of the Jewish Church, their place being taken apparently by Sukkot, which as a complex of *rites de passage* had indeed certain elements in common with the passovers,

[1] *Levit.* XXIII. 14; cf. *ibid.* II. 14.

[2] Cf. *Josh.* V. 12, where it is said that the manna (the analogue of the unleavened bread) ceased to be given with the eating of the produce of the land. See above, p. 153.

[3] VI. 21. Such days are familiar from the hemerologies of Persia (Al-Biruni, p. 218) and Egypt (Chabas, *passim*), their characters changing at noon.

[4] *J. Enc.,* IX, 593 *a.* Since Pentecost was called by the Rabbis "the day of judgment for fruits" one may suggest another reason for observing that day as one of a twofold nature. The end of the world, on the day of judgment, will come on a New Year's day, at once the end of the old and the beginning of the new. See IV *Ezra* VI. 7–10. For the instantaneous transition, cf. I *Cor.* XV. 51 *sq.*

but emphasized other observances of the *hag*. If, then, the day of first-fruits was to be the *'azeret* of a passover, Pesah alone remained as a possible point of attachment. As a matter of fact, both 'Omer and Pentecost are attached to Pesah; as regards 'Omer this is too plain to require further notice; but Pentecost also was recognized as bearing the same relation to Pesah as Shemini 'Azeret bears to Sukkot.[1] In early times the Christian Church called the entire period from Easter Sunday to the fiftieth day thereafter by the name of Pentecost, and treated it as a prolonged Hilaria, during which the devout might neither fast nor bow the knee. The Jews likewise, even in later times, when they made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, were accustomed to tarry from the beginning of Pesah to Pentecost,[2] regarding the two festivals as together constituting a single *hag*. The duplication of first-fruit offerings may indeed be original, in the sense that such oblations followed each passover, and were retained when the passovers came to be coupled in pairs.

We have good grounds, therefore, for believing that an 'Omer-day was attached to Pesah at least from the time of the Deuteronomic code. Just when it should be observed was a matter of long and bitter dispute—a fact hardly intelligible, if the practice was uninterrupted and consistent. There are some who would account for the divergence of opinion by supposing that the exile led to the discontinuance of the festivals. This assumption appears to be based on an exaggerated estimate of the number of Jews deported. Even if one grants that pilgrimages to the holy places were impossible to the exiles, it is far from certain that every sort of observance of the *mo'adim* was thereby prevented or that those who remained in Judea did not continue to keep the trysts. Even the destruction of the second temple does not seem to have prevented the observance of the Jewish *haggim*.[3] It may be objected that the two calamities were not comparable, because Israel had become a more closely-knit unity in the compact organization of Judaism; but, on the other hand, it was precisely the calamity of the year A.D. 70 that cemented the

[1] Attention may here be called to a further parallel. In speaking of the passovers we brought out the fact that the Law was especially connected with second and sixth days. Judaism celebrates "the second day of Shemini 'Azeret" as an occasion for honoring the Law; but it deserves notice that *Jubilees*, which dates Shabu'ot on the 15th Siwan, reports that on the 16th God called Moses up into the mount (*Exod.* XXVI. 12) and promised the two tables (I. 1).

[2] *J. Enc.*, X, 36 *a*.

[3] *J. Enc.*, X, 36 *a*.

Jewish Church. Far more probable, it would seem, is the suggestion that there were rural passovers,[1] each having as an appendage its 'Omer-day. All alike would probably be governed by the same or analogous ritual principles, whose application might well vary in practice. In some such way one may satisfactorily account for the different views[2] held by the Jews regarding the time for the observance of 'Omer-day.

The Pharisees, whose view was accepted by orthodox Judaism, dated it on the 16th Nisan, which Josephus calls "the second day of Unleavened Bread:" the same day is obviously intended when the Septuagint speaks of 'Omer as "the morrow after the first day" (of Unleavened Bread). In both cases Pesah proper, which had been transferred to the 14th Nisan, and was overshadowed by Mazzot, was practically ignored. This was perhaps inevitable, because the Passover was regarded as a commemoration of the exodus from Egypt, which was, in the Priestly code, dated on the 15th Nisan. This day, as has already been said, was in later times accounted a Sabbath; hence 'Omer could be said to be "the morrow after the Sabbath." A different view was taken in ancient times by the Sadducees, the Boëthusians, and the Samaritans, who maintained that "the morrow after the Sabbath" referred to a Sunday, the first day of the hebdomadal week, and specifically to the Sunday following the first Sabbath which fell within the term of Passover. This view is held in modern times by the Karaites. A third contention was that the Sabbath in question was the seventh day[3] of Mazzot, the 21st Nisan, and that 'Omer must always fall on the 22d Nisan. The Christian practice, established after the termination of the paschal controversy, identifies 'Omer with Easter-day, the Sunday following Passover, and dates Pentecost accordingly; but it makes Easter a moveable feast, as it is on the view of the Sadducees. The fixed

[1] The provision that the Passover should be eaten in the homes (*Exod.* XII. 43 *sq.*) would favor such an observance by those who could not make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Samaritans of course made their pilgrimage to Mount Gerizim. There seems to be no evidence of the paschal supper being taken elsewhere; at Elephantine, apparently, Mazzot alone was observed. After the destruction of the second temple, the Jews everywhere kept Mazzot in their homes, and Seder still makes a show of continuing the paschal supper.

[2] A useful summary is given by Charles (*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,* II, 34 *sq.*).

[3] Though they may not have been aware of it, those who took this view were nearly in agreement with the older tradition regarding the Sabbath.

dates of the 16th and 22d Nisan for 'Omer yield respectively the 6th and the 12th Siwan for Pentecost. Even this, however, does not exhaust the possibilities. We have several times had occasion to remark upon the tendency in Judaism to bring the dates of the several festivals into a fixed relation to the hebdomadal week. Hitzig [1] long ago suggested that the 15th and 22d Nisan always fell on Sunday. His contention cannot be proved, and is made extremely improbable by the fact that the conservative Sadducees regarded 'Omer as a moveable feast; which is inexplicable on the assumption that an accepted calendar existed which provided for this coincidence. There can be no question, however, that there was a disposition to regard certain festal days as, from the ritual point of view, having the signature of particular days of the week. This was inevitable, if we are right in our contention that the ritual scheme was primary and the hebdomadal week secondary and of quite late origin. We shall later point out that *Jubilees* proposes a calendar which would bring about the precise result which Hitzig assumed; but there exists apparently no evidence that this extremely artificial calendar was ever accepted in practice. The Talmud clearly knows nothing of it and, though it provides measures to insure that festivals shall not fall on certain days of the week, assumes that the *mo'adim* are moveable.

These considerations would seem to render unacceptable the suggestion of certain scholars that "the morrow after Pesah" in *Joshua* was meant to refer to the 15th Nisan. This view might indeed have been taken after the line of division between Pesah and Mazzot was drawn at cockcrow on the morning of the 15th; but there is every reason for the belief that this was done at a very late date. The *Targum of Palestine* on *Deuteronomy* [2] does in fact say, in reference to the Passover, "And you shall dress and eat it in the place which the Lord your God will choose, and in the early morn [if need be] thou mayest return from the feast and go to thy cities. On the first day [of Mazzot—the 15th Nisan?] thou shalt offer the 'omer and eat unleavened cakes of the old [3] corn; but in the six remaining days you may begin to eat unleavened cakes of the new [3] corn, and on the

[1] *Ostern und Pfingsten*, I, 7 *sq.*; II, 7 *sq.*

[2] XVI, p. 608 Etheridge.

[3] This passage is extremely interesting in connection with the question whether the *mazzot* were made of old or new grain. The solution here offered is of course untenable, for the 'omer was of new grain: if it was offered on the first day of Mazzot, as the text implies, unleavened cakes of new grain might have been eaten on all the seven days. Possibly there is some textual

seventh day [the *'azeret*] you shall assemble with thanksgiving before the Lord your God; no work shall you perform." More ancient, apparently, is the scheme whereby the days of Nisan, beginning with the first, are arranged after the pattern of the latter part of the month in the Persian calendar—that is to say, in "weeks" of eight days, so that the 16th becomes a second eighth day. Such is the arrangement of the feast of dedication in the time of Hezekiah, as given in *Chronicles*.[1] This scheme, certainly not to be regarded as historically true for the reign of Hezekiah, was conceived as a possibility from the third century onwards; in accordance with it the 16th Nisan would be an *'azeret*, such as we require for 'Omer-day, in regard to which the *Mishnah* reports [2] this precise arrangement. "The following days," we are informed, "are those on which fasting is not allowed, and on some of them it is not permitted even to mourn for the dead. From the 1st Nisan on, until and including the 8th, on which days it was decided that the dispute between the Pharisees and the Boëthusians regarding the continual daily oblation should be amicably adjusted by accepting the view of the Pharisees, it was decreed that no mourning nor lamentation should be permitted; and from the 8th Nisan [3] until after Pesah it was determined when Pentecost should be celebrated, and for that reason no mourning nor lamentation is permitted." The Rabbis obviously regard 'Omer-day, the 16th Nisan, which completes the second term of eight days, as marking both the termination of the controversy and the close of Pesah, and at the same time as giving the date (the pre-festal day [4]) for the observance of Pentecost. What would a ritualist not give to have assisted at that conference?

'Omer-day and Pentecost, then, at one time Sabbaths, underwent a change of ritual evaluation whereby they became morrows after the Sabbath. This revaluation belongs to the strata of the Torah

confusion here; but it is well to recall that in *Jubilees* a similar difficulty arises regarding Pentecost. Abraham (xv. 1–2) made offerings of new grain, while Jacob (xliv. 4) celebrated the day with old grain. Ultimately the confusion is probably due to the inclusion of 'Omer-day in the term of Mazzot, and to the ritual equation of Pentecost with 'Omer-day.

[1] II *Chron.* xxix. 17.

[2] *Ta'anit*, Chap. II. On this passage see Morgenstern "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, I (1924), 52 *sq.* The question of the ritual, including the daily offering, would naturally be considered at the beginning of the Church Year.

[3] This must rather mean: *after the 8th Nisan*, that is, beginning with the 9th.

[4] Philo *De septen*, clxxvi.

known as the Priestly code; but even in this environment these festal days retained marks of the older rating. Thus we find the command [1] that no servile work shall be done on Pentecost, which would be eminently fitting for a Sabbath [2] observed in commemoration of the release from the Egyptian bondage. One had indeed only to note the other occasions for which this command is given to see what ritual principles applied: in addition to Pentecost and the Sabbath, they are the first and seventh days of Mazzot, the first day of Tishri (New Year's day), the Day of Atonement (the old New Year's day), and the *'azeret* of Sukkot. It will be observed that they are one and all either first days or days called also by the name *'azeret*: the latter also, as post-festal days, are properly grouped with first days.[3] In perfect agreement with this rating is the further provision that proclamation of Pentecost shall be made on the selfsame day, which marks it as the kalends, therein again resembling 'Omer-day, from which it was reckoned and in the Priestly code separated by a number of days which made it necessarily fall on the same day of the week. A *hag* proper or fast was, as we have seen,[4] regularly proclaimed for a future *mo'ed,* generally the second or sixth day.

[1] *Levit.* XXIII. 21.

[2] Philo *De septen.* clxxvi speaks of the number seven as "the sacred number of release" (cf. *Deut.* xv. 1, xxxi. 10).

[3] Philo seems to be quite aware of the scheme. Speaking of 'Omer-day he says (*De septen.* clxxvi) "From that day the fiftieth day is told off in seven hebdomads, unity *scaling* the sacred number of release; for it [unity] is the incorporeal image of God, whom it resembles in isolation" (*μόνωσις*; cf. Plutarch *Themist.* x). Similarly he speaks (*ibid.* ccxi) of Shemini 'Azeret: "To the seven days [of Sukkot Moses] attached the eighth as a *seal,* calling it *exodion.*" Again (*ibid.* clii) he says of the month Nisan: "Wherefore it is fitly called the first month in the Law, since in some sort it is the impression of the first cause, imprinted thereby as by the archetypal *seal.*" He is clearly thinking of the seal attached (say) to a document by a cord and thereby closing it, but as an appendage. In the same way Mani called himself the seal of the prophets, and Mohammed likewise called himself "the seal of the prophets" (*Koran, Sûra,* XXXIII, 40). The expression, while denoting prophecy as henceforth a closed book, obviously recognizes the gap in time between Mohammed and his illustrious predecessors. Cf. the uses of the Heb. verb *hātam,* and below, p. 319, n. 3. When Moslems regard Mohammed as the sixth prophet (following Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, to each of whom a Law, or religion, was revealed), they clearly follow a scheme, doubtless connected with their sacred sixth day (Jumah) and possibly with the epact. Messiah was expected on the sixth day and in the sixth age of the world.

[4] Since the fast began with the beginning of the day, previous warning was necessary to prevent its infraction; for a feast no such notice was necessary.

We have thus far avoided discussing at length the term *'azeret*,[1] though unable to avoid anticipating the conclusion to which our study has led us. Excepting a few passages,[2] where it admits perhaps of no sharp definition, the name *'azeret* is applied to but three days: to wit, (a) the seventh and last day of Mazzot,[3] (b) the eighth and last day of Sukkot,[4] and (c) Pentecost.[5] In each of these three instances there is clear evidence that the *'azeret* was properly an added day appended to the festal term proper. As regards Mazzot, we read in *Deuteronomy*[6] the direction, "Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread; and on the seventh day shall be an *'azeret* to Yahweh thy God: thou shalt do no work therein." It cannot be doubted that the *'azeret* on the seventh day is thereby marked as a Sabbath of rest and a post-festal day succeeding a festal term of six days.[7] The term of seven days in the same context is obviously due to later redaction, when the ritual pattern of seven days had become the norm. In Sukkot, as we have seen, the eighth day was until quite late times recognized as the day of departure following the *hag* of seven days; though in course of time it too, like the seventh day of Mazzot, came to be regarded as an integral constituent of the festal term. Finally, Shabu'ot quite clearly was at one time, as Philo[8] called it, "the verita-

[1] Morgenstern ("The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, I [1924], 13 *sq.*) says that the *'azeret* was New Year's day, following a term of fasting which ended the old year. As a statement relating to the primitive observance this is undoubtedly right; but the calendary inferences which he draws from this fact are not conclusive, for ancient calendars show intricate and complex patterns of the New Year. New Year's day proper is certainly an *'azeret* or *epibda*, but it is not necessarily the 1st day of the 1st month. *Joel* II. 15 is instructive: "Blow the trumpet [as at the new moon and the feast of trumpets, 1st Tishri] in Zion [cf. II. 1], sanctify a fast [by proper notification on the kalends], call an *'azerah*" [cf. I. 14]. The fast is in view of the coming day of Yahweh (II. 1), which we shall later show to have been generally the sixth—properly, no doubt, the *epibda* of the five-day epact, but in many ancient calendars the 6th of the 1st month. When six-day or seven-day terms were substituted for the five-day epact, the *'azeret* naturally became the 7th or 8th day. The calendar-makers had accordingly several alternatives from which to choose.

[2] *Amos* V. 21; *Joel* I. 14, II. 15; *Jer.* IX. 1; *Isa.* I. 13; II *Kings* X. 20 (see above, p. 130, n. 5).

[3] *Deut.* XVI. 8.

[4] *Levit.* XXIII. 36; *Num.* XXIX. 35; II *Chron.* VII. 9; *Neh.* VIII. 18.

[5] Josephus *Ant.* iii. 10. 6; *Targum of Onkelos* on *Num.* XXVIII. 26 and in the Talmud.

[6] XVI. 8.

[7] See above, p. 106 *sq.*

[8] *De septen.* xli: ἡ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ὄντως ἑβδόμη.

ble Sabbath of Sabbaths," or the forty-ninth day;[1] but at some stage in the evolution included within the limits of the Priestly code it became the morrow after the seventh Sabbath.

Why *'azeret* became the technical term for the post-festal day is not clear. It doubtless derives from the verb *'āzar,* which has among other meanings that of "restraining" or "shutting up"—as the heavens are shut up, so that no rain falls.[2] The scholars who produced the versions of the Septuagint apparently little understood the term, and therefore employed a considerable variety of Greek words[3] to render it, without, however, hitting upon those which would have best reproduced its meaning. Even the Rabbis of later times were puzzled by it;[4] and Josephus[5] said that it meant "fiftieth" (day), probably intending "Pentecost" to be understood as a proper name. One may conjecture that *'azeret* came to have its technical meaning from the Hebrew method of guarding the sanctity of the holy days; for, by the practice of "adding of the profane to the holy," the *'ereb* or eve of a festival was reckoned as partaking of its character, because, as the parasceve, it necessarily witnessed the performance of certain preliminaries; and, conversely, at the close of the holy day, in order to prevent premature profaning of the sanctities, a sharp line of demarcation was drawn, giving rise to a variety of observances. Of such character is the *Habdalah,* a ceremony performed at the close of the Sabbath, consisting of lighting a flame and drinking a cup of wine. The lighting of this flame is by the Jews connected with the creation of light on the first and fourth days of the hexaëmeron; the cup of wine drained at this ceremony is the fourth of the *Kiddush;* and the combined ritual acts mark the beginning of Sunday, the eighth day, which is obviously equated with the first and the fourth. Since the creation of light separated light from

[1] These facts, taken in conjunction with the patent evidence that the Jubile year ($7 \times 7 + 1$) was but a higher power of the Sabbatical year of release, and the express recognition by Jews from Philo onward that the Sabbath was properly the added day following a six-day term, will serve in a later chapter to explain the place of the Sabbath in the ritual scheme of the Hebrews. If the Hebrews were, as we have suggested, the "Passover People," the scheme of the passovers may well furnish the clue to their holy day.

[2] Or the womb, so that it is barren.

[3] *Amos* v. 21 (πανήγυρις); *Joel* i. 14; ii. 15 (θεραπεία); *Isa.* i. 13 (ἡμέρα μεγάλη; cf. *John* xix. 31); *Jer.* ix. 1 (σύνοδος); II *Kings* x. 20 (θυσία μεγάλη). *Deut.* xvi. 8, *Levit.* xxiii. 36, *Num.* viii. 18, and II *Chron.* vii. 8 employ ἐξόδιον, as does Philo (*De sepen.* ccxi).

[4] See *J. Enc.,* ix, 592 *b.*

[5] *Ant.* iii. 10. 6: Ἀσαρθὰ καλοῦσι (σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πεντηκοστήν).

darkness, the *Habdalah*—as its name implies—is a *rite de séparation.*

There is other evidence of the recognition of this practice by the Rabbis in connection with the festivals, notably with the prime festival of Judaism, the Sabbath. As the eve of the Sabbath, called in Greek *prosabbaton* or *paraskeue,*[1] was familiarly known among them as *'Ereb Shabbat;* so the evening of Saturday, after the close of the Sabbath, as well as Sunday until sunset, bore the name in Hebrew of *Moza'e Shabbat,* or in Aramaic *Appuke Yoma,* terms which are interpreted to mean "leading the day out," and are thus equivalent to the Greek *exodion,* with which *'azeret* is frequently rendered. The names *'Ereb Shebi'it* and *Moza'e Shebi'it* are similarly given to the years next preceding and following the Sabbatical year; and for the eves or parasceves of other festivals *'Ereb Pesah* and *'Ereb Sukkot* were in use:[2] whether the corresponding names *Moza'e Pesah* and *Moza'e Sukkot* were employed, we do not know. Thus *moza'e* and *appuke* quite correspond to *'azeret*: if their equivalence was not recognized, we may with probability explain the failure to do so by the fact that in the course of time the *'azeret* of Mazzot and Sukkot had become absorbed and was felt to constitute a part of the festal term.

As we have observed, the scholars who made the versions of the Septuagint employed various terms in rendering *'azeret.* In the Pentateuch *exodion* alone occurs. How this word came to be so used is uncertain; but it is possible that its employment in connection with the drama may have suggested it. In this connection it had a twofold application, sometimes denoting the *finale*[3] of a tragedy, at other times (in Latin writers, in the form *exodium*) the after play,[4] corresponding to the *satyrikon,* the fourth play of the Greek tetralogy. If it be true that the latter usage determined the rendering, the choice was in fact most happy; for it might readily be shown that the boisterous hilarity of the satyr-drama, the last of the sequence of four plays presented in competition by the tragic poets, was recognized

[1] In Aramaic, *Yoma da 'Arubta* ("day of preparation"). Cf. *Jubilees* l. 8–9.

[2] See *J. Enc.,* III, 502.

[3] E. g., Plutarch *Pelopidas* xxxiv; *Alex.* lxxv; *Crassus* xxxiii. The older term was ἔξοδος: in tragedy it follows the ἐπεισόδια, or "acts" proper, which were commonly three in number. Attention was called above to the ambiguity of the phrase (*Deut.* xvi. 7) "turn in the morning and go unto thy tents." The *'azeret,* as "leading the day out" (ἐξόδιον) might in like manner suggest the *exodus* or departure of the *hag,* and might thus convert the *'azeret* of *Deut.* xvi. 8 into the *hag* of *Exod.* xiii. 6.

[4] Livy vii. 2; Juvenal iii. 175, vi. 71.

by the Greeks as connected with the fourth-day Hilaria of the triduum.[1] Since in various Greek rites—e. g., those of Heracles—the equivalence of the fourth and eighth days was fully recognized, and hence the Hilaria might fall on either of these days, the identity of the Greek with the Hebrew scheme is obvious. But one may perhaps question whether the Hellenistic Jews were sufficiently familiar with the terminology of the drama to hit upon the term *exodion* unless it had other and more common uses. One wonders rather that a more obvious equivalent did not occur to any of the translators; for there were at least two terms in common use which might well have served their turn. Beside *metheortos hemera*[2] ("post-festal day"), the word *epibda* cannot have been far to seek. As was suggested above,[3] the Greek version of *Jubilees* seems in fact to have employed the term *epibda* in reference to the eighth day of Sukkot (Shemini 'Azeret), where the derivative text says that Jacob "celebrated there yet another day . . . and called its name 'Addition,' for this day was added,[4] and the former days he called 'The Feast'." [5]

The Greek word *epibda* was in fact well suited to this purpose; for it means "the added (or following) day." In the heortology of the Greeks it is best known as the post-festal day of the Apaturia,[6]

[1] The evidence, which would require considerable space to set forth in detail, must be reserved for another time.

[2] This term and *τὸ μεθέορτον* occur, in classical and ecclesiastical writers. In Soph. *Ichneut.* 210 is found *κτύπον πέδορτον* (= *μεθέορτον*), which Walker (*The Ichneutæ of Sophocles*, p. 36 *sq.*) has rightly interpreted. Pearson (*The Frag. of Sophocles*, I, 252) erroneously says it is a new word and regards it as "a suitable epithet for the sound produced by feet striking against the ground." The *Ichneutæ* is a *satyrikon*, the fourth play of a tetralogy, and the occasion is obviously a Hermæa, or day of Hermes, which was, as we know, a fourth day: it is marked by the "post-festal hubbub," by the manumission of slaves, and by the music of the lyre (instead of the flute). It is clearly an Hilaria.

[3] See above, p. 204.

[4] As was the "seal;" cf. p. 272, n. 3.

[5] Cf. Hesychius: *ἐπιβδαι· αἱ μεθέορται ἡμέραι· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπι(βι)βάζεσθαι ταῖς ἑορταῖς οὐκ οὔσαις* [*οὔσας?*] *ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐπίδαι κατὰ πρόσθεσιν τοῦ* (*β*) *διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ δαιτὶ καὶ ἑορτῇ ἄγεσθαι αὐτάς.*

[6] See Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 323 *sq.*; Nilsson, *Feste*, pp. 73 *sq.*, 463 *sq.* Festivals of the same form were widely distributed; see, e. g., for India, Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 449: "The Pongol is a New Year's festival lasting for three days. The first day is for Indra; the second, for (Agni) Sūrya; the third (to which is added, as a wind-up, a fourth day), for cattle." See *ibid.*, p. 450 *sq.*, for the observances of the triduan New Year's festival of Southern India. Its kinship with Semitic passover (New Year) rites is at once apparent, despite variations in detail. Perhaps the triduum observed at the close

a festival which for obvious reasons is most familiar to the student as celebrated at Athens. It was, however, widely observed in Greek lands: Herodotus,[1] seeking to define the application of the name "Ionians," says, "All those are Ionians who are sprung from Athens and celebrate the Apaturia: all celebrate this festival except the inhabitants of Ephesus and Colophon; for they alone of the Ionians do not do so, and in their cases the exception is due to punishment for a murder." But the observance of the Apaturia was not confined to Ionians, being found among Dorians also. Its term at Athens and—presumably—everywhere was three days; for we are informed that among the Lacedæmonians it bore the name *Triemeros* ("Triduum"). In Greece, therefore, *epibda* was commonly the fourth day; and we find the name applied likewise to New Year's day.[2] It was of course an Hilaria, as was the fourth day in the rites of Attis and Adonis: hence we readily comprehend the meaning of the Athenian comic poet Cratinus,[3] who bids the mob rejoice with idle laughter on the *epibdai*. Similarly Plutarch,[4] speaking of the disabilities of old age and the consequent diminution of the pleasures of love, says that as age advances it behooves a man to contract[5] the desire for such pleasures as one lays up against a siege food incorruptible that fadeth not away, and then to celebrate the true Aphrodisia and the fair post-festal days, devoting his time to the pursuit of history and poetry, music and mathematics.[6] The point of this remark, apparently

of the year, though primarily the three days of the dark of the moon in a lunar calendar, came to be regarded in certain lands secondarily as a recapitulation of the three seasons of the year; in which case the *epibda* would stand naturally for the New Year. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 188 *sq.*, for the three Horæ in Greek art, followed by a little figure, which may indeed be, as the author cleverly suggests, "the happy New Year."

[1] i. 147.

[2] *Aristides* i. 352 ἦσαν μὲν ἐπίβδαι, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι πρώτην ἄγουσι τοῦ ἔτους, referring perhaps to the New Year Saturnalia as celebrated at Rome in the second century of our era.

[3] Fr. 321 Kock.

[4] *Mor.* 1094 E *sq.*

[5] συνάγειν here = συστέλλειν, and does not mean "collect," though a superficial reading of the sentence would seem to justify the usual rendering. Plutarch presumably had in mind the saying of Sophocles (Plato *Rep.* 329 C), who represents old age as a period of rest following a violent struggle with the passions, during which one may give oneself to contemplation and laying up a store of incorruptible goods of the soul.

[6] Plutarch no doubt had in mind the scheme of the Mysteries, in which the ἐποπτεία, or contemplation of the beatific vision, falls generally at or after the third degree of the initiation. It can readily be shown that the scheme of edu-

not understood by scholars, is that Plutarch refers to the Aphrodisia of the Greek or Heavenly Aphrodite, whose sacred day, like that of Eros, was the fourth, and not to the Oriental Aphrodite, whose day was the sixth.[1] It is not necessary here to repeat what was said above [2] regarding the *epibda* with which Jason threatened Pelias; but in this connection it should be remembered that in the early Christian eschatology the advent of the Son is often set on a Sunday, or eighth day, succeeding the cosmic hebdomadal week, and that on this great Lord's day, the *epibda,* he will return to judge the world and to rule with righteousness.[3]

The *'azeret,* however, like the *epibda,* is commonly regarded as a day of rejoicing. So strongly is this felt, that even when the Fathers mention the lot of the damned at the Last Judgment, there is no mourning for them: [4] the mind is not permitted to dwell upon that side of the picture, but reverts with ecstasy to the joy and blessedness of the saints. Nor must we suppose that this view is peculiar to Christians. We have seen that when at the close of a festival the Israelites were sent away on the eighth day, they are represented as departing glad of heart.[5] Where *Numbers* [6] says, "On the eighth day [of Sukkot] ye shall have an *'azeret:* ye shall do no servile work," the *Targum of Palestine* [7] amplifies the statement thus: "On the eighth day you shall gather together joyfully from your tabernacles, in your houses, a gladsome company, a festal day." Every *'azeret* was of course to be so observed; the Christian Easter Sunday, identified with 'Omer-day, is the "day of joy and gladness" *par excellence.* In a less degree it is true of Pentecost [8] also, and, as has already been said, of the entire term of fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide, anciently known as Pentecost. Sunday is of course the recurrent Christian Hilaria; and this cannot be disassociated from the *'azeret* of the Jews as the morrow after the Sabbath.[9] We have seen that there were

cation sketched, e. g., in Plato's *Republic,* which in time led to the *triuium* and *quadriuium,* is constructed on the same pattern. See the statement of Philo, below, p. 416 *sq.*

[1] See Schmidt, *Geburtstag im Altertum,* p. 102.

[2] P. 190.

[3] Cf. Cassiodorus *Expos. in Ps. vi., initio.* Cf. Victorinus, quoted below, p. 288 *sq.*

[4] For the Hilaria, cf. Tresp. p. 214 *sq.*

[5] 1 *Kings* VIII. 66.

[6] XXIX. 35.

[7] P. 448 Etheridge.

[8] Even the most ascetic Jew would not fast on Pentecost; cf. *Shabbat.* 129 *a.*

[9] Since, as we have before remarked, the Hebrew tradition affords evidence

Jews who would have 'Omer-day and Pentecost always fall on Sunday. There can be no doubt that the Christian Sunday perpetuates an observance familiar to later Judaism, though we cannot say how widely it was accepted.[1]

Christendom continues to regard Pentecost as a day of first-fruits[2]—the first-fruits of the Spirit—because of the marvelous ingathering of souls on that day by the infant Church. Thus the whole tradition from beginning to end is singularly consistent, though not without minor variations. These variations must not be ignored; for, like 'Omer-day, Pentecost bears a double aspect, a fact which we have sought to explain by assuming that it was a *dies fissus.* Having noted the principal facts separately, we may now bring them together in a general survey. The day is regarded now as a Sabbath, now as the morrow after the Sabbath; it is sometimes called a *hag,* sometimes not;[3] sometimes it is treated as a separate observance, one of the three stated pilgrimages to the central sanctuary, while at other times it is considered as the *'azeret* or post-festal day of Pesah or Mazzot; like other Hebrew *haggim,* it occurs in duplicate, being paired and connected with 'Omer-day, and again, like other *haggim,* its term was doubled, so that it was observed for two days; finally, like other *haggim* which were concerned with the passage from

that the festival terms are secondary, the festival proper being the *mo'ed* or day of tryst, the closing day of the pilgrimage, when it is the eighth, is strictly like the octave, which is the *"Nachfeier"* (as the Germans say). In the Greek Church, the closing day goes by the names ἀπόδοσις, ἀπόλυσις, which are probably the source of the Latin *missa,* as we find it in Etheria's Pilgrimage. The *missa* is the blessing of dismissal, which occurs in various forms at the close of festivals in the O.T. In II *Chron.* XXX. 27 this blessing is even pronounced, as in the Christian Church, by the officiating clergy: "Then the priests the Levites arose and blessed the people." Al-Biruni, p. 270, calls the 22d Tishri *"the feast of Benediction."* See above, p. 93, n. 4.

[1] See Morgenstern, in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.,* XXXVI (1916), 328, n. 41; *Am. Jour. of Theol.,* XXI (1917), 27. Josephus *Ant.* xiii. 8, 4 tells of a battle in which Antiochus defeated the Parthian general Indates. Hyrcanus the high priest caused him to tarry two days because the Sabbath and Pentecost were to follow. There is no suggestion that the coincidence of Pentecost and Sunday was merely casual.

[2] In keeping with this is the reference to "new wine" (*Acts* II. 13). New wine was drunk in the sanctuary at the festival after the harvest (*Isa.* LXII. 9). The gift of the Spirit, the recurrent motive of joy, and the emphasis on the Resurrection serve to mark the parallel to Sukkot and Easter Sunday. Cf. above, p. 218, nn. 3–4.

[3] It is called the *hag* Shabu'ot, *Exod.* XXXIV. 22 (J?); *Deut.* XVI. 10; II *Chron.* VIII. 13; in *Levit.* XXIII and *Num.* XXVIII. 26 *sq.* it has no specific name except "the day of first-fruits." In *Ezek.* XLV and *Joshua* it is quite ignored.

year to year, it was associated with the giving of the Law.[1] All these facts show that Pentecost was subjected to a variety of influences which tended to equate it with festivals of longer duration and of complicated ritual acts. Inevitably its ritual would be affected by the view that it was a *hag* comparable with the other pilgrimages; but its association with 'Omer-day also could not fail to leave some traces, especially when the latter was dated on the 16th Nisan and had of necessity to be accommodated to the ritual of Mazzot.[2] It is especially significant that 'Omer-day fell into a subordinate place, and shows little evidence of ritual development; for it was closely linked to Pesah. When Mazzot came to follow Pesah on the next calendar-day, there was left no logical place for the offering of first-fruits except at the close of the second *hag*. There it would not conflict with the duty to eat unleavened bread, the bread of affliction, at Mazzot; and one readily comprehends why various bodies of Jews, and after them the Christian Church, elected to observe the Hilaria and the kalends of Pentecost after the close of the Lenten fast. We are well aware that the historical data, complicated by unsolved problems connected with the redaction of the Pentateuch, do not suffice to yield conclusive answers to many questions raised by these facts of the tradition. We must therefore content ourselves with pointing out certain influences which may have conspired to bring about the ritual complication of 'Omer-day and Pentecost which the record discloses.

[1] In Judaism Pentecost is especially devoted to the reading of the Law, as one of the three pilgrimages.

[2] In the Christian Church there are traces of a pre-Pentecostal fast. This would have been natural when Pentecost was regarded as a distinct *hag*, one of the "three times" of required pilgrimages, but quite impossible when it was considered as the postponed or (with the preceding forty-nine days) prolonged *'azeret* or Hilaria of Passover. In the Church consequently the pre-Pentecostal has become a post-Pentecostal fast. This apparently anomalous use has, to my knowledge, received no satisfactory explanation. A possibility which has been considered is suggested by the patent parallel existing between Pentecost and 'Omer-day: as the latter, when referred to the 15th or 16th Nisan, was followed by Mazzot, it might serve as a model for Pentecost followed by a fast.

CHAPTER VI

The Day of Atonement

This festival is not one of the "three times" when the Israelite was bidden to make a pilgrimage to the central shrine of Jerusalem; but a study of it will well repay the student of the *hag*. It is well known that the day is not mentioned in the older strata of the Pentateuch, but occurs only in the Priestly code. Even here, moreover, it is presumably a later addition, since there is no evidence of its being observed in the time of Ezra; but since it is essentially an occasion for the consecration of the high priest and for the purification of the temple and the altar—rites which were undoubtedly performed at a far earlier date—we may be sure that observances not materially different were practised long before the Day of Atonement was fixed in the sacral calendar. Everything points to the conclusion that from time immemorial [1] these rites were, like the major *haggim*, associated with the turn of the year. *Ezekiel* [2] in fact appoints a day of atonement and purification for the sanctuary at the beginning of each half-year, that is to say, on the first day of the first and the first day of the seventh months. The Hebrew text, to be sure, contains an erroneous date, which is correctly given by the Septuagint.[3] *Ezekiel* affords little information regarding the manner in which the rites were to be performed; but in a vision of the prophet Zechariah [4] we obviously find reflected the older usage: "And he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of Yahweh, and Satan standing at his right hand to be his

[1] See Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, p. 111. Cf. *Sepher ha-Zohar*, II, 32 *b* (III, 158 *sq.*, ed. de Pauly), which refers *Job* I. 6 to New Year's day.

[2] XLV. 18–20.

[3] Whether in fact these dates are to be regarded as original or assigned to a later redactor is a question.

[4] *Zech.* III. 1–10. The date of the vision is not certain; for in view of the evident redaction of the text one may question whether all the following visions were referred to the 24th Shebat (I. 7). *Neh.* IX. 1 mentions a fast on the 24th of the seventh month.

adversary. And Yahweh said unto Satan, Yahweh rebuke thee, O Satan; yea, Yahweh that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?[1] Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments,[2] and was standing before the angel. And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him, saying, Take the filthy garments from off him. And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass[3] from thee, and I will clothe thee with rich apparel.[4] And I said, Let them set a clean miter upon his head. So they set a clean miter upon his head, and clothed him with garments; and the angel of Yahweh was standing by. And the angel of Yahweh protested unto Joshua, saying, Thus saith Yahweh of hosts: If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou also shalt judge my house, and shalt also keep my courts, and I will give thee a place of access among those that stand by. Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, thou and thy fellows that sit before thee; for they are men that are a sign: for, behold, I will bring forth my servant, the Branch. For, behold, the stone that I have set before Joshua; upon one stone are seven eyes:[5] behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith Yahweh of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day. In that day, saith Yahweh of hosts, shall ye invite every man his neighbor under the vine and under the fig-tree."

With the interpretation in detail of this vision we are not now concerned: suffice it to point out that it pictures a day of atonement, which in spirit at least agrees perfectly with that observed in later Judaism. Much as one might wish to know from what particular rite the prophet drew his inspiration, we are here reduced to conjecture: the New Year's observances mentioned in *Ezekiel* are too colorless to justify one in either affirming or denying a close connec-

[1] See above, p. 255 *sq.*

[2] Those of the fast, when one might not bathe nor wash one's garments.

[3] Again *'ābar*, which has the meaning "to forgive," "to pardon;" cf. *Amos* VII. 8; VIII. 2; *Micah* VII. 18; II *Sam.* XII. 13; XXIV. 10; *Ps.* XIX. 11. *Rom.* III. 25 appropriately connects πάρεσις with ἱλασμός, "atonement." The Day of Atonement, for Jew and Christian alike, is a Passover and a day of remission of sins. But, as at Sinai the Law was given and broken the same day at a passover-*hag*, *'ābar* likewise has the meaning "to sin," "to transgress the Law;" cf. *Jer.* XXXIV. 18; I *Sam.* II. 24; II *Kings* XVIII. 12; *Dan.* IX. 11.

[4] See below, p. 388, for the changes of raiment at the *shigū*-ceremony of the Babylonians observed on certain sixth days. They are clearly related to the rites of the Day of Atonement.

[5] These numbers doubtless have a meaning; perhaps they allude to the Sabbath.

tion. In *Zechariah* we note that the day is one on which the high priest appears before Yahweh clothed in clean raiment and wearing the miter; when there are solemn thoughts of Law and judgment; when Satan would accuse the representative of the people, and is rebuked; when the iniquity of the land is removed; and when, the rites of purification ended and the promise of Messiah given, there is feasting and merrymaking.[1]

The observance of the 10th Tishri as the Day of Atonement dates from the later strata of the Priestly code. In several passages no date is given, as when it is appointed[2] that "Aaron shall make atonement upon the horns of it [the altar] once in the year; with the blood of the sin-offering of atonement shall he make atonement for it throughout your generations." Even here, however, there is a fair presumption in favor of New Year's day. If this was the 1st Tishri, the choice of the 10th Tishri must be assumed to have been made in order to bring the festival, which in later Judaism acquired great importance, into relation with the same calendar by which the great *haggim* were dated; for the 10th was the old New Year's day.[3] It resulted, however, as we shall presently see, in having two days of judgment separated by an interval of nine days. The Day of Atonement is by the ordinance appointed a holy convocation[4] and a Sabbath of solemn rest on which no manner of work shall be done,[5] and the Israelite is commanded to afflict his soul by fast-

[1] See below, p. 320.

[2] *Exod.* XXX. 10; cf. *Levit.* XVI. 34.

[3] See Morgenstern, in *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.,* VIII, 33, and 48, n. 1. It will be recalled that, according to the Mohammedan legend, the Prophet completed his flight by reaching Medina on Monday or Friday, the Jewish Day of Atonement. Other accounts dated this event on the 10th Muharram (the first month of the Moslem year). In intention these data are identical, for the days were supposed to be the same. Al-Biruni (p. 326 *sq.*) shows that the tradition is inconsistent with the era of the Hijra; but he gives a wealth of Jewish and Moslem traditions regarding the day, which relate to it as a New Year's day. Among these may be mentioned the following: Moses and the Israelites were saved, as Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea; Jesus was born; the prayer of Zacharias was granted and John the Baptist was given to him; and Husein, the hope of the Shiite Moslems, was slain. In Islam the day is partly a fast, partly a feast. See also *J. Enc.,* II, 207, art. "Ashura," and above, p. 133, n. 3.

[4] *Levit.* XXIII. 27; *Num.* XXIX. 7.

[5] *Levit.* XVI. 31; XXIII. 32. *The Targum of Onkelos* calls it simply a Sabbath. Since in later Judaism it was equated with the 10th Nisan, it is interesting to note that *Tosefot to Bab. Shabbat,* 87 *b,* says of the latter day that at the time of the exodus this date fell on a Sabbath, but nevertheless,

ing.[1] These provisions were obviously designed to characterize the day as a Sabbath, which is indeed expressly stated in the injunction,[2] "in the ninth day of the month from even unto even ye shall keep your Sabbath." In conformity with this ritual scheme, the priest is bidden to sprinkle the blood of the victims on the mercy-seat and on the horns of the altar seven times.[3]

The Day of Atonement being a New Year's day, the fact of its evaluation as a Sabbath is significant, because we see once more that the Sabbath might be identified as a first day. The character of the observance, however, is such that one cannot conceive of the ordinance for the Day of Atonement as belonging to the Deuteronomic order; for there the Sabbath is not treated as a fast, but as a day of joy and first-fruits. As one might have expected in view of the varying ritual schemes of Judaism, we shall presently find evidence of other ratings of the day.

Though the Torah for the Day of Atonement is obviously the result of conflation and redaction, no external test has been found to guarantee the findings of the textual analysis; consequently we may for our present purpose disregard the stratification of the text.[4] We are concerned with the ritual acts performed on this day. The occasion is quite exceptional, because then only in the course of the year might the high priest enter the Holy of Holies: then he entered with atoning sacrifices, clothed in robes of state consisting of coat, breeches, girdle, and miter of linen, after purifying himself with a ritual bath.[5] The offerings which he made were partly for himself and his family, partly for the people as a whole; with the

obedient to the divine command (*Exod.* XII. 3), the Israelites then selected the paschal victims.

[1] *Levit.* XVI. 29, 31; XXIII. 27; *Num.* XXIX. 7. *The Targum of Palestine* on *Levit.* XVI, p. 198 Etheridge, says: "You shall humble your souls [abstaining] from food, and from drinks, and from the use of the bath, and from rubbing [friction], and from sandals, and from the practice of the [marriage] bed;" cf. *ibid.*, p. 445, and *Mishnah Yomah,* Chap. VIII.

[2] *Levit.* XXIII. 32. (Cf. the logion of Jesus, above, p. 20, n. 2.) Since the Day of Atonement was always understood to be the 10th Tishri, this prescription agrees absolutely with that of Pesah, which is thereby referred to the 15th Nisan.

[3] *Levit.* XVI. 14, 19. The high priest pronounced the name of God seven times (*Yomah,* Chap. IV).

[4] Quite independently, I arrived at practically the same result as Bertholet's adaptation of Messel's analysis (see Bertholet, II, 37 *sq.*).

[5] *Levit.* XVI. 4. In view of the general prohibition of bathing during the fast, this act calls for explanation. Cf. p. 300, n. 2. When the cuneiform documents are adequately translated and interpreted, we may be able to solve

blood of the victims he sprinkled the mercy-seat and the altar, thereby cleansing the sanctuary and hallowing it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel.

The most striking ritual act, however, is that which concerns the goats.[1] It will be recalled that they were two in number; and the choice between them was made by the lot,[2] one being thereby designated for sacrifice to Yahweh, while the other was sent forth as a scapegoat devoted to Azazel. Who Azazel was, we do not know; but clearly he was an evil demon of the wilderness.[3] The goats having been assigned by lot, the one made over to Azazel was always the second to receive attention:[4] the sins of the people were laid on him, and he was driven out into the wilderness. Such is the ordinance of the Torah. From the Talmud we learn certain details of the procedure observed, at least in later times. When the goat devoted to Yahweh was sacrificed, both the high priest and the officiating priest faced west.[5] In view of the associations of the west[6] there can be no doubt that the rite was originally addressed to a

this puzzle. Landsberger, p. 115, speaking of the directions for the *shigū*-ritual of the sixth days, says *"Als Zusatz zu den shigū-Vorschriften finden sich meist noch Angaben über die dabei anzulegenden Kleider. Hierbei schwankt das Ritual je nach den verschiedenen Tagen. Der Kleiderwechsel, bzw. deren Reinigung ist bald ge-bald verboten."* For the Persian practice of bathing and sprinkling at Naurôz (New Year), see *A.J.P.,* XLV (1924), 233 *sq.*

[1] *Levit.* XVI. 5 *sq.* Cf. the procedure in the case of the leper, *Levit.* XIV. 1–7, and of the woman in the ephah, called "Wickedness," who was transported to the land of Shinar, *Zech.* V. 5–11.

[2] Evidently an important traditional rite; cf. *Yomah.* Chap. II. Attention was called above to the practice of casting lots at the Passover and *rites de passage.* The casting of lots for the "seamless dress" of Jesus at the Crucifixion is well known. (The garment worn by the Moslem hajji in *ihram* likewise is seamless.) The lot-oracle is known to have existed in Arabia, where it was the regular practice (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums,* p. 132 *sq.*), and in the cultus of Apollo at Delphi: see F. E. Robbins, in *Class. Philol.,* XI, 278–292. The only date mentioned in this connection is the sixth day (Plutarch *De E apud Delphos* 391 D). Callimachus (*fr.* 54 Mair) mentions the casting of lots after the war of the gods with the Giants; but, according to the paroemiographer (Leutsch, I, 401), the victory over the Giants occurred on the sixth day.

[3] *Levit.* XVII. 7 suggests that he was goat-like and (like Pan) lustful.

[4] See the curious provisions regarding the rôle of the Segan in *Mishnah, Yomah,* Chap. IV to insure that the lot of Yahweh is first raised by the high priest.

[5] *Yomah,* Chap. II. The apparent contortions of the officiating priest I do not understand.

[6] See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.,* p. 915. In the Christian rite of the renunciation of the Devil, the candidate for baptism faced west, but turned to the east when

chthonian god who was regarded as dwelling among the dead. To the dead, sacrifice of blood was made, as by Odysseus on his descent to the underworld, that they might lap it and thus recover life.[1] Such a rite performed for Yahweh, who was worshiped as "the living God," must seem incongruous to us; but it may be confidently claimed as an inheritance from a remote past, when at the fast the god was appeased as departed in anger and tarrying among the dead. How early or by what mediation it came to be associated with the cultus of Yahweh we have no means of knowing; one may conjecture, however, that once Yahweh had been conceived as the ever-living God, the sacrifice meant for him, though it still partook of the dark character proper to the fast, was differentiated from that designated for Azazel, thus giving rise to the practice of consecrating two goats, which received very different treatment. The offering was then reinterpreted: instead of serving to appease a spirit's thirst for blood, the vehicle of life, it was understood to purify the priest and the sanctuary and to atone for the sins of the people. The second goat received the alternative form of devotion, being set free and driven as an outcast into the wilderness for the behoof of Azazel.

A great deal of confusion has arisen from the failure of scholars [2]

he recited the creed (Duchesne, *Christ. Worship,* p. 329). The Babylonian ritual for the 6th day of the month (see Landsberger, p. 114) several times prescribes that the king in offering the sacrifice shall face east. In Babylonian astrology, however, the eastern (Elam) and the western (Amarru) quarters of the heavens were alike accounted evil; and, besides, the 6th day of the month was assigned to Elam (east). See Jastrow, *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria,* p. 236 *sq.* It is perhaps significant that Elam was the arch-enemy of Babylonia.

[1] Cf. Tresp, p. 40 *sq.*

[2] E. g., Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer,* p. 354, n. 6. Greek law recognized banishment as an alternative for the death-penalty. This was an inheritance from sacral law. The situation becomes especially clear when, as in the cases of the goats on the Day of Atonement, of the two birds in the ritual for the leper, and of Jesus and Barabbas, one victim is sacrificed and the other is released. Sophocles undoubtedly conceived of Œdipus as a Pharmakos and a Saturnalian king; it is significant, therefore, that Œdipus (Sophocles *Œ. T.* 1410 *sq.*) begs Creon to put him out of the way, to slay or banish him, even to cast him into the sea. Creon replies that the precise manner of disposing of him shall be left to Apollo. (Was the lot-oracle to determine it?) Hence the conflicting statements regarding the Pharmakos. The language of ritual is peculiar, as witness the Hebrew substitution of excommunication for death in many provisions of the Law. This same practice, evidently, obtained among other peoples; and consequently those who were merely pronounced ritually or juridically dead were doubtless spoken of as put to death. One does well

to observe that devotion might assume the alternative forms of death or release as an outcast. In either case the victim is dedicated to the god and is taboo (*sacer*) for man. While *Leviticus* obviously contemplates the release of the scapegoat (which of course owes its name to this circumstance), the Talmud represents him as driven to a rock [1] situated not many miles from Jerusalem and there thrown over a cliff, where he was fairly sure to be shattered before reaching the bottom; if by any chance he was not killed by the fall, the man who led him forth was charged with the duty of putting him to death. That this practice was known to the early Christians will presently become clear. The Talmud says also that red wool [2] was tied to the scapegoat's horn, symbolizing the sins laid upon his head. On the way to the rock the attendant passed ten booths, at each of which he was invited to tarry for meat and drink, but refused.[3] In this observance one may perhaps see a twofold reference: the booths being intended to bring the observance into relation to Sukkot, which as a *hag* belongs of course to the wilderness, the number ten being related to the circumstance that the Day of Atonement was the tenth of the month and of the post-exilic year, each booth representing a day or station on the journey. The attendant's refusal to eat and drink enforces the observance of a fast.

Regarding the days of atonement observed in ancient Israel, much could no doubt be learned by a detailed study of certain topics and motives, such as the forgiveness of sins,[4] which were associated with the great Day of Atonement in Judaism; for the prophets and *Psalms,* as well as the New Testament and the Fathers, have much to say which clearly presupposes ritual acts. Who can read, for example, the great Messianic chapter of *Isaiah* [5] without perceiving that the prophet had in mind a rite of atonement, not wholly unlike that which is pictured by *Zechariah,* preparatory to the coming of

to bear this in mind in discussing "human sacrifice." Of course the life of a man legally banished was forfeit, if he returned without proper legal measures being taken. Cf. the uses of *θανατοῦν*.

[1] *Yomah,* Chap. VI, calls it Tsuk, at Beth ha-Dudo; elsewhere the place is called Beth ha-Durey.

[2] Mentioned also in *Epist. of Barn.* VII, Tertullian *Adu. Marc.* iii. 7, etc.

[3] *Yomah,* Chap. VI.

[4] The Day of Atonement is the occasion of reconciliation in the entire social group, including God and man. As Yahweh pardoned the sins of the people, so the latter pardoned one another on the eve of that day (*J. Enc.,* II, 288 *a*). The same ceremony is observed in China on New Year's eve; see Van Gennep, p. 254. This is a natural preliminary (*Matt.* v. 23–24).

[5] LIII. IX has similar suggestions.

Messiah, when the latter goes forth, like the scapegoat, to a ritual death bearing the sins of the people? If any doubt it, let him read the Jewish and Christian tradition; for the Messianic prophecies and the unanimity among interpreters cannot reasonably be explained except on the hypothesis that both rest on a common basis of practice. The *Epistle to the Hebrews* is a particularly striking witness; for it clearly presupposes that Jews and Christians are in principle agreed, and throughout the treatise the high priesthood of Christ, the Messiah, is founded on an interpretation of the rites of the Day of Atonement. The identification of the crucified Jesus as the promised Messiah is the chief point for which the author contends and which he obviously expects the Jews to grant; that the Crucifixion [1] is the one and sufficient act of atonement for all time and for all mankind, seems to him beyond question. The Messiah having come and suffered the atoning Passion, we await his second coming on the day of judgment: [2] "Inasmuch as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after this cometh judgment; so Christ also, having been once offered to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time,[3] apart from sin, to them that wait for him, unto salvation." Thus the Saviour-Messiah, having suffered death on the Cross on the Christian day of atonement, Good Friday, will return on the last day, at the end of the times, as he returned from the grave at Easter, to judge [4] the quick and the dead. As has already been pointed out, the eschatological scheme duplicates the pattern of the festival-term: the mold in which the expectation of the last things is cast is precisely the same as that which fashioned the Hebrew Passover and the Christian Holy Week: the day of judgment corresponds to Easter-day, and is for the faithful a day of joy bringing eternal rest in bliss. Bishop Victorinus says,[5] "In the sixth [6] *Psalm* for the eighth day [7] David

[1] For the ceremony of "lifting up Osiris" see Jeremias, *Des alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients* [2], p. 85. It would seem that it was at once a crucifixion and a resurrection (compare *John* III. 14; VIII. 28; XII. 32, 34). It was connected with the coronation of the king and with the Set-jubilee.

[2] *Heb.* IX. 27–28. Van Gennep, p. 155, calls attention to the fact that the coronation of the king and the consecration of the priest commonly include a death and resurrection.

[3] Cf. Tertullian *Adu. Marc.* iii. 7.

[4] The high priest also shall be a judge (*Zech.* III. 7).

[5] *On the Creation of the World* 390, tr. Walker. This treatise abounds in equations of days based on ritual schemes. To investigate its sources would be a rewarding task. Cf. above, p. 278, n. 3.

[6] No doubt the numbers six and eight were regarded as significant.

[7] So LXX. Some interpret *sheminit* as referring to a musical instrument.

asks the Lord that he may not rebuke him in his anger, nor judge him in his fury; for this is indeed the eighth day of the future judgment, which will pass beyond the order of the sevenfold arrangement."

Good Friday, the sixth day of Holy Week, is the Christian day of atonement. Christian and Jewish tradition alike agree on the day of the week, but while the former identifies it with Pesah, the latter, while admitting that it fell in the term of Passover, maintains that a crucifixion would not have been possible on that holy day. This contention may be due to the rating of Pesah as a Sabbath. At present we are not concerned with the question of historical fact, but with the ritual evaluation of the day; and on this score there is good reason for the Christian view. That Pesah, like the Day of Atonement, was anciently a New Year's day and likewise preferably rated as a sixth day, has already been pointed out; hence one readily comprehends why the blackest day in the Christian year is a Friday.[1] As we review certain other rites, which naturally suggest a comparison with those of the Jewish Day of Atonement, we shall find further justification for this evaluation. Naturally we shall confine ourselves to cases in which there is either express or strong presumptive evidence regarding the date or the ritual scheme.

As was stated above, one object of the rites of the Day of Atonement was thought to be the purification of the sanctuary. Such rites are well known to us from various parts of Greece. One of these, which challenges comparison, was observed at Athens[2] and in other Greek cities,[3] and went by the name of Plynteria; on the island of Chios it was esteemed so important that a month was named for it. The date of the festival is variously given as the second or the sixth[4] from the end of Thargelion. Whether both dates are intended to refer to the observance at Athens is not clear; but the ritual equation of second and sixth days, of which there are not a few examples among the Greeks, as among the Hebrews, is in itself significant. On this day, which Plutarch[5] pronounces one of the blackest, there was undertaken at Athens a thorough lustration of the shrine of Athena, to whom, as we know, the third and seventh days were especially sacred; the sanctuary was then barred to all but

[1] More of this below.
[2] See Mommsen, *Feste,* p. 491 *sq.*
[3] E. g., on Paros; see Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 469.
[4] See below, p. 473 *sq.*
[5] *Alcib.* xxxiv.

the priestesses, who cleansed it thoroughly and carried the image of the goddess to the sea to be washed. The sacred story connected with the observance relates that on this day Athena went abroad, and finding on her return the daughters of Erechtheus tampering with the *cista mystica,* in which the infant Erichthonius was kept, compelled them to make the Leucadian leap from the crag.[1] One of these maidens was named Agraulus or Aglaurus. Now Harpocration[2] says that Agraulus was in fact the cult-name of Athena herself, and Photius[3] reports that the Plynteria commemorated her death. As the name Agraulus pretty certainly means "living in the fields or wilds," the myth is highly significant; for Athena in this rite is to all intents and purposes identified with Artemis Agrotera, the wild huntress, whose especial day was the 6th Thargelion, a day to which we shall have to refer repeatedly.

Readers of the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* will recall that in this play, which is dated[4] on the festival of the goddess Artemis, Euripides represents the heroine as carrying the cult-image to the sea,[5] ostensibly to bathe it because it had been defiled by the touch of the strangers, Orestes and Pylades. This very day was to have witnessed the sacrifice of these same strangers on the altar of the goddess.[6] Regarding the Taurian rite we know nothing directly; but

[1] This is a Pharmakos-rite. *Mic.* VII. 19, "thou wilt cast all our sins into the depths of the sea," raises the question whether the Israelites were not acquainted with this form of the rite.

[2] P. 3. Agraulus appears (like Iphigenia) as the priestess and double of the goddess.

[3] i, p. 127, ed. Porson.

[4] 36.

[5] 1157 *sq.* May the "washing of Molly Grime," until recently practised on Good Friday in the church of Glentham, Lincolnshire (Chambers, *Book of Days,* I, 418 *sq.*), be a survival of an old heathen rite? One recalls the ceremony of washing the feet on Maundy Thursday, and at Rome on Good Friday and Holy Saturday also. If Molly Grime inherited the rites of a heathen goddess, one may compare the bath of Athena at the Plynteria, the *lauatio* of Nerthus (Tacitus *Germ.* IX), of Magna Mater on the 27th March, and of many another goddess. For Artemis, see below, p. 503, n. 6.

[6] The prisoners, Orestes and Pylades, were to have been sacrificed, but were released from bonds as being consecrated (ἱεροί, 468 *sq.*). Eventually by divine command they were not sacrificed, but allowed to go abroad; at one stage of the action it was proposed that one victim (Orestes) be slain, and the other (Pylades) released. A careful study of the myth and the cult will show that the rites of Iphigenia at Brauron, as at Aulis, were προτέλεια γάμων, of which I hope to speak more at length at another time. It is obvious that the bath of Artemis on this occasion, like the bath of Hera at the Tonaia on the island of Samos (see Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 46 *sq.,* esp. 48), was pre-nuptial.

for our purposes that matters little, because the myth which the dramatic poet followed belongs equally to the cultus of Artemis at Brauron in Attica, whither according to the legend Iphigenia and Orestes carried the cult-statue of the goddess. Now all the dark rites of Artemis, as of her "brother" Apollo, fall on sixth days: as regards Artemis Brauronia, as well as Artemis Munychia, whose cultus was in good part identical, we have reason to believe that her day was the 16th Munychion.[1] In like manner the 6th Thargelion, sacred to Artemis and Apollo, beside other observances presently to be mentioned, witnessed dark rites calculated to effect the purification of the whole city of Athens; and we may be sure that there was a general lustration of the temples on that day. Another great occasion of purification at Athens was known as *Halade Mystai*,[2] when all those who were to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries went down to the sea to purify themselves in its waters: its date was the 16th Boëdromion, the month of salvation. All these rites are marked by their dates as belonging to sixth days. It would be easy to multiply examples; but let these suffice for the present.

One must not infer from the foregoing that the ritual required the purification of the temples[3] on sixth days only, or on days capable of no other evaluation; for it will be recalled that in the triduan festival of Isis at Tithorea[4] (and presumably at Coptus), the sanctuary was cleansed on the first day. In that instance, however, the calendar-date is unknown, leaving us in ignorance regarding other conceivable ratings of the day. Yet one may safely infer that, in the Alexandrian period, Egyptian ritual admitted rites of purification on first days; and the same practice was quite familiar in Greek lands;

Cf. Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 452 *sq.* Pre-nuptial rites were generally performed in Greece on second or sixth days.

[1] Unless it was the 6th. A study of the festival of Artemis Brauronia reveals its kinship with the Semitic *hag* in many ways. It is significant that legend connected the rape of Athenian maidens by the Pelasgians of Lemnos with this festival, which retained its character, or at least its reputation, as an occasion of license associated with pre-nuptial rites, throughout antiquity. It is moreover significant that it became connected with the Dionysiac *penteteris*, which was certainly a New Year's festival. Cf. Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 452 *sq.*, and above, p. 193.

[2] Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 214 *sq.*

[3] On this rite, see the address of Flinders Petrie mentioned by Jastrow, *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 268. Not having access to the former, I do not know whether the Egyptian temples were swept and cleaned daily; but analogy suggests that they were not, but on stated days.

[4] Above, p. 238 *sq.*

for, as we happen to know, the temple of Apollo and Artemis at Delos was purified on the first day of every month.[1] This would of course result in bringing about such a rite on New Year's day; and we may well believe that on this occasion there attached greater significance to the act. In view of the nature of the Day of Atonement and of the fact, presently to be brought out, that the scapegoat belongs especially to the ritual of New Year's day, we are justified in attaching some importance to this connection. In the Talmud [2] we learn that the altar was cleansed at varying hours of the night following the first days of the Hebrew festivals. Here two points call for consideration. We have seen that anciently the *mo'adim* of all the Hebrew *haggim,* excepting Pentecost, were rated as second or sixth days, but that in course of time this fact was occasionally either forgotten or ignored and the *mo'ed* was called the first day, regard being had solely to the festival-term. Again, we have no satisfactory evidence regarding the prevailing line of division which separated the festival days; though we were able to point out that in Talmudic times cockcrow served that purpose in Passover and Sukkot. If we accept this limit, the altar was always cleansed before it; hence it was done on the first day of every festival, with the possibilities as to evaluation which have just been mentioned. In this connection it may be noted that the purification of the temple by Jesus at the Last Passover is dated by *Matthew* [3] on the first day (Palm Sunday), while *Mark* [4] refers it to the second. Either reference might be justified by Greek and Hebrew parallels.

With the purification of the temple is to be closely connected another rite of riddance, sending forth the scapegoat into the wilderness to Azazel. This subject has been discussed with so much learning and illustrated by so many parallels by Frazer,[5] that there is no need of reviewing the evidence at length. All who have considered it have discovered indisputable indications that these rites were preferably performed on New Year's day.[6] This fact must be borne in

[1] Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 149. For Apollo of the New Moon (Noumenios), see Gruppe, p. 939, n. 9.

[2] *Pesah.,* Chap. IX.

[3] XXI. 12–17; cf. *Ezek.* XLV. 18 *sq.* In *Luke* XIX. 45 and *John* II. 14–18 the date is left undefined.

[4] XI. 15 *sq.* The Jewish Hanukkah, celebrated on the 25th Kislew (an ancient New Year's day) was such a festival. Cf. also II *Chron.* XXIX.

[5] *The Golden Bough,* pt. VI, *The Scapegoat* (1913).

[6] Cf. Gruppe, *Jahresb.* (1921), p. 278 *sq.*

mind in connection with the evidence presently to be brought out in reference to the ritual patterns.

We may begin with an observance which is familiar to Biblical scholars because its similarity to the practice of the Day of Atonement has been recognized.[1] "Osiris and Isis," says Plutarch,[2] "were transformed from good spirits into gods; but the power of Typhon [Set], faded and shattered, even dying and at the last gasp,[3] they propitiate and mollify with certain sacrifices; and at times again they humiliate and insult him, reviling the red-haired men and throwing a wild ass over a cliff, as do the people of Coptus, because Typhon had red hair and in color resembled the wild ass." The question regarding the sanctity of the ass among the Jews we need not now consider, being concerned merely to point out that at a festival of the evil god Typhon,[4] who is obviously regarded as dead, the god is insulted [5] and an animal sacred to him is sacrificed by being thrown over a cliff, as was the scapegoat, which was offered to Azazel, a demon apparently conceived as goat-like. We emphasized above that the scapegoat was not offered to Yahweh, but his mate, so like him as to be hardly distinguishable, was sacrificed, and his blood used to purify the altar and the mercy-seat. We shall later produce evidence tending to show that the days of Set-Typhon were the sixth and second.

Among the Greeks the most conspicuous parallel is the rite performed at Athens [6] on the 6th Thargelion, the day being especially sacred to Apollo and Artemis, whose cultus, as we shall later show,

[1] See Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*[2], pp. 418, n. 2, and 468 *sq.*

[2] *De Iside* xxx.

[3] Set largely took the place of Apophis, "the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan," who was overcome by Ptāh or Rā. From an inscription quoted by Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt.* I, 435) we learn that Apophis was overwhelmed on the morning of the New Year.

[4] Regarding Typhon, see below, p. 445 *sq.*

[5] Compare the treatment of Dionysus in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (above, p. 224 *sq.*). When Typhon was on the war-path, the gods fled to Egypt and were metamorphosed into beasts. In the *Clouds* it is said that Zeus has been deposed by the new divinities, the Clouds, and by Dinos; in the *Birds* also the gods are deposed. In the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus there is uttered a threat that Zeus shall be deposed by his son. This was not accounted impiety, but it was one of the ritual motives of the *agōn*, the prototype of which was probably the Battle of the Gods, or the overthrow of the powers of darkness at the cardinal points of the solar cycle.

[6] See Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 468 sq. There were Thargelia in other places also; cf. Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 105 *sq.* They were evidently observed in similar ways, and presumably on sixth days.

followed the same ritual scheme as that of Yahweh. On this day, when the sanctuaries and the entire city of Athens were purified, a human scapegoat, or Pharmakos, was beaten and hustled, then driven out of the city, as was the scapegoat at Jerusalem. Sometimes, it is said, there were two Pharmakoi, a man and a woman;[1] in later times at least they were not actually killed, though they were of course regarded as ritually dead.

Pausanias relates a tale of the Messenian hero Aristomenes, which is beyond question connected with a Mystery-rite—probably that of Andania—as well as with the Hyacinthia. "Late in the evening," he says,[2] "Aristomenes marched out at the head of his picked men. and so rapid were his movements that he was at Amyclæ[3] before the sun rose. He took the town,[4] pillaged it, and beat a retreat before the Spartans could come to the rescue. Afterward he continued to scour the country, till in an encounter with more than half of the Lacedæmonian regiments under their two kings he received a blow on the head from a stone which stunned him, and when he was down a body of Lacedæmonians rushed on him and took him prisoner. About fifty of his men also were taken. They were all sentenced by the Lacedæmonians to be thrown into the abyss [Ceadas] into which they throw the greatest malefactors.[5] The rest of the Mes-

[1] Perhaps no Greek tragedy so plainly betrays its connection with the Pharmakos-rites as Euripides's *Orestes*. The scene is laid at Argos on the sixth day after the death of Clytemnestra (422). Menelaus and Helen, just returned from Troy, find the Argives sitting in judgment on Orestes, who like a Pharmakos is threatened with banishment or death by stoning, a fate which Electra is to share. Tyndareus and Hermione offer libations at the tomb of Clytemnestra. Both Orestes and Helen (supposed to be slain, but really celebrating an ascension) are represented as suffering for all the Greeks (565 *sq.*, 1134 *sq.*). The play ends with a general pardon and reconciliation, mediated by Apollo, with the betrothal of Orestes and Hermione, who are to wed after a year and a day, and with the confirmation of the betrothal of Pylades and Electra. This *dénouement* again shows the connection of these rites with the προτέλεια γάμων already mentioned, p. 290, n. 6) and attested among the Semites by the practices of the Jews on the Day of Atonement (see below, p. 320 *sq.*).

[2] iv. 18. 3–7, tr. Frazer.

[3] The scene of the Hyacinthia. Various other legends bring Aristomenes into relation with this festival.

[4] Amyclæ, like Ai (*Josh.* VIII), was taken the second day.

[5] Aristomenes was treated as a Pharmakos. Frazer's note (*Pausanias*, III, 416) is quite inadequate. Greek myths and legends abound in references to this practice, many of them implying that the outcast (who was sacred, ἱερός) was saved, as were Melicertes and Œdipus, later to become the saviours of their peoples. *Jubilees* XXXIV connects the story of Joseph with the Day of Atonement. His brethren plot his death and cast him into a pit after

senians were killed on the spot by the fall; but on this, as on other occasions of his life, one of the gods watched over Aristomenes.[1] Those who magnify the story of his life say that when he was cast into the abyss an eagle flew under him and supported him with its wings[2] so that he was neither maimed nor wounded. And Providence was about to show him a way even out of the abyss. When he reached the bottom of the chasm he lay down, and drawing his mantle about him awaited the death which he believed to be inevitable. But on the third day he heard a noise, and uncovering his face, his eyes being now accustomed to the darkness, he perceived a fox battening on the corpses. Guessing that the beast had an entrance somewhere, he waited till it came near, and then caught it with one hand, and whenever it turned on him he held out his mantle to it with the other hand, and allowed the beast to bite it. Most of the way he ran with it as it ran, but in the most difficult places he was dragged by it. At last he spied a hole large enough for the fox, and light shining through it. When he let the fox go, it ran, I suppose, into its lair. But the hole was not large enough to let Aristomenes out, so he widened it with his hands, and got safe home[3] to Ira."

In this legend Aristomenes is unquestionably regarded as a Pharmakos. On what day he is supposed to have been cast into the abyss, which was meant to be his grave, is not stated; but analogy suggests that it was the second[4] or the sixth, following as it did his sec-

stripping him of his coat of many colors, which they dip in the blood of a goat (kid) and bring to Jacob that day. The intended victim is rescued by merchants who take him to Egypt. There he becomes all but king and proves the saviour of his family and therefore of all Israel. Did the author of *Jubilees* regard Joseph as a Pharmakos or scapegoat? With Joseph's coat compare that of Tamar (II *Sam.* XIII. 18) and the bridal robe of Dionysus, when he went to the lower world (above, p. 227, nn. 1 and 5).

[1] Cf. the tale of Captain Thirteen in Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 75.

[2] Polyænus ii. 31. 2 says he was saved in his fall by his shield. He had twice offered ἑκατομφόνια over the Lacedæmonians.

[3] Polyænus (*loc. cit.*) says that on returning from the pit Aristomenes rejoined his countrymen, who were on the point of offering battle, and led their phalanx; the Lacedæmonians, seeing him, fled in terror, thinking him a superhuman being (*θνητῆς φύσεως μείζων*). Did they regard him as resurrected on the third day, and therefore a god?

[4] In Greece, in earlier times, burial occurred on the second day; in the fifth century it was regularly postponed to the third for fear of burying one alive. If one was to be resuscitated, it was thought, this would occur by the third day (Plato *Legg.* 958 A). The same belief existed among the Jews and led to the practice of examining the dead for three days before interment; cf.

ond encounter with the Lacedæmonians. He was not killed by his fall, being miraculously saved on the back of an eagle;[1] once in the pit, he veiled himself with his mantle, giving himself up for dead;[2] but on the third day, by a second intervention of Providence, he returned from his supposed grave[3] and arrived safely at his home or among his companions, where he was regarded perhaps as a god. These details, belonging to a rite which imitated death and resurrection[4] in order to guarantee (as the Mysteries guaranteed) a future resurrection and a blissful deathless life thereafter, can all be readily matched by abundant parallels from Greek and Semitic sources, which it is not necessary here to cite. For the moment let it suffice us to draw attention to the circumstance that the hero was saved by being borne on the back of an eagle. According to Ælian,[5] Gilgamos, the destined king of Babylon, was as a babe cast from the acropolis in order to be killed, when an eagle flew under him and stayed his fall. This same motive recurs several times in the Old Testament[6] where—as in the Passover-song of Moses in *Deuteronomy*—its connection with festivals which fell on sixth days is evident.

Eusebius,[7] after earlier authors, tells a most interesting story of James, the brother of our Lord, who was regarded as a Nazirite from the womb, like Jesus miraculously conceived, and also like him

Ebel Rabbati, Chap. VIII; *Matt.* XXVII. 64. For the Persian belief, see *E.R.E.,* V, 376 *a.*

[1] Among the Leucadians, says Strabo (x. 452), the fall of the Pharmakos, who was cast into the sea at a festival of Apollo, was broken by wings attached to him, and boats were provided to carry him abroad. Contrast the treatment accorded to the victims of Tiberius (Suetonius *Tiber.* lvii).

[2] Cf. the story of Jason and the Libyan Heroines, Apollonius Rh. *Arg.* iv. 1293 *sq.*

[3] With the manner of his escape, cf. Lucian *Menipp. sub fin.,* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus.*

[4] Cyril (*Adu. Iulian.* ix) says, "Christ is described by the two goats—as dying for us in the flesh and then (as shown by the scapegoat) overcoming death in his divine nature;" which implies that the scapegoat escaped death and so became a type of the Resurrection.

[5] *H. A.* xii. 21.

[6] *Deut.* XXXII. 11; XXXIII. 29. Cf. *Exod.* XIX. 4; *Bar.* IV. 26; *Asmp. Mos.* X. 8, with Dr. Charles's note on the latter passage. Cumont (*Études syriennes,* p. 82 *sq.*) discusses the motive. Because of the experience of St. James in his fall from the pinnacle of the temple, one may compare also *Matt.* IV. 5 *sq.*; Sophocles *Œ. T.* 873–879; and Ovid *Heroid.* XV. 179. See Frazer, *The Scapegoat,* p. 254 *sq.*; Cook, *Zeus,* I, 344 *sq.*

[7] *H.E.* ii. 23. For the life of this saint, see the sources in the Bollandists' *Hagiographica Latina,* I, 609 *sq.*

slain at Passover. According to this story James was set on the pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem, and tempted to deny the Christ and lead astray the people. Because he disappointed the hopes of the Scribes and Pharisees, he was cast down: not killed by the fall—the manner of his miraculous escape is not recorded [1]—he knelt and prayed, like Jesus, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do;" and while he was thus interceding for the forgiveness of the people's sins, he was stoned, and his brains were dashed out by a fuller with a club which he used to beat clothes. The narrative offers so curious a parallel on the one hand to the Temptation, and to the death of Jesus at Passover, and on the other hand to the treatment accorded to the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement, that one cannot well doubt that its author had in mind all these occasions and identified or equated them. The position held by James among the early Christian ascetics lends added significance to the story; for he was by them regarded as the real founder of the Church. Not able to claim Jesus as an ascetic—though they sought to represent him in that light—they found their ideal realized in James,[2] "through whom," as Eusebius says, "all who believed on Christ believed." The fate of James, therefore, is obviously conceived as duplicating in its essentials the Passion of Jesus, and serves to mark the parallel between Passover and the Day of Atonement. This equation, as we remarked above, underlies the argument of the *Epistle to the Hebrews;* but, though less observed, it is no less clearly assumed in the gospels. When all the people cried,[3] "His blood be on us, and on our children," we may be sure that the evangelist had in mind the atoning sacrifice of the Messiah's Passion. Even more unequivocal is the implication of the Fourth Gospel,[4] when it reports, "Caiaphas, being high priest that year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor do you take account that it is expedient that one man [5]

[1] One guesses that he was supported by angels.

[2] It was he who urged Paul to take the Nazirite vow (*Acts* xxi. 23 *sq.*).

[3] *Matt.* xxvii. 25.

[4] *John* xi. 49–53; cf. xviii. 14. Compare Philo of Byblus, *fr.* 3–5 (*H.G.f.*, iii, 570–571), with *John* iii. 16 and *Heb.* xi. 17.

[5] This is significant in connection with the rites. According to Euseb. *De martyr. Pal.* ii. 4, when the twentieth anniversary of Diocletian's reign approached, on New Year's Eve (17th November), the parasceve of the festival, "while in accordance with established custom all prisoners were by proclamation presented with the gift of liberty, Romanus alone was crowned with martyrdom." Releasing other prisoners, while retaining *one* for sacrifice, is the regular procedure. Weber ("Das Kronosfest in Durostorum," *A.R.*, xix, 326)

should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. Now this he said not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation; and not for the nation only, but that he might also gather together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad.[1] So from that day[2] forth they took counsel that they might put him to death." The context, to be sure, suggests that the chief priests and Pharisees feared the destruction of Jerusalem[3] by the Romans, and there are other surprising turns in the narrative; but the student of the Jewish festivals will recognize at once that the function of Caiaphas on this occasion is that which the high priest performed in selecting the scapegoat on the Day of Atonement. Moreover, the release of Barabbas and the sacrificial death of Jesus duplicate the practice of releasing one victim and offering up the other.[4] The Torah as well as the Christian

to whom I owe this reference, does not seem to see the scheme. In these matters we need not greatly concern ourselves about the question whether Eusebius is relating an actual event or a legend which reflects the rites.

[1] This, as the Jews believed, was to be the office of Messiah. In their eschatology this gathering of the tribes was to be at the great synaxis of the Last Day, when the dead should rise with the resurrected Messiah. This would occur on the New Year's day ushering in the New Age.

[2] The paucity of time-references in *John* prevents us from determining the day; but XI. 55 tells us that "the Passover of the Jews was at hand," and one is tempted to think of the 10th Nisan because of *Exod.* XII. 3.

[3] One is apt to think that this motive dates from A.D. 70, because in aftertimes the Jews at their pilgrimages mourned for the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (*J. Enc.*, X, 36*a*); but is this view correct? The *Gospel of Peter* VII says that on the day of the Crucifixion the Jews beat their breasts and said, "Woe unto our sins; the judgment and the end of Jerusalem are at hand," and sought out the Apostles, charging them with a desire to burn the temple. One recalls the rite of burning the booths or tabernacles at Tithorea and Delphi (see above, p. 240 *sq.*). According to Josephus *Ant.* VII. 9. 2, David, on the eve of Absalom's entry into Jerusalem, passed over the brook Kidron and ascended Olivet barefoot, all his attendants being in tears, and there "on the top of the mountain David took a view of the city and prayed to God with many tears, as having already lost his kingdom." In the context, as we shall presently see, this suggests an ancient rite of the Passover. *Luke* XIX. 41 dates the lamentation of Jesus over Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, the first day of Passover and Holy Week. The prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem (*Matt.* XXIV. 1–3; *Mark* XIII. 1–4; *Luke* XXI. 5–7) also is dated during Passover. Was there a similar rite on the Day of Atonement? IV *Ezra* X suggests the connection of the mourning for Jerusalem with the mourning for the Bridegroom. Cf. Josephus *B.I.* VI. 300 *sq.*, for Jesus, son of Ananus, who cried "Woe unto Jerusalem" at Sukkot four years before the fall of Jerusalem. See above p. 130, n. 5, quotation from Al-Biruni.

[4] See below, p. 389 *sq.*, for the release of prisoners and slaves on the sixth days in Babylonia. One will recall that, according to *Acts* XII, Herod seized James (the brother of John) and Peter at Passover ("the days of Un-

tradition emphasizes the requirement that the victims should be as like as possible. The evangelical record meets this requirement even in the names; for the malefactor who was released was called (Jesus [1]) Barabbas, the latter name signifying "Son of the Father." The treatment accorded to the pair of victims, however different in outward appearance, is from the ritual point of view equivalent.

Some, no doubt, will think this account forced; but to be convinced of the essential correctness of this view one needs only to read the works of the Fathers. For our purposes it may suffice to quote from the *Epistle of Barnabas*: [2] "Understand therefore, children of gladness, that the good Lord manifested all things to us beforehand, that we might know to whom we ought in all things to render thanksgiving and praise. If then the Son of God, being Lord and future judge of quick and dead, suffered that his wounds might give us life, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes. But moreover when crucified he had vinegar and gall given him to drink. Hear how on this matter the priests of the temple have revealed. Seeing that there is a commandment in Scripture, 'Whosoever shall not observe the fast shall surely die,' [3] the Lord commanded, because he was in his own person about to offer the vessel of his Spirit a sacrifice for our sins, that the type also which was given in Isaac who was offered upon the altar should be fulfilled. What saith he in the prophet? 'And let them eat of the goat that is offered at the fast for all their sins.' [4] Attend carefully: and let all the priests alone eat the entrails [5] unwashed with vinegar.

leavened Bread"), putting the former to death and intending to offer up Peter after the Passover; but "the same night" (the last night of Passover?) Peter was led forth and delivered by an angel, when the city gate miraculously opened for him. The Passover-days were thus fateful for three of the Apostles. In the Church-calendar the week between Christmas and New Year, which has a striking resemblance to the epagomenal days, is devoted to a season of prayer and fasting connected with the commemoration of the Apostles. Peter's release appears to have been regarded as a resurrection; if that were so, one might compare the miraculous opening of the door of the Lord's tomb on the last night of Passover. See above, p. 96, n. 3, p. 102, n. 1, and below, p. 391 *sq.*

[1] See Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 420, n. 1. Recall the special connection of the first-born with Passover. The Phœnician Cronus sacrificed his first-born, as the first-born were made over to Melek.

[2] VII, tr. Lightfoot.

[3] *Levit.* XXIII. 29. Whether actual death, or its equivalent, excommunication, is meant, is uncertain.

[4] The source of this quotation, as of the following, is unknown. It is in the manner of the targumists.

[5] Cf. *Exod.* XII. 9 (paschal victim). The entrails are generally offered on

Wherefore? Since ye are to give me, who am to offer my flesh for the sins of my new people, gall with vinegar [1] to drink, eat ye alone,[2] while the people fasteth and waileth in sackcloth and ashes; that he might show that he must suffer at their hands. Attend ye to the commandments which he gave. 'Take two goats, fair and alike,[3] and offer them, and let the priest take the one for a whole burnt-offering for sins.' But the other one—what must they do with it? 'Accursed,' [4] saith he, 'is the one.' Give heed how the type of Jesus is revealed. 'And do ye all spit upon it and goad it, and place scarlet wool about its head, and so let it be cast into the wilderness.' " It is not necessary to quote the remainder of the passage, in which the crown of thorns and the purple garment ot the Crucifixion are brought into relation with the practices of the Day of Atonement, and reference is made once more to the return of the crucified Lord on the day of judgment. One might extend the comparison *ad libitum* by drawing on other Fathers; but enough has been said already to show how completely the fate of Jesus at Passover was equated with the ritual acts performed on the Day of Atonement. If one has regard solely to the recorded practices of these two festivals, the procedure of the Christian interpreters must appear strange and forced; but when one takes account of other occasions having the same ritual values among Greeks and Hebrews, it ceases to provoke question. The fact that these days were both regarded as Days of Atonement may suffice to justify their being equated; but that in one case the victim was a goat, in the other a human being, does call for remark. The

the altar. For the priests eating the entrails of a Pharmakos, see below, p. 309. According to Plato *Rep.* 565 D and Pliny *N.H.* viii. 22. 80, the entrails of the child offered to Zeus Lycæus were eaten.

[1] This refers to the Crucifixion (*Matt.* xxvii. 34, 48). No doubt this agrees with some ritual requirement. For the drinking of vinegar on the Day of Atonement, see *Yomah,* Chap. viii.

[2] That the priests eat while the people fast is comparable to the high priest's bathing; see above, p. 284, n. 5. The practice suggests that the food in question was holy and not to be taken by the people until it had been "profaned" by the priests.

[3] Cf. *Mishnah* and *Gemara, Yomah,* Chap. vi, *init. Epist. of Barn.* vii. 10: "For how is he [the Son of God] like the goat? For this reason it says, 'The goats shall be fair and alike [equal]', that when they shall see him coming then they shall be astonished at the likeness of the goat. Therefore behold the type of Jesus that was to suffer." Similarly Tertull. *Adu. Marc.* iii. 7 emphasizes the likeness of the two goats, basing on it an argument against the docetist views of Marcion. Like Cyril (above, p. 296, n. 4), they connect the likeness with the thought of resurrection. Cf. 1 *John* iii. 2.

[4] Not in *Levit.* See below, p. 311 *sq.*

recognition of the intended sacrifice of Isaac, when a ram was substituted in his stead, as a type of the atoning sacrifice of Jesus, does indeed serve to soften the transition; but obviously we must consider those rites also in which human sacrifice is reported. As has been already suggested, the facile assimilation of one rite to the other, which the Christian tradition assumes without argument or question, was probably due to the recognition of a common basis in ritual forms. In the survey which follows there is made no assumption of direct borrowing of motives, as is often done; such an assumption is methodically without justification where other explanations of such points of agreement as may be found are possible and sufficient. Ideas, without a material substratum to which they are related, are not so easily communicated as some historians appear to suppose; the experience of the Western world with the East in our day would seem to show that concrete objects and modes of behavior are far more readily adopted than ideas and ideals. Hence we are on firmer ground in comparing rites and practices than in tracing the derivation of ideas. The latter task may well wait until scientific technique is equal to it.

Two parallels have been repeatedly cited by scholars for comparison with the Crucifixion—the slaying of the Saturnalian king, and the human sacrifice of the Babylonian Sacæa.[1] To take up first the human sacrifice to Saturn (Cronus), Porphyry,[2] as is well known, relates that "in the island of Rhodes on the 6th Metageitnion a man used to be sacrificed to Cronus: this custom, long prevailing, was changed; for they kept one of those who had been publicly sentenced to death until the festival of the Cronia, and when the festival arrived they led the man without the city gates over against the image of [Artemis] Aristobule,[3] and after giving him wine[4] to drink they slew him." This dark rite on a sixth day at a festival of Cronus, whose cultus, as we shall later point out, shows a marked similarity in form to that of Yahweh, furnishes a parallel of undeniable significance. At Athens the Cronia fell on the 12th Hecatombæon,[5] which counted as a second day; but our sources fail to

[1] On both see Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 412 *sq.*, and Gruppe, *Jahresb.* (1908), p. 543 *sq.*

[2] *De abstin.* ii. 54.

[3] Aristobule is, like Eubuleus, clearly a chthonian divinity; cf. Strabo, p. 512.

[4] Wine was offered to Jesus on the Cross, but refused. For wine on the Day of Atonement, see below, p. 320, n. 2.

[5] See Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 32 *sq.*

indicate the character of the sacrifices, though we may be sure that it was a *dies nefastus,* since neither courts nor assemblies were held.[1] In the *Acts of St. Dasius*[2] there is a detailed account of the sacrifice of a Saturnalian king, which has provoked much discussion. We may therefore treat it the more briefly. "According to these narratives," says Frazer,[3] "the Roman soldiers at Durostorum in Lower Mœsia celebrated the Saturnalia year by year in the following manner. Thirty days before the festival they chose by lot from among themselves a young and handsome man, who was then clothed in royal attire to resemble Saturn. Thus arrayed and attended by a multitude of soldiers he went about in public with full licence to indulge his passions and to taste every pleasure, however base and shameful. But if his reign was merry, it was short and ended tragically; for when the thirty days were up and the festival of Saturn had come, he cut his own throat on the altar of the god whom he personated. In the year 303 A.D. the lot fell upon the Christian soldier Dasius, but he refused to play the part of the heathen god and soil his last days by debauchery. The threats and arguments of his commanding officer, Brassus, failed to shake his constancy, and accordingly he was beheaded, as the Christian martyrologist records with minute accuracy,[4] at Durostorum by the soldier John on Friday the

[1] The *νηστεία* (*ἀποφράς*) of the two Dionysiac festivals at Athens fell respectively on the 12th Gamelion (Lenæa) and the 12th Elaphebolion (City Dionysia), and the *νηστεία* of the Thesmophoria on the 12th Boëdromion. The latter was the day of deliverance from the Thirty Tyrants by the return of the exiles from Phyle (Mommsen, *Feste,* p. 178), therein resembling the 6th Thargelion. The character of the Scirophoria is too obscure to admit of a dogmatic statement; but it was probably a black day. *Schol.* on Ar. *Eccles.* 18 connects the Skira with Demeter and Cora. At Myconus (v. Prott, p. 13) there was a sacrifice to Demeter Chloe on the 12th Poseideon. In the Babylonian hemerologies (see Landsberger, p. 108) the second day is assigned to the (two?) goddesses: are these the analogues of the Greek *τὼ θεώ* (Demeter and Cora)? The evil character of the *δυάς* and of the 2d day is well known. Landsberger, *ibid.,* refers to the mention of the 2d day in Babylonian magic. Was it a day, comparable to the 6th days of Hecate, when magical incantations were in order?

[2] *Les actes de S. Dasius,* published by Fr. Cumont in *Analecta Bollandiana,* XVI (1897), 5 *sq.,* and since frequently discussed; for references see Frazer, *The Scapegoat,* p. 308 *sq.,* Gruppe, *Jahresb.* (1908), p. 543 *sq.*

[3] *Op. cit.,* p. 309.

[4] It were safer to say "with great particularity;" for it is not certain that these details are historically true. (Cf. W. Weber, "Das Kronosfest in Durostorum," *A.R.,* XIX, 322, n. 1. This essay came to my notice after the text was written.) One must bear in mind that St. Dasius, besides being represented as a Saturnalian king, is regarded as a Christian martyr. Now in the early martyrologies the day of the *γενέθλιον-γενέσιον* is commonly the fourth, giving

twentieth day of November, being the twenty-fourth day of the moon, at the fourth hour." Whether this date is in fact as accurate as Frazer assumed, we need not inquire; in view of other parallels, it is doubtless significant that the Saturnalian king met his death on Friday, the eve[1] of the day of Saturn (Saturday).

There is a passage in Plutarch[2] which deserves to be quoted in this connection. It refers, as will be seen, to some sort of dramatic representation, but hardly to that of the high art of tragedy; though this representation may bear some remote relation to the latter, the account suggests rather something more akin to a Punch and Judy show which had some connection with a Greek rite, just as the literary drama unquestionably grew up in association with various festivals. "The corn-beetle," he moralizes, "is said to carry in herself an antidote compounded on the principle of opposites, but wickedness as it grows breeds its own pain and punishment, and suffers the penalty, not bye and bye, but in the very moment of insolence. In the body, every criminal who is punished carries forth his own cross;[3] but vice fabricates for herself, out of herself, all the instruments of her chastisement; she manufactures a terrible

rise to the ecclesiastical practice of having the saint's day, which commemorates his martyrdom, preceded by a triduum. Regarding this scheme and its presumable antecedents, I may speak at greater length at another time; it is mentioned here solely because it may possibly have to do with the data "the fourth hour" and "the twenty-fourth day of the moon." At Rome the Saturnalia began on the 17th December: if at Durostorum it is supposed by the martyrologist to have begun on the 17th November, the 20th would be the fourth day of the festival. Attention was called above to the fact that in Greece the *epibda* was the fourth day and also New Year's day. Emil Blaufuss, in a Nüremberg program (1909), known to me only by the brief statement in Gruppe, *Jahresb,* (1921), p. 270, points out that in various tracts of the Talmud Jews are forbidden to transact business with gentiles during the festivals of the latter. At New Year's and the Saturnalia the prohibition includes the three days preceding.

[1] Technically the sacrifice would be called a *πρόθυμα* or *πρόσφαγμα*, because it was offered prior to the high day of the festival. Weber (*op. cit.*, p. 342 *sq.*) brings the supposed martyrdom of Dasius into relation with the festival of Sol Invictus known to have been observed in Lower Mœsia on the 18th November, which was New Year's day in Syria, the home of that cult, in the time before Constantine. If he is right, the "parasceve" mentioned in the *Acts of St. Dasius* is surely Friday (as a sixth day equated with New Year) and not Saturday, as some have held.

[2] *Mor.*, 554 A *sq.* The translation is adapted from Prickard's. There is more than one reminiscence of Plato's *Gorgias* in this passage. Cf. also *Legg.* 715 E *sq.*

[3] This fact is of interest in connection with the Docetist contention that it was Simon of Cyrene who was crucified.

life, piteous and shameful, with terrors and cruel pains, with regrets and troubles unceasing. But there are persons just like children who oftentimes, when they see on the stage rogues clad in cloth of gold and purple stoles, crowned and dancing merrily, admire and gaze upon them with wonder, as if they were blest indeed, until they are cudgeled and whipped before their eyes, and fire [1] darts out from their bright and costly raiment. Most rogues, invested with great houses and splendid office and power, are not recognized as being punished, until before the eyes of the spectators they are slain or cast down a cliff, which one should call not their punishment, but rather the end and consummation of their punishment." The treatment here accorded to the rogue, who for a brief moment struts across the stage as a king, is that which the human scapegoat, the Pharmakos, or the Saturnalian king received. On the other hand Plutarch's description well fits the ceremony known among the Jews as the Hanging of Haman, of which we are presently to speak.

The Sacæa,[2] a Babylonian festival which found its way into Western Asia, witnessed a rite almost identical with that of the Saturnalia reported in the *Acts of St. Dasius*. It is therefore not necessary here to repeat the details; to us it is of interest, however, that the slaying of the human victim, whether in person or in effigy, is dated on the 16th Loös.[3] How this day stood related to the festival-term of the Sacæa, which lasted five days, we do not know; but there seems to be no doubt that the festival was connected with the turn of the year, in which case one may with some confidence conjecture that the five days constitute an epact and that the human sacrifice, real or feigned, fell on the post-festal day, or New Year's. With the Sacæa scholars have quite generally connected the Jewish festival of Purim, in which the Hanging of Haman long played an important part. In the Jewish calendar the day on which the ceremony was observed is the 15th Adar. A careful reading of *Esther*, which gives the sacred story of Purim, shows that at least five days [4] are reckoned

[1] Unless this is a burning in effigy, it is a literary allusion. Such things are *told* (as of Jason) but not *staged* in Greek tragedy. Tzetzes (*Chil.* v. 726 *sq.*) says that the Pharmakos was finally burned and his ashes cast into the sea and thrown to the winds for the purification of the city. The followers of John Huss might take comfort from the reflection that the Reformer, treated as a Pharmakos, was the saviour of his people.

[2] See Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 354 *sq.* Gruppe, *Jahresb.* (1908), p. 545, notes the connection of the Sacæa with New Year's day.

[3] Dio Chrys. *Or.* iv, 161 R.; Berosus, in Athenæus 639 C.

[4] Mordecai is certainly related to Marduk, in whose cultus festival-terms

in the narrative: the 15th Adar is the last. How this date was fixed we do not know: it may be that it was the full moon that determined it; but it is possible that the fifteenth day of the month in the case of Purim was anciently recognized, like the *mo'adim* of Passover and Sukkot, as a sixth day. Frazer [1] has pointed out that the hanging and burning of Haman, the rogue who had suddenly fallen from all but royal power, when celebrated by Jews long after the beginning of our era, gave great offense to Christians, who regarded the ceremony as performed in mockery of the Crucifixion.[2] However much individual Jews may have enjoyed the spectacle and celebrated it in a spirit of mockery, there is no ground for the belief that the practice had such an object in view; the rite was ancient, and was observed long before the Crucifixion.[3]

The stories of human sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans, as among the Hebrews, have been the subject of much discussion, in which the interest has lain almost exclusively in the consideration of two questions: to wit, Were human beings actually sacrificed? and if so, What idea or ideas motivated the abhorrent rites? These questions are obviously of little importance for our study; but the numerous works [4] devoted to them have served the useful purpose of collecting the reported cases, though they generally ignore data which would be of the greatest value. Many of the reports are indeed so vague that one can make nothing out of them; but in those which supply precise information, it is noticeable that two divinities

of five days (presumably an epact) are known to occur. For the Zag-muk, see below, p. 407 *sq.*

[1] Frazer, *The Scapegoat,* p. 392.

[2] It is worth mentioning that a hymn for the second night of Passover contained in the synagogue-service (I do not know its date or its author, but in Zangwill's translation it begins "Thy marvellous might") mentions the hanging of Haman as a Passover-sacrifice and states that it occurred at Passover. The fact that the same hymn brings other events (the appearance of Yahweh to Sarah, the destruction of Sodom, the fall of Jericho), which we know were long so dated, into relation with Passover, creates the presumption that Purim was early recognized as a passover and New Year rite. The hymn likewise connects the destruction of Pul and Lud, and the fall of Babylon, with Passover—a fact deserving further consideration. In general such hymns follow old tradition.

[3] One may compare likewise the accounts of the slaying of the pseudo-Smerdis, the Magian Gaumata, as related by Herodotus (iii. 79 *sq.*). The excitement lasted five days. For the connection of the Magophonia with a Persian New Year festival, see Gray in *E.R.E.,* v, 874 *b.*

[4] It is not necessary to enumerate them here. Fr. Schwenn's *Das Menschenopfer bei d. Griechen u. Römern* (Giessen, 1915) gives a survey of the literature.

are most often concerned—Saturn (Cronus) and Artemis, in whose cultus, as we have already remarked, the rites in question fall regularly on sixth days, as they do in that of Yahweh. Even when the festivals are not dated, there is, as may be shown by several further examples, a strong presumption that the same ritual scheme was observed.

Porphyry [1] mentions an ancient rite of human sacrifice performed at Salamis on the island of Cyprus; for the human being, he says, there was later substituted an ox,[2] which was in the earlier time offered to Agraulus, and later to Diomedes. As for Diomedes, it may be regarded as certain that he was worshiped as a Hero, in which case it is equally certain that the victim offered to him was a *prosphagma,* a sacrifice brought on the eve of the high-day of a festival devoted to some god or goddess; for of such character were quite generally the offerings made to Heroes. Now Porphyry states that the sanctuary of Diomedes and Agraulus stood in the same inclosure with the temple of Athena, and from this circumstance we are justified in inferring that this goddess had some connection with the rite. This conjecture is the more justified because the human sacrifice is said to have been anciently offered to Agraulus, whom, as the Lady of the Wilds, we discovered above [3] to be none other

[1] *De abstin.* ii. 54.

[2] Compare the Buphonia at Athens (Mommsen, *Feste,* p. 513). The date is variously given as the 14th or 16th Scirophorion: the latter is almost certainly correct. With this ceremony one must associate the sacrifice of a bull to Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Mæander (see Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 23, and Harrison, *Themis,* p. 150 *sq.*). The designation (ἀνάδειξις) of the victim, was accompanied with a prayer that nearly duplicates Jewish prayers at New Year, and was made at the new moon of the month Cronion, at the beginning of seed-time, as the designation of the paschal victim occurred on the 10th Nisan, a New Year's day. The bull is represented as a willing victim. One may compare likewise the willing sacrifice of the bay filly before the battle of Leuctra, a certain προτέλεια (Plutarch *Ages.* xxii), and the passover-victim of Artemis Persia when Lucullus crossed the Euphrates (above, p. 186). Since the dramatic date of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus is the nostos of the hero from Troy, whose exodus was marked by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, there is reason for suspecting a ritual significance in the words there addressed by the chorus to Cassandra (1296 *sq.*):

εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως
μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου
βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτολμῶς πατεῖς;

Cf. the "Messianic" simile of *Isa.* liii. 7, understood as prefiguring Christ's Passion.

[3] P. 289 *sq.*

than Athena gone abroad on the black day of the Athenian Plynteria. Moreover, Agraulus, as we have seen, was practically identified with Artemis, whose connection with the sixth day,[1] as one of evil omen and dark rites, is sufficiently established. From these considerations we may with perfect assurance conclude that the supposed human sacrifice fell on the day before the high-day of Athena, which was either the third or the seventh.

To take another instance: Plutarch reports, though apparently with little faith, that on the day of the battle of Salamis Themistocles offered human sacrifices. "At break of day," he says,[2] "Xerxes was seated on a high-place and overlooking the disposition of his armament . . . But Themistocles was sacrificing alongside the admiral's trireme. There three prisoners of war were brought to him, of visage most beautiful to behold, conspicuously adorned with raiment and gold. They were said to be the sons of Sandauce, the King's sister, and Artayctus. When Euphrantides the seer caught sight of them, since at one and the same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims[3] and a sneeze gave forth its good omen on the right, he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the youths and sacrifice them to Dionysus Omestes [Carnivorous], with prayers of supplication; for on this wise would the Hellenes have a saving victory. Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking; but the multitude, who, as is wont to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfilment of the sacrifice, as the seer commanded. At any rate, this is what Phanias[4] the Lesbian says, and he was a philosopher and well acquainted with historical literature." This report of human sacrifices by Themistocles at the battle of Salamis is utterly incredible;—not because of the stain on the character of the Athenians which its acceptance would imply, but because, if it were true, there would certainly have been instituted at Athens a cult of Dionysus Omestes, to whom the victory would have been ascribed. But there evidently was no such cult at

[1] See below, p. 473 *sq.*
[2] *Themist.* xiii, tr. Perrin; cf. *Arist.* ix, *Pelopidas* xxi.
[3] Cf. *Levit.* x. 2.
[4] A pupil of Aristotle.

Athens, and the victory was in fact attributed to another divinity; for Salamis was commemorated on the 16th Munychion,[1] a day sacred to Artemis. How the legend originated one can only conjecture. The sphere of Dionysus Omestes appears to have been the Levant and the islands of the Ægean; and, as his name suggests, his rites were of the darkest [2] and belonged to nefast days. On the island of Lesbos, the home of Phanias, where Dionysus was worshiped under the style of Hebdomeus,[3] the victory of Salamis, which resulted in the liberation of the islanders from the dominion of Persia, may well have been attributed to that god; if so, we may be sure that there, as at Athens, the commemoration was observed on a sixth day, the parasceve of the high-day. In such a cultus the legend reported by Phanias might well have originated.

The commemoration of the deliverance of the Greeks at the battle of Salamis must be taken in connection with other similar occasions. Though the entire group might profitably be considered in relation to the Day of Atonement, it will be more convenient to treat of it when we come to examine the day of Yahweh and the Sabbath. It is not inappropriate, however, to anticipate one or two points. Plutarch rightly regarded the day of Salamis as critical, one of decision in matters of the greatest moment. One may well compare with this occasion the Day of Atonement, on which the adversary attempted to accuse and challenge the people of Yahweh and was rebuked. The circumstance that the Athenians commemorated their victory on a sixth day, taken in connection with the facts already adduced, shows a far-reaching agreement in ritual forms, to which there corresponds a no less significant agreement in the spiritual interpretation of the occasions.

We learn from Josephus [4] that Apion reported Antiochus Epiphanes as finding in the temple at Jerusalem a Greek who, as was the annual custom,[5] was being fattened in order in a few days to be

[1] Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 452 *sq.* Rites were held for Ajax, son of Telamon, on the island of Salamis. It was of course a Hero-cult.

[2] Dionysus Omestes is mentioned only in the passage above quoted and in Plutarch *Anton.* xxiv, where he is classed with Dionysus Agrionios and contrasted with Dionysus Charidotes and Meilichios, who is called a kindly god. Dionysus Agrionios, whose priest is said to have slain a woman at his rites (Plutarch *M.* 299 F), and Dionysus Omadios, to whom human sacrifices are said to have been offered on Chios and Tenedos (Porphyry *De abstin.* ii. 55), are obviously akin to Omestes.

[3] *C.i.G.*, XII [2], 123; cf. Usener. *Rh. Mus.*, LVIII, 349.

[4] *C. Apion.* ii. 7.

[5] Democritus says this occurred once in seven years (*H.G.f.*, IV, 377).

led forth to a certain wood and slain according to the ritual, when the temple-attendants would taste of his entrails.[1] One need not in any way believe that these reports are true; but they nevertheless require an explanation. The supposed procedure certainly bears a recognizable resemblance to that reported in the sacrifice of the Saturnalian king; and it will be recalled that the *Epistle of Barnabas* emphasizes the provision that the priests shall eat of the entrails of the goat offered as a sin-offering on the Day of Atonement, which is somehow brought into relation with the sacrificial death of Jesus at the Passover on the Christian day of atonement. The latter ritual act is not attested in the Old Testament; but it was unquestionably found in some Jewish source. We may plausibly conjecture that there was some—to us unknown—basis for the report of Apion in a rite practised by Semites, whom he or his authorities identified with the Jews.

One may not dismiss the Saturnalian king without drawing attention to the story of Absalom. Whether it has ever been considered in this connection, we do not know; but in certain respects it presents so striking a parallel to other stories unquestionably reflecting rites of this general character that it cannot be ignored. The Biblical narrative is too familiar to require retelling in detail. Born the third[2] son of David, and therefore the prince *par excellence*,[3] Absalom was a favorite not only with the king but also with the people, whose hopes centered in him. The episode which chiefly concerns us begins with the affair[4] of Amnon, the first-born of King David, with Tamar, the sister of Absalom. Because of this insult, Absalom slays Amnon at a royal banquet held at the festival of sheep-shearing,[5] to which the king and all his sons have been invited. David, who declined to attend, receives the false report of the slaying of all his sons, and mourns, while Absalom goes into banishment; on his return he wins the hearts of the people from the king, and plots his overthrow and death. At Hebron Absalom musters his forces, and

[1] See above, p. 299, n. 5.

[2] II Sam. III. 3.

[3] Compare the use of *shālōsh*, *Ezek.* XXIII. 15. This motive, which is connected with the τρίτος σωτήρ, might be copiously illustrated from Greek mythology. The same scheme underlies the Sibylline oracle which the soothsayers interpreted as referring to Lentulus, the third Cornelius, following Cinna and Sulla (Cicero *Cat.* iii. 9). See below, pp. 413, n. 1, and 456, n. 4.

[4] II *Sam.* XIII. *sq.*

[5] Josephus *Ant.* vii. 8. 2 (174) locates it at Baal-zephon (Βελσεφῶν) in Ephraim. This may be significant.

David flees to the Jordan, while the son, apparently anointed king at Hebron, enters Jerusalem the same day. The battle between the forces of the rival kings is fought in the forest of Ephraim by the Jordan, and Absalom is slain. Thereupon all Israel gathers together to bring back King David.

Such is the outline of the story, which even in these general terms arrests one's attention, because the brief interregnum of Absalom presents a striking parallel to that of the Saturnalian king;[1] but as one contemplates the details of the Biblical narrative, one finds abundant suggestions of ritual observances which appear to have been little considered. In an earlier chapter we had occasion to note various sacred stories in which the word *'ābar* was repeated with obvious intent, and upon examination it was found that they were connected with passover-rites. Nowhere, however, have we met a narrative in which this motive recurs with so great frequency and insistence as it does in that of David and Absalom.[2] Here it is so striking as to produce an almost comic effect of marching and countermarching over various boundaries and border-streams: the solemn procession of the king to and from the Jordan, the removal of the ark of the covenant and its return to Jerusalem,[3] and the performance of other ritual acts, hardly admit of any other explana-

[1] What is the significance of setting Naboth "on high among [or at the head of] the people," when he was accused of cursing God and the king and slain at a fast formally proclaimed? See I *Kings* XXI. This incident can hardly be dissociated from that of Uriah, who was set over the army and then treacherously slain. This occurred at the turn of the year, and the story contains suggestions of a fast (and festival?) as well as of a campaign. Reference is here made also to Abimelech, whose death is likewise brought into connection with a festival (II *Sam.* XI and *Judges* IX). If Israel was familiar with the "Saturnalian king," these stories gain a new meaning. Asterius, Bishop of Amaseia in Pontus, describes the celebration of New Year's day by the soldiery as a feast of fools with a king of fools attended by his harem. The "king," understood to represent the Emperor, was mocked (*P.G.*, XL, 221). For a Saturnalian king in ancient Babylonia, see Zimmern, *Zum Streite um die "Christusmythe,"* p. 49.

[2] II *Sam.* XV. 22, 23, 24, 28; XVII. 16, 20, 21, 22; XIX. 10, 11, 15, 36, 37, 39. In XVIII. 22, it is said that David's host had passed over Jordan before the morning light, the hour usual in passovers. In view of the connection of the older *haggim* with the wilderness, it may be significant that when David and all the people passed over Kidron, they took "the way of the wilderness" (XV. 23). The gifts of Ziba (XVI. 1 *sq.*) were brought in view of the sojourn in the wilderness, as were those of Shobi, Machir, and Barzillai (XVII. 27 *sq.*). Some are suitable for a fast, others are not. However, one must bear in mind the recognized relation between the *hag* and the military expedition.

[3] Attention was called above to the fact that the translation of *sacra* was a *rite de passage* and followed the usual forms.

tion than that they are connected with a *hag* consisting of an exodus and a return. As we remarked before, one is strongly reminded of the stately processions of Holy Week as described in the *Pilgrimage* of Etheria, and one may ask whether in ancient times a pilgrimage to the Jordan did not close the *hag,* whether Passover or Sukkot. Henry Maundrell, telling of his pilgrimage in 1697, says [1] under date of March 29th, "The next day being Easter-Monday, the mosolem, or governor of the city [Jerusalem], set out, according to custom, with several bands of soldiers to convey the pilgrims to Jordan." Apparently it was customary for the pilgrims to swim across the river and return; for Maundrell [2] obviously intended to do so, but was prevented by the presence of hostile bands of Arabs on the eastern shore, and Bishop Arculf, it is reported,[3] "swam backwards and forwards in the water."

Descending to particulars, one notes the ceremonious passage of the brook Kidron,[4] which was regarded as a boundary and a valley of death. On Olivet David halted for a ritual observance, which, according to Josephus, included a lamentation for Jerusalem; [5] and there seems to be implied in the narrative another halt at the high-place on the top of Olivet for an act of worship.[6] Zadok and Abiathar with all the Levites are reported [7] to have escorted the ark of the covenant to this same eminence and then to have returned it to its place in the city, where they remained with it. If this reflects an ancient passover-rite, one sees that the Mount of Olives played as important a part in the ancient Hebrew ceremonies as it did in those of Holy Week reported by Etheria. With this stage of the procession also is to be connected the episode of Shimei, who at Yahweh's bidding cursed David, calling him a man of blood and a sinner, and

[1] In Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine,* p. 448.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 452.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

[4] II *Sam.* xv. 23. The valley of Kidron (meaning "Black") was a valley of death. Solomon appointed the brook the bourn, passing which meant death to Shimei (I *Kings* II. 37). If it figured in the passover-rites, the mention of it here and in *John* xviii. 1 is explained.

[5] See p. 298, n. 3. The mention of Ahithophel (xv. 31), the traitor who would have captured David, recalls Judas at Gethsemane on Olivet.

[6] xv. 32.

[7] xv. 24–29. This act takes the place of the procession with the images of the gods (cf. *Isa.* xlvi. 7; *Jer.* x. 5) in the Oriental New Year's festival and the Saturnalian Kalendæ Januariæ at Rome; cf. Nilsson, "Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes," *A.R.,* xix, 92.

stoned the outcast king.[1] One naturally recalls the curses pronounced at the Passover and on the Day of Atonement, as well as Peter's act of cursing Jesus at the Last Passover. In Mephibosheth,[2] the son of Jonathan, one may possibly recognize a second pretender to the throne. If that view be correct, one may compare him to Barabbas, who was engaged in an insurrection and pardoned, while Absalom, the other pretender, was slain; and one may without great difficulty trace a certain resemblance between Judas Iscariot and the traitor Ahithophel, whose cunning counsel Yahweh frustrated in order to bring evil upon Absalom, though it was David, not Absalom, whom he would have betrayed; for both traitors hanged themselves.[3] That Absalom, on the suggestion of Ahithophel, enjoyed the concubines of David on the roof of the palace [4] recalls the privilege of the Saturnalian king. The concubines were thereafter regarded as widows: if the Saturnalian king was considered as personating the god, who was driven out or slain, but destined to return and reclaim his own, it is possible that these widowed concubines, like the widowed Tamar, who dwelt in the house of Absalom, were really nuns, the brides of the departed god, whose return they awaited in enforced chastity.[5]

[1] xvi. 5 *sq.* (cf. Soph. *Œ. T.* 350 *sq.*); xix. 16 *sq.* The scapegoat too was cursed and stoned (see p. 300).

[2] xvi. 1 *sq.* The pretender may have been his son, Mica; but the father was supposed to be involved in the plot: his goods were confiscated, but he was subsequently pardoned (xix. 24–30) and restored to Saul's estates for Jonathan's sake. He was lame, and lived, as one of David's sons, at court (iv. 4; ix. 1–13).

[3] xvii. 24. The likeness of his end to that of Judas (*Matt.* xxvii. 5) has often been remarked. The statement (*Acts* i. 18) regarding the latter that "falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out" has seemed hard to reconcile with the other that he hanged himself. The probable explanation is that as a traitor he would be both hanged and disembowled; see Frazer, *The Scapegoat,* p. 392. Compare the end of Amasa (II *Sam.* xx. 10).

[4] xv. 16; xvi. 21–22; xx. 3. Were they not treated as hierodules (πόρναι ἐπὶ τέγους)? Frazer (*The Scapegoat,* p. 368) compared the license of the Saturnalian king to the conduct of Absalom.

[5] On the nuns as widow-brides of the departed god, sealed against his return, I may speak at greater length at a future time. If Absalom was regarded as a departed divine king, his "sister" Tamar, who lived as a widow in his house after being handseled by Amnon, may well be thought a nun. "Sister" is a common appellation of the bride in the Orient, ancient and modern. Abraham and Sarah, the bride in *Canticles* and *Tob.,* afford instances; and the apocryphal "Acts" abound in examples. Perhaps the common use of "sister" in reference to nuns is a relic of the same manner of speaking. Philo (*Quod Deus sit immutabilis* cxxxvi., i, p. 293 M) obviously regards both the "widow" of Zarephath (I *Kings* xvii. 10 *sq.*) and the elder

It is of course not certain that Absalom was so regarded; but there are some points in the narrative which suggest the possibility of such a view. It is not necessary to lay stress on the circumstances that Absalom was buried beneath a cairn in the forest of Ephraim, as the Pharmakos was sometimes buried, and that he is said to have erected for himself during his lifetime a pillar [1] in the king's dale, though one may therefrom infer that he had a cultus in at least two places, and in one of them presumably as a "king." There are other significant details in the story. The plea of the woman of Tekoa,[2] who was suborned by Joab, implies that the hopes of the people were centered upon Absalom,[3] which is indeed the presupposition of the whole episode. Again, the manner of Absalom's death, being hanged on a tree and pierced with spears [4] after he had been crowned, remotely resembles that of the crucified Saviour. One is tempted to ask whether Absalom [5] was not understood to be the prince, of the increase of whose government and of peace there should be no end upon the throne of David, to establish it and uphold it forever.[6]

The narrative, moreover, contains other suggestions of rites. One cannot ignore the fact that Mahanaim is mentioned in this connection, as in the passover of Jacob (Israel) at the Jabbok.[7] The race between Ahimaaz and the Cushite to bring the tidings of Absalom's

Tamar (*Gen.* XXXVIII) as nuns or hierodules in their "widowhood." Cf. I *Tim.* v. 5 and "the virgins, the so-called widows" of the Fathers.

[1] The cairn and the pillar (XVIII. 17, 18) were presumably not in the same place. With the cultus of the departed Absalom compare the importance attached to the tomb of Œdipus, a Saturnalian king and Pharmakos, in Sophocles's *Œ. C.*

[2] XIV. 2 *sq.*

[3] Cf. the beginning of Sophocles's *Œ. T.*

[4] XVIII. 9, 14–15.

[5] "Absalom" is usually understood as meaning "Father of Peace." *Isa.* IX. 5 (6) has *sar-shālōm* for Prince of Peace. II *Sam.* XVII. 3 expresses the hope of peace when the bloody king (David), the outlaw (παράνομος, LXX, XVI. 7), now driven out, shall have been brought back dead.

[6] *Isa.* IX. 7. Cf. I *Chron.* XXII. 9, the promise to David: "Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about; for his name shall be Solomon ["Peaceful"], and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days." Cf. II *Sam.* VII. 14 *sq.* While this is said of Solomon, one may ask whether there were not those who entertained the same hopes of Absalom. This is of great importance for the Messianic expectations. The question of the date of these conceptions is one which must be left to more competent historians of Hebrew thought.

[7] II *Sam.* XVII. 24 *sq.*; *Gen.* XXXII. 2.

death to David[1] may preserve a reminiscence of an *agōn;*[2] and the king's mourning for his son, when victory is converted into lamentation and lamentation gives place to joy, agrees singularly with other indications of the manner of observing Hebrew festivals. Absalom's practice of cutting his hair "at every year's end," or rather "at the beginning of days for [a term of] days," not obscurely hints at a ritual act observed annually,[3] presumably at New Year's. The rôles also played by Barzillai,[4] Chimham,[5] and Ittai[6] at David's passage

[1] XVIII. 19 *sq.*

[2] Few instances of the *agōn* among Semites are known. At Mecca the Moslem pilgrims run back and forth between certain pillars alongside the House of Allah (in addition to circumambulating the Kaaba). Etheria (*Pilgrimage,* Chap. v) says that there was shown in the valley where Israel encamped before Sinai the place where Moses bade the Israelites run from gate to gate (*Exod.* XXXII. 27). Presumably the rite was still observed as showing that one was on the Lord's side. That these data reflect ancient Semitic rites is suggested by a passage in the Babylonian text relating to the passion and resurrection of Marduk at New Year, which Zimmern II, 19, renders as follows: "(57) *Der Schnelllauf, den im Monat Nisan vor Bel und den Kultstätten insgesamt man an(stellt):* (58) (*Das ist,*) *als Ashur den Nin-urta betreffs der Gefangennahme des Zū ausschickte,* . . . (59) *sprach vor Ashur also 'Zū ist gefangen.' Ashur* (*sprach*) *zu* . . . (60) *also 'Geh hin, den Göttern insgesamt verkünde* (*es*)*!' Er verkündete* (*es*) *ihnen, auch* (*freuten?*) *sie sich darüber.*" A comparison with the conduct of David when informed of the death of Absalom might be helpful here. For Zū, see Langdon, *The Epic of Creation,* p. 18 *sq.,* and for the passage above quoted, *ibid.,* p. 45 *sq.* A ritual *agōn* has recently been recognized in a Hittite inscription. It took the form of a foot-race, the victor winning the princely office of royal footman or equerry, charged with holding the king's bridle. Another tells of a ritual sham-battle. See H. Ehelolf, "Wettlauf und szenisches Spiel im hethitischen Ritual," *Sitzb. der pr. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* (1925), No. xxi.

[3] Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*[2], p. 483 *sq.,* thinks of an annual festival. Compare the practice of cutting the hair on the last day of hajj at Mecca. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8. 5) says it was cut every eight days. This was no doubt suggested partly by the Biblical phrase, the term of days being understood as a week, partly by the rite of the Nazirite, whose day was the eighth. *Mishnah, Sotah,* I, 8 regards Absalom as a Nazirite. The prince, as well as the priest, was a *nasir.* Absalom's hair was of course cut when he was taken down from the tree. Frazer (*The Golden Bough,* abr. ed., p. 285) says: "On the first day of the sixth month, which was regarded as the beginning of the year, the king and people of Samarcand used to put on new clothes and cut their hair and beards. Then they repaired to a forest near the capital where they shot arrows on horseback for seven days. On the last day the target was a gold coin, and he who hit it had the right to be king for one day."

[4] He merely passes over Jordan (XIX. 31 *sq.*): he says he is too old to discern between good and bad.

[5] Apparently son to Barzillai (XIX. 37 *sq.*: cf. I *Kings* II. 7). Whether the rite in question was circumcision or adoption is uncertain.

[6] As a Gittite and foreigner, he would probably be circumcised (XV. 19; XVIII. 2).

over the Jordan, when all Israel gathered—as for a festival—to bring him back to Jerusalem, suggest various *rites de passage*. [1]

If we draw the conclusion to which the foregoing considerations seem to point, it does not of course follow that there is no historical basis for the story of Absalom; but, assuming that it was colored by rites akin to those connected with the Saturnalian king, it furnishes a link of extraordinary importance in the chain of tradition which fostered the Messianic hopes of the nation. The narrative seems beyond question to be brought into relation to an ancient complex of *rites de passage* like the passover of the Jordan implied in *Joshua* and *Deuteronomy*. If so, it was certainly a New Year's observance,[2] as were Passover and the Day of Atonement. The parallel rites which we have adduced were, as has been noted, predominantly referred to sixth days, comparable to Good Friday; but they were clearly at one time New Year's festivals. This combination leads inevitably to the recognition of an epact of five days; and to no other time are the rites of Saturn and the practices of the Saturnalian king so appropriate as to the interlude,[3] the sequence of

[1] Gilgal, which figures in Joshua's passovers, here again appears (XIX. 40). The rebellion of Sheba, with the slogan "Every man to his tents!" immediately follows David's passage of Jordan (XX. 1 *sq.*). Cf. above, p. 113 *sq.*

[2] Al-Biruni, p. 199, speaking of the Persian New Year (Naurôz), says: "A philosopher of the Hashwiyya-school relates that when Solomon the son of David had lost his seal and his empire, but was reinstated after forty days, he at once regained his former majesty, the princes came before him, and the birds were busy in his service. Then the Persians said, *'Naurôz âmadh'*, i. e., the new day has come." The legend, otherwise unknown to me, implies that Solomon, like David, was for a brief time dethroned and resumed his royal estate on New Year's day. That this must have been an ancient Persian custom is to be inferred from other instances cited by Al-Biruni. See below, p. 410, where they are mentioned in connection with the temporary discrowning of the King of Babylon at the New Year festival. Other instances are mentioned elsewhere, and have been often collected, especially by Frazer in his *Golden Bough*.

[3] This interlude is clearly the type of the Roman *interregnum*, which lasted properly five days; if a longer term was required, the *interrex* appointed his successor for a like term. How this *interregnum*, or epact, served as prelude to the old Roman New Year (1st March) is shown by the facts adduced by E. T. Merrill (*Class. Philol.*, XIX [1924], 37). He does not recognize the epact. For the *interregnum*, see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, I, 647 *sq.* Recall that the Sacæa, at which a Saturnalian king was sacrificed, lasted five days. According to Nilsson ("Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes," *A.R.*, XIX, 53), in the latter part of the fourth century the Kalendæ Januariæ occupied five days, as the Saturnalia did in the time of Domitian. Nilsson seems to think this the more or less fortuitous result of the removal of the Vota to the 3d January, and the incorporation of the Ludi Compitales; but it is ob-

dies non, which falls between the years.[1] Of this epact we shall presently have more to say; but we may here refer to several other rites which should clearly be brought into comparison with those which we have been considering.

At Babylon there was celebrated a New Year's festival, which was certainly of the greatest importance, and was known as Zagmuk. One of the chief observances consisted of bearing the image of Marduk without the city and returning it to the temple: it was, like the departure and return of David, and the exit and reëntry of the ark of the covenant, a complete *hag,* consisting of an exodus and a nostos.[2] At this festival the king laid by his crown and received it again as the gift of the god. Reference was made above [3] to an Egyptian rite called the Osirification of the king and the coronation of the heir-apparent during the epact or at New Year. In modern Egypt a mock-king is sacrificed in effigy on New Year's day;[4] and something not unlike the expulsion of King David at the turn of the year appears to have been observed in ancient Rome.

vious that ritual considerations determined the length of the term, after which the business of the year commenced.

[1] The "days beyond [or above] a year," in which there shall be trouble (*Isa.* xxxii. 10) suggest the nefast epagomenal days, because they were very critical and anciently observed as a fast. The Mayas and the Aztecs thought all the evil of the year was concentrated in them. But if (to paraphrase a saying of Paul's [*Rom.* v. 20], which may actually have been suggested by the rites and ideas associated with the New Year) evil abounded in that critical period, forgiveness abounded even more; for then came salvation. As the epact might be regarded as falling between the years, it may be to this same period that Hab. (iii. 2) alludes as "in the midst of the years," when he prays Yahweh in wrath to remember mercy. The same conception may account for the fact that LXX (*Exod.* xxxiv. 22) gives μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ for *tekūphath ha-shānāh* ("at the year's end"); but see below, p. 329, n. 4. In *Hab.* iii. 2, LXX was either at a loss or had a corrupt text. These days would naturally be the passover-days (*'abur,* "leap-day"). *Jubilees* xlix. 14 apparently was troubled by this association of ideas, because its calendar called for a constant year of 364 days: "For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to hold the Passover on the day of its fixed time . . . for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and *there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month* [i. e., no intercalation], but on the day of its festival let it be observed." Contrast *Targum of Palestine* on *Deut.* xvi, p. 607 Etheridge: "Be mindful to keep the times of the festivals, *with the intercalations of the year,* and to observe the rotation thereof."

[2] See below, p. 407 *sq.*

[3] P. 175, n. 7. Cf. Van Gennep, p. 157 *sq.,* and Jeremias, *Das alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients* [2], p. 84, for the connection of the exodus and return with the cardinal points of the year, the equinoxes and solstices, and for "the great exodus" of Osiris in Egypt.

[4] *E.R.E.,* v, 239 *a*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* abr. ed., p. 286.

Students of the old Roman calendar appear to have given scant heed to the fact that the intercalary day in leap-years was called, as it is even in our day, the bissextile, i. e., *a. d. bissextum Kal. Martias*.[1] This shows that the 23d February was anciently reckoned as the last day of the year proper, being fittingly celebrated as the Terminalia; the five (in leap-years, six) days intervening between this festival and the beginning of the year on the 1st March, are thus clearly an epact. Now it is highly significant that on the first day of this epact, the 24th February, fell the ancient Roman festival called Regifugium, "the King's Flight." [2] The Romans connected the festival with the expulsion of Tarquin; but this is obviously nothing but an attempt to explain a rite no longer understood by giving it an historical reference. Modern scholars have labored in vain to discover what lay back of the observance; but when one brings it into relation with other practices of the epact and New Year's day, the Regifugium becomes at once intelligible. The epact, being in fact regarded as intercalary, occupies a squinting position, and may consequently be thought to look either backward or forward, like Janus. If it is reckoned as a prefix, New Year's day becomes the sixth after the close of the old year.

This raises in an acute form the question whether the view represented by the Priestly code that the Day of Atonement is a Sabbath must not belong to a very late date, superseding the rating as a sixth day. There seems to be no conclusive evidence on this point; but one not unnaturally associates this evaluation of the day with that which accepted the holy days of Mazzot and Sukkot as Sabbaths, and this seems to belong to the last century or two before our era. Be that as it may, the Day of Atonement received other ratings in Judaism. As New Year's day [3] it was of course inevitably regarded as a first

[1] See Ginzel, II, 277 *sq.*, and below, p. 339 *sq.*

[2] See Fowler, *Rom. Festivals*, p. 327 *sq.* There is little in his discussion or Wissowa's to throw light on the festival. For the position of this festival in intercalary years before the Julian reform, see Wissowa in *Hermes*, LVIII (1923), 391 *sq.*

[3] The whole tradition so regards it. It is curious that *Yomah*, Chap. VI, says that the goat was selected and "kept until the Day of Atonement of the next year." The practice recalls the treatment of the Saturnalian king and also that of the paschal victim. But why "the next year"? The victim would naturally be designated on the *'ereb* or kalends of the festival; one suspects that in the older time, when the Day of Atonement was actually New Year's day, this was done on New Year's eve. Later Judaism, possibly reviving an old custom, instituted a "Little Day of Atonement" (Yom Kippur Katan) on

day; and since, once the hebdomadal week established itself, the first and eighth days were equated, as an eighth day also. That such was in fact the feeling of the Rabbis one may infer among other things from ritual and liturgical prescriptions. Thus on the Day of Atonement the high priest was required to pronounce eight benedictions;[1] and whereas the Priestly code prescribed that the blood of the sacrificial victims be sprinkled seven times on the altar and the mercy-seat, the Talmud ordains that this be done eight times, and with such meticulous care as to show that the number eight is both important and the sum of seven plus one. The priest, we are told, counts thus:[2] "One (upward), one and one (downward), one and two, one and three, one and four, one and five, one and six, one and seven." Attention was called above to the fact that the priests, the sons of Aaron, were said to have been consecrated on the eighth day, after having been set apart seven days.[3] The Talmud applies this direction to the Day of Atonement, and says that the high priest observed seven days of purification before the fast, and held a vigil on the eve of it.[4]

Among the Jews the Day of Atonement was marked by other observances, which may be briefly mentioned. Philo brings the 10th

the last day of the preceding month, Elul. See *J. Enc.*, XII, 618 *a*. In Egypt also the celebration began on New Year's eve.

[1] *Yomah,* Chap. VII.

[2] *Ibid.,* Chap. V. Where *Ezek.* XLVI. 7 appoints six lambs for the new moon, *Num.* XXVIII. 11 requires seven. In the letters from El Amarna, mention is repeatedly made of prostrations before the king "seven times and seven times," varying with "eight times and seven times" (Barton, *Archæol. and the Bible,* pp. 344–347). In these variations the smaller number is generally the "round number," the larger gives full measure; cf. *Prov.* VI. 16; XXX. 15, 18, 21, 24, 29. This resembles the practice of adding of the profane to the holy.

[3] *Levit.* VIII. 33 *sq.* How *Exod.* XXIX. 30 is to be connected with this, I do not know. *Job* I. 2–4 seems to presuppose a seven-day season of feasting in the family of Job. Was the day on which the sons of God presented themselves before Yahweh and Satan accused the man of Uz regarded as a Day of Atonement following this term? *Sepher ha-Zohar,* II, 32 *b,* says it was New Year's day. The combination of fasting and mourning with feasting at the turn of the year may be explained by the rites observed for the dead, who were certainly commemorated at this time; cf. *Jer.* XVI. 5–10. Compare the different ways in which the 10th Muharram was observed in Islam, Al-Biruni, p. 326 *sq.*

[4] *Yomah,* Chap. I. The vigil is peculiarly appropriate to the watch-night of New Year's eve; but it was also observed on other seventh days, as on the night preceding circumcision. It is well known that the Jewish Sabbath service was in the early Church adopted as the liturgy for the vigil preceding the Lord's day.

Tishri into the same relation to Sukkot as the 10th Nisan bears to Mazzot, recognizing it as the kalends of the festival; but long before his time, though the Day of Atonement was recognized as the beginning of the Jubile year, the 1st Tishri was appointed the Feast of Trumpets and New Year's day.[1] Thus there were two New Year's days nine days apart. In Judaism they were both regarded as judgment-days, the Day of Atonement being in fact the last judgment;[2] for on the 1st Tishri, we are told, the judgments of God are written in the doomsday-book, and on the 10th the book is sealed.[3] For the perfectly good and the hopelessly evil the judgment of the day of the trump is final; for those of intermediate character the sentence is suspended until the reckoning of the Great Assize on the Day of Atonement; wherefore works of penance and charity should be multiplied in the interval, that one may secure a favorable balance.[4] One readily sees the analogy between this period of suspended judgment and the limbo of purgatory. The judgment of the Day of Atonement is obviously that of the eighth day mentioned by the good Bishop Victorinus of Petau. In Babylonia also, New Year's day was a day of judgment;[5] for on it Marduk was said to

[1] Cf. Philo *De septen.* clxxxviii *sq.* (*Exod.* xix. 16, 19). Philo (*ibid.* cxc–cxcii) suggests that then, as on the Day of Atonement, one "fasted from wickedness." In modern Judaism Tishri 1st–10th is known as "the ten days of repentance."

[2] Dr. Kohler (*J. Enc.*, v, 218 *b*) says, "The whole eschatological system of retribution through paradise and hell never assumed in Judaism the character of dogmatic belief, and Talmudic Judaism boldly transferred the scene of the heavenly judgment from the hereafter to the annual Day of Atonement at the beginning of the year (*Rosh ha-Shanah* 16 *b*)." The statement perhaps inverts the historical order. Al-Biruni, p. 333, speaking of the 10th Hijja, the Moslem month of pilgrimage, says, "on this day, too, the *Road to the Last Judgment* is said to have been created;" the Moslem simply transferring, it seems, the associations of the Jewish Day of Atonement to the corresponding day of his own *hieromenia.*

[3] Sealing the books is a frequent rite at New Year. The synagogue-service for the Day of Atonement abounds in references to "sealing," as that for Rosh ha-Shanah does to "inscribing" in the book of life. It occurs even in Pekin (Van Gennep, p. 255); for the practice of sealing at Naurôz, the Persian New Year's day, see Al-Biruni, p. 203. It is of interest also in connection with the name "seal" given to the *'azeret* (see above, p. 272, n. 3).

[4] *J. Enc.*, II, 286. Al-Biruni, p. 326, says, "The Prophet [Mohammed] is reported to have said, 'Oh ye men, hasten to do good works on this day' [the 10th Muharram, the Day of Atonement]."

[5] Schrader's *Keilinschr. u. a. T.*[3], p. 514 *sq.*; *J. Enc.*, II, 286 *b*. Jeremias (*Das alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients*[2], p. 86) calls attention to the fact that Nebo, who was the divine scribe and originally the Lord of Destinies, assisted. Since he arrived in Babylon on the sixth day of the Babylonian New Year's

decide the fate of one's life. Even in far-off China, New Year observances show a marked similarity to those of Judaism.

In Talmudic times, it is said, the high priest used to hold a joyful banquet on the evening of the Day of Atonement, at which time he was congratulated by his friends; the people also feasted. No doubt when this program was arranged, the Day of Atonement was reckoned, as in *Leviticus,* as running from evening unto evening, so that the feast fell strictly on the following day.[1] Possibly this was true likewise among the Babylonians, in whose account of the Flood [2] we read:

> "Must, beer, oil, wine,
> I gave the people to drink like river-water;
> I made a feast, like a New Year festival."

Furthermore, as was pointed out above,[3] the Talmud discloses the fact that the Day of Atonement was observed as a Canaanitish *hag* with dances in the vineyards after the manner of the *hag* to Yahweh at Shiloh. That the same licentious practices prevailed is evident from a statement in a Gemara: "Elijah said to R. Jehudah, the brother of R. Sala the Pious, You consider in your hearts why Messiah does not come. To-day is the Day of Atonement, and many [ten thou-

festival (see below, p. 407 *sq.*), it is probable that the special day of judgment there too was the sixth day. If Nebo was in a special sense the assessor of Marduk at the Great Assize, the fact that he was called the Son of Marduk may be significant in relation to Christian conceptions of the Son as Judge at the Last Judgment.

[1] *Yomah,* Chap. VII. Cf. the interesting letter of Versovius to King Alfonso the Pious in Rodkinson's *Babyl. Talmud,* III, 147. The high priest reaches his home about midnight; the feast is dated "the following day." The feast naturally follows the period of mourning, as in the rites for the dead; cf. Herod. v. 8.

[2] Barton, *Archæol. and the Bible,* p. 274. *Sirach* L. 15 makes much of the libation of wine on the Day of Atonement. Josephus *Ant.* iii. 9. 4 and *Mishnah Yomah.* Chap. VI. barely mention it. From *Num.* XXVIII. 1–8, XXIX. 11, one may infer that it belonged to the continual offering. In the Christian Church the eucharist was always omitted (Duchesne, *Christ. Worship,* p. 248) on Good Friday, doubtless because it involved drinking wine, which Jesus refused at the Crucifixion. The synagogue-service does not, as on other festivals, provide for *Kiddush* on the Day of Atonement.

[3] P. 71 *sq.* It is perfectly obvious that the incident of Phinehas (*Num.* XXV) which procured for him the covenant of an everlasting priesthood, is related to the same rites and referred to the distant past. His deed was supposed to make atonement for the children of Israel, and is dated on the day of the plague in the matter of Peor, which must have been a day of atonement, however the incident may be interpreted. It suggests Marduk's slaying of Tiâmat.

sand] virgins have been deflowered to-day in the city of Nehardea. R. Jehudah replied, What says the Holy One, blessed be He, to this? Elijah made answer, In reference to this He said in *Genesis,* Sin lieth at the door. To the question, What says Satan to this? Elijah answered, On the Day of Atonement he has no right to bring accusations." [1]

These practices, as we have seen, were those of the primitive *rites de passage* observed on an occasion of a village-marriage. The joyful festivities no doubt fell at the close of the Day of Atonement. The day itself had the character of the ancient *hag* marked by the ritual dance of the brides-to-be in the vineyards. The fact that even in later Jewish literature various instances of the opening of the bride's womb were referred to New Year's day or to the Day of Atonement, is likewise presumptive evidence of the persistence of these rites among the people. The Day of Atonement was officially a strict fast, as was the *hag* generally in the older time. As such it was no doubt preceded by an *'ereb* and a vigil, which gave it the rating of a second day; and, as we have seen, it was followed by a feast. This scheme suggests that it was felt to be the central rite of a triduum, conforming to a not infrequent type. Its kinship with numerous sixth-day observances again shows the familiar equation of the second with the sixth day. As a New Year festival it would naturally have its connection with the Law; and we are therefore not surprised to find the Jews recognizing it as the day on which the second pair of tables was given; [2] and, as at the passover of the Jordan the blessings and curses were pronounced from Gerizim and Ebal, the liturgy for the Day of Atonement, as for other fast-days, provides for the reading of the blessings and curses of *Leviticus.*[3] Finally, it is not to be overlooked that in Talmudic times it was ordained that on this day six readers should officiate at the lectern.[4]

[1] This fact may well have been regarded by many as a welcome dispensation, permitting considerable license. The license to be expected on the eschatological "last day" is familiar in Jewish and Christian literature.

[2] *Ta'anit,* 30 *b.* Philo (*De septen.* clxxxviii) connects the Feast of Trumpets (1st Tishri) with the blowing of the trumpet when the Law was given (*Exod.* xix. 16, 19). This again shows the parallel not only with the Day of Atonement, but likewise with all the other festivals which are connected with the turn of the year.

[3] xxvi. 3 *sq.*

[4] *Megillah,* iii–iv; *J. Enc.,* vii, 648 *a.* For the association of judgment with the number six, one may refer to Egypt. The Egyptians appear not to have a developed eschatology looking to a universal judgment; but each soul at death was supposed to enter the bark of Rā and go with him on his journey

One cannot read with attention the synagogue-service for the day without seeing that it assumes throughout the fundamental identity of this day of days with all the ancient *haggim,* especially Passover and Tabernacles, as well as with Rosh ha-Shanah. Much as it has in common specifically with the Babylonian and Persian New Year festivals, it is not to them that it owes its characteristic rites and suggestions. Despite its relatively late appearance in the Jewish sacral calendar, one cannot be wrong in thinking that it is an extremely ancient popular rite, which in many respects preserved primitive Hebrew or Canaanitish practices of the New Year more nearly intact than the *haggim* early adopted by the official cultus of Yahweh. In particular it is plain that more than any other Jewish festival it betrays its kinship with the world-wide *rites de passage,* and helps one to understand the Christian Passover-Day of Atonement and the hopes and fears of Jewish and Christian eschatology. Moreover, the varying evaluations of the day betray the changes in ritual schemes to which the Hebrew cultus was subjected in the course of its long and eventful history.

under the earth to the rising of the sun. In the *Book of the Gates* the soul is represented as being brought before the judgment-seat in the Hall of Osiris, which stands in the sixth domain (= the sixth hour) through which the sun passes in his nightly journey. Judgment therefore comes at midnight, the sixth hour, the hour of the Passover and the transition from day to day and from year to year. See *E.R.E.,* v, 374*a*. Cf. *A.J.P.,* XLV (1924), *227 sq.*

CHAPTER VII

The Calendar of Israel[1]

The history of the calendar of Israel is obscure because of the scarcity of data. One would gladly avoid so controversial a subject, if that were possible; but the nature of our inquiry requires that we make the attempt to fix at least the outlines of the development, because the calendar, everywhere in antiquity originating in the desire to regulate the "times and seasons" of religious observance, is most intimately connected with the pilgrimage festivals, which, as we have seen, are one and all concerned with the transition from year to year.

The question which chiefly concerns us is not that of pure chronology, that is to say, of the translation of dates of the history of Israel in terms of our present calendar, but of the nature of the calendar in use among the Israelites themselves at different periods and the relation of the pilgrimage-festivals to it.

There seems to be no doubt that the Hebrews reckoned solely by the moon before they settled in Canaan, as the Moslems do to this day. That their months might thus box the compass of the

[1] I have dealt freely with my essay "The Calendar of Ancient Israel" (*Proceed. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences,* Vol. LXI, No. 2, December, 1925), adding and omitting at pleasure. I am greatly indebted to various friends for criticisms of that study, particularly to Professor G. F. Moore, who called my attention to some misstatements in it, due partly to my misapprehension of Talmudic texts, partly to mistakes of modern scholars, which I had accepted because I could not check them myself. I have learned much of value from Dr. Julian Morgenstern's "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel" (*Hebrew Union College Annual,* I [1924], 13–78) and from correspondence and personal conference with him. I am glad to find myself in agreement on some vital points with F. X. Kugler's *Von Moses bis Paulus* (1922), though his complete rejection of the results of the historical criticism of the documents makes it impossible for me to accept most of his conclusions. Good bibliographies of the subject are given by Sidersky (*Étude sur l'origine astronomique de la chronologie juive* [Paris, 1911], p. 86 *sq.*) and Ginzel, II, 115 *sq.* It is needless to say that no attempt is here made to treat the subject exhaustively; the present Jewish calendar, dating from the second century of our era, is entirely omitted.

seasons cannot be urged against this assumption, because that is true not only of the Mohammedan but even of the Egyptian calendar down to Ptolemaic times.

With the intrusion of the nomads into Canaan and their adoption of a settled mode of life, largely of agriculture, we reach a period of uncertainty regarding the calendar. The oldest documents of Israel yield certain data relating to it, but their implications and the conclusions to be deduced from them are not at once clear. First of all we meet here certain names of months—Abib,[1] Ziv,[2] Ethanim,[3] Bul[4]—all of which, with the exception of Abib, are found also in Phœnician inscriptions.[5] One may confidently assume that this agreement is due to the adoption by the Hebrews of the names of months current among the Canaanites. But this fact does not greatly help us, because we have still to determine whether these months coincided with the lunations or were arbitrary parts of a solar year. Dillmann[6] asserted very dogmatically that these names were not coined for lunar or lunisolar months; but this statement and his conclusion that the year was a strict solar year do him little credit. His comment here reveals how little he really knew about ancient calendars. To the question regarding the nature of these Canaanitish months we shall presently return.

As regards the years, there is every reason for believing that the Israelites reckoned from two epochs, one in the autumn[7] and one in the spring,[8] the year, like all the *sacra,* being divided. One may even conjecture that its name, *shānāh,* properly means a "pair," just as the Babylonian year also was obviously regarded as a pair of semesters.[9] In *Exodus*[10] we read of the "feast of ingathering at *the year's end* [*tekūphāh*]." This term pretty certainly refers to the autumnal equinox, the "turn" of the year; and this ancient harvest-

[1] *Exod.* XIII. 4; XXIII. 15; XXXIV. 18; *Deut.* XVI. 1.
[2] 1 *Kings* VI. 1, 37.
[3] 1 *Kings* VIII. 2.
[4] 1 *Kings* VI. 38.
[5] Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik,* I, 412.
[6] "Uber das Kalenderwesen der Israeliten vor dem babylonischen Exil," *Monatsbericht der k. preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin,* October 27, 1881.
[7] See *Exod.* XXIII. 16; XXXIV. 22; *Levit.* XXIII. 24; XXV. 9.
[8] *Exod.* XII. 2; cf. XXXIV. 21; *Prov.* XX. 4.
[9] See Sidersky, *Étude sur la chronologie assyro-babylonienne* (1916), p. 36. The practice of intercalating after Adar, as well as after Elul, taken over by the Jews, sufficiently shows this; but the sixfold divisions of the month and of the day confirm the conclusion.
[10] *Exod.* XXXIV. 22.

home became in time Sukkot, or the Feast of Tabernacles. The name does not happen to be applied to the vernal epoch marked by Passover (Pesah-Mazzot), but there can be no doubt that this too was a very ancient New Year festival at the turn of the year. It must be added that there are grounds for supposing that the precise time of the equinoxes was marked and observed in Israel with religious rites, possibly from very ancient times.[1] The references to the "glory of Yahweh," at the vernal and autumnal epochs [2] possibly imply that, the temple being oriented due east, the rising sun at the equinoxes shone directly through the eastern door into the Holy of Holies and was taken as witnessing the presence of Yahweh in his temple. If this view is true, many a Biblical passage takes on added meaning. Though the date when this observance was introduced cannot be determined, one need not hesitate about assuming it to be quite early because of the astronomical knowledge involved; for the observation is of the simplest possible kind, since it means only that a straight line projected from the point on the horizon where the sun rises through the station of the observer will mark the point where the sun sets. Many quite primitive peoples have thus marked the equinoxes.[3] It would, however, be an unwarranted inference from these data, even if they be accepted as beyond question true, that the calendar of the Israelites in preëxilic times was solar. To realize this one

[1] See Charlier, "Ein astronomischer Beitrag zur Exegese des alten Testaments," *Zeitschr. der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft,* LVIII (1904), 386–394.

[2] Cf. *Levit.* IX. 23–24 (Day of Atonement?), *Exod.* XL. 34, 35 (1st day of first month). These would seem to favor Charlier's theory of the calendar (see below, p. 334); but there are too many other data which will not fit into his scheme, e. g., *Exod.* XVI. 7, 10 (15th of second month); XXIV. 16–17 (Sinai, cf. *Deut.* V. 24, Horeb), *Num.* XVI. 19, 42 (possibly, but not certainly, Day of Atonement); XX. 6 (first month); II *Chron.* VII. 1, 3 (dedication of Solomon's temple, seventh month). *Exod.* XXXIII. 18, 22 relates to a passover at Sinai. The "glory of Yahweh" is connected with the divine fire, which kindles the sacrificial flame. This appears, e. g., in the rite at Carmel and at Hanukkah. These are presumably New Year, but not certainly or even possibly, all equinoctial rites. Dr. Morgenstern has shown me some of the extraordinarily interesting data (unpublished) which he has collected concerning a rite connected with the eastern gate of the temple which are unquestionably important, but I cannot say how ancient that rite is. Cf. *Ezek.* XLIII. 1 *sq.*, and Morgenstern, "The Three Calendars . . . ," *Hebrew Union College Annual,* I (1924), 32 *sq.*, 36 *sq.*

[3] M. P. Nilsson (*Primitive Time-Reckoning*) gives abundant data regarding the means of marking the equinoxes and the solstices. The most primitive dial would suffice even to determine after how many days the equinox would fall, since it could be marked empirically.

has only to refer to the two most advanced civilizations of the Orient. The Babylonian calendar was always lunisolar, the months coinciding with the lunations and the deficiency of the lunar year of 354 days in relation to the solar made good by intercalation of a lunar month as required;[1] but nevertheless Babylonian astronomers well knew the actual time of the equinoxes and for scientific purposes reckoned in solar years.[2] Their New Year festivals also were connected with the equinoxes as the epochs of their twofold year, but were dated by the lunisolar calendar.[3] In Egypt the calendar was from very early times in intention solar, but since it reckoned the year as of 365 days, the New Year boxed the compass in a Sothic period; nevertheless the true year, dating from the heliacal rising of Sothis (Sirius), was noted in various ways. The seasons also, though named for major natural phenomena dependent on the sun, revolved in the calendar with the vague year. If these things were possible among the Babylonians and Egyptians, we have clearly no right to infer a strict solar year among the Israelites from the facts that the equinoxes were marked and were somehow observed with religious rites and with festivals connected with them. The question is rather in just what relation the actual calendar and the calendary festivals, Pesah-Mazzot and Sukkot, stood to the observed equinoxes.

As to the character of the Canaanitish months, the Phœnician inscriptions yield nothing of importance except two data which at first sight seem to point to opposite conclusions: (1) there is in a bilingual inscription from Cyprus,[4] dating from the early fourth century B.C., a mention of the five epagomenal days, which implies a solar calendar like that of Egypt; and (2) the word *hodesh* occurs, always in the sense of new moon. The first of these data is conclusive proof of a solar calendar, but the late date of the inscription deprives it

[1] Intercalation was arbitrary till 528 B.C., when the 8-year cycle began to be observed, which was followed by the 27-year cycle in 504, and by the 9-year cycle in 382. See Kugler, II, ii, 2, 435 *sq.*

[2] Weidner, p. 82.

[3] The Zag-muk festival lasted from the 1st to the 11th Nisannu and Teshritu, but these were lunar months and might begin before or after the equinoxes. Dr. J. K. Fotheringham says in a letter, dated November 19, 1926, "I think it possible that there was an old rule that Nisan 15 should not fall before the equinox. This seems to have been regarded from the time of the first Babylonian dynasty, but Nisan 15 was by no means always the first 15th day to fall after the equinox." Kugler (I, 230) says, *"Wie schon oben bemerkt, spielten die Äquinoktien und Solstitien als Jahresteiler weder um —2000 noch um —500 eine bemerkenswerte kalendarische Rolle.*

[4] *Corpus inscr. Semit.*, I, i, 104 *sq.*

of evidential value for the early period with which we are now dealing. The mention of new moons, on the other hand, would entitle one to infer a lunar month only if it were supplemented with evidence that the days of the month were reckoned from the new moon; but such evidence is wanting, and the isolated references to the *hodesh* may mean no more than that the appearance of the new moon was observed with religious rites by the Canaanites, as it was by all the Semites.

Fortunately we are better informed regarding the early Israelites. The prophets[1] mention the new moons, the Sabbaths, and the *mo'adim* together as occasions of religious observance among Canaanites and Israelites, without revealing their relations to one another; but the early historical documents shed further light. The story of Elisha and the Shunammite,[2] in the words "it is neither new moon nor Sabbath," distinguishes between them, but implies that they were both customary occasions for visiting the sanctuaries. We learn far more, however, from the story of David's pretended visit to Bethlehem, when he had incurred the enmity of Saul.[3] The occasion was the annual gathering of David's clan at the new moon, and simultaneously there was a family observance in the household of Saul, which David, as a member of the family, was expected to attend. As an annual sacrifice or communion-meal observed at the new moon, this occasion can hardly have been other than a New Year festival. If so, the year, as beginning with a new moon, must have been lunar or lunisolar. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in this story the days are numbered, beginning with the new moon.

The family communion-meal, which was David's excuse for absenting himself from the king's table, as well as the concurrent feast in the royal household, have obvious analogies with Passover, which likewise was an annual communion-meal anciently observed by families at the turn of the year. It is in fact not improbable that this observance was no other than Passover as it was kept in the earlier times.[4] That the calendary references in the story were not deleted we may perhaps explain by the scribes' failure to recognize the oc-

[1] *Amos.* VIII. 5; *Hos.* II. 11; *Isa.* I. 13–14; LXVI. 23; *Ezek.* XLV. 17; XLVI. 3.
[2] II *Kings* IV. 23.
[3] I *Sam.* XX.
[4] Morgenstern tells me that Luther in Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme,* pp. 170–173, has likewise concluded that this was the early form of Passover.

casion, because Passover was in their day observed on a different date and in a different manner. At all events, it is well in this connection to consider the data of the older Biblical documents regarding the date of Passover. It will be recalled that the tradition explained this rite by referring to the circumstance that Yahweh "passed over" the dwellings of the Israelites, when the first-born of the Egyptians were slain at the time of the departure from Egypt, and made the annual observance of the festival obligatory in commemoration of Israel's salvation on that occasion. Hence the time of the exodus was also the *mo'ed* of the memorial *hag;* and we have to consider the data regarding both. "Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt . . . This day ye go forth at the *hodesh* of Abib. And it shall be, when Yahweh shall bring you into the land of the Canaanite . . . that thou shalt keep this service at this *hodesh.*" [1] "The Feast of Unleavened Bread shalt thou keep . . . as I commanded thee at the *mo'ed,* the *hodesh* of Abib; for at the *hodesh* of Abib thou camest out from Egypt." [2] "At the third *hodesh* after the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai." [3] In these passages the word *hodesh* has, at least since the Septuagint version, been always rendered by "month," though in other contexts it is recognized as bearing its original sense of "new moon," which it always has in Phœnician and other cognate languages. It is unquestionable that in certain Biblical texts it does mean "month," [4] and we shall presently have to consider the question how it came by that sense; but at present we are concerned merely with the meaning of the term in relation to Passover. The texts quoted above scarcely leave room for any other conclusion than that *hodesh* was intended to designate a particular day, when they specifically state "This day ye go forth at the *hodesh* of Abib" and "At the third *hodesh* . . . the same day they came into the wilderness of Sinai." It is surely unthinkable that *hodesh* here means month; [5] and but for the date appointed for Passover in the Priestly code it is safe to say that no one would ever have thought of so interpreting it.

[1] *Exod.* XIII. 3–5.

[2] *Exod.* XXXIV. 18; cf. XXIII. 15.

[3] *Exod.* XIX. 1.

[4] Perhaps the very fact that *hodesh* is used alongside *yerah* for "month" is the most significant fact.

[5] Several eminent Hebrew scholars have suggested that *hodesh* in this context may mean "new moon."

The direction of *Deuteronomy*[1] is, if possible, even clearer: "Observe the *hodesh* of Abib, and keep the Passover unto Yahweh thy God; for at the *hodesh* of Abib Yahweh thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt by night." The statement that Israel began the exodus by night, marking the time of the departure with particularity, would stand in strange contrast to the vague reference to the "month of Abib" as the time appointed for the commemorative feast; but if *hodesh* here means "new moon," the specification "by night" is intelligible, because the crescent becomes visible at nightfall. One may therefore say with confidence that the *mo'ed* of Passover was in the older documents the new moon of Abib;[2] and one may with equal confidence regard it as a New Year's day,[3] though there was another recognized epoch marked by the Feast of Ingathering in the autumn.[4]

The conclusion which we draw from these data is that the Israelites in preëxilic times had lunar months and that, as the year began with the new moon, the year also was lunar; but since the year was bound to the seasons, it cannot have been a pure lunar year. Hence we gather that the calendar was lunisolar, somehow adjusting itself to the equinoxes, though for want of evidence we cannot say how this was done.

The quotation from *Deuteronomy* just made exhibits the ancient practice of referring to the months by their Canaanitish names. Even if we were quite sure of the date of this document, we should hardly be justified in asserting that the practice was then generally followed, because it is quite conceivable that in the dating of Passover the writer was intentionally archaizing. There is but one other mention of a month in the treatise, and it follows a different style; but critics agree that this is a Priestly addition.[5] The other names of the months are preserved in the *Books of Kings,* which assumed their

[1] XVI. 1.

[2] We know that Hallel was sung on the night when a festival was hallowed (*Isa.* XXX. 29), and our study seems to show that the Passover was the type of Hebrew festivals. This adds interest to the suggestion of Lagarde (*Orientalia,* II, 13 *sq.*) that *hallēl* is cognate with Arabic *hilāl,* "new moon." The truth of this view has been questioned by other scholars, because Heb. does not use any cognate of *hilāl* for "new moon;" but is the objection decisive?

[3] This the tradition of Passover, as was shown above, makes certain.

[4] When the year was definitely begun with the month of Passover and the months numbered from it, Sukkot came to stand in the middle of the year. This may account for LXX *Exod.* XXXIV. 22: μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. Cf. above, p. 316, n. 1.

[5] *Deut.* I. 3.

present form during the Babylonian exile. The events dated by the months lay in the distant past, and the names may be assumed to have been kept out of respect for the sources on which the editor drew; at all events, it is noteworthy that he felt obliged to explain that Ziv was the second, Ethanim the seventh, and Bul the eighth month.[1] This shows that in the time of the exile the ancient style was no longer in vogue. This conclusion is confirmed by *Jeremiah,* where the months are not named, but designated by the ordinal numbers up to twelve. There is no direct evidence to show when this new style was introduced; but *Kings* and *Jeremiah* certainly suggest that it was already well established,[2] and probably came in before the exile. This manner of designating the months continued in use by the Jews until quite late times, when the Babylonian names were adopted.[3]

If we may assume that the book of *Ezekiel* is a product of the exile, we have in it not only further evidences of this new style, but of another innovation which appears to belong to the new system from the beginning, to wit, the avoidance of the word "new moon" (*hodesh*) and the substitution for it of the phrase "the first day of the month." Unfortunately *Jeremiah* had no occasion to use either one or the other; so that those who regard *Ezekiel* as a pseudepigraphon may question whether these two practices are necessarily to be regarded as going together and introduced at the same time. In any case, they occur together not only in *Ezekiel* but also in the Priestly code, and in later documents.[4] In the Priestly code there are instances where the word *hodesh* seems to be added as an afterthought, or perhaps to indicate that the rites of the new moon were observed on "the first day of the month." [5]

If these new ways of referring to months and their beginnings suggest the possibility that the months themselves were of a different character and may have been divorced from the lunations, two further facts, which may have a certain significance in this connec-

[1] I *Kings* VI. 1; VIII. 2; VI. 38; XII. 32–33.

[2] II *Kings* XXV. 1, 3, 8, 25, 27; *Jer.* I. 3; XXVIII. 1, 17; XXXVI. 9, 22; XXXIX. 1–2; XLI. 1; LII. 4, 6, 12, 31.

[3] *Zech.* I. 7; VII. 1 (both late additions); *Ezr.* VI. 5: I *Esdras* VII. 6; *Neh.* I. 1; II. 1; VI. 15; *Esth.* II. 16; III. 7, 13; VIII. 9, 12; IX. 1, 15, 17, 19, 21; I *Macc.* IV. 52; VII. 43, 49; XIV. 27; XVI. 14; II *Macc.* I. 9, 18; X. 5; XV. 36.

[4] *Gen.* VIII. 5, 13; *Exod.* XL. 2, 17; *Levit.* XXIII. 24; *Num.* I. 1, 18; XXIX. 1; XXXIII. 38; *Deut.* I. 3; *Ezek.* XXVI. 1; XXIX. 17; XXXI. 1; XXXII. 1; XLV. 18.

[5] Notably *Num.* XXIX. 6.

tion, call for careful consideration. We have already referred to the fact that *hodesh,* which properly and originally meant "new moon," came in time to be used in the sense of "month;" [1] and we have now to add that where older documents speak of "a month" or "a full month," [2] the Priestly code definitely says "thirty days," [3] and that in the Priestly account of the Flood the month is reckoned as of thirty days. This fact in itself proves nothing, because a lunar calendar may reckon alternately twenty-nine and thirty days to a month; and we know that for convenience in business transactions the Babylonians, whose calendar was lunisolar, reckoned thirty days to a month and 360 to a year.[4] But this is obviously a different matter from the procedure of the Priestly writer who says that the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were opened on the 17th of the second month and that after 150 days the waters decreased and the ark rested on Ararat on the 17th of the seventh month; [5] for here, we must conclude, we are dealing with an actual calendar. Such a calendar, it would seem, must have conventional months of thirty days and disregard the lunations.

There is, moreover, another group of data, the significance of which has hardly been appreciated. *Ezekiel* [6] dates his vision of the temple on the 10th of the (first) month, which he calls New Year's day

[1] The development is in itself natural (among the Romans also *kalendæ* came to be used in the sense of "months"); and it may be that properly the expression *le hodesh,* translated "of the month," means, say, the 15th day "after (or relative to) the new moon."

[2] *Gen.* XXIX. 14 (J); *Num.* XI. 20, 21 (J); *Deut.* XXI. 13; II *Kings* XV. 13.

[3] *Num.* XX. 29 (P); *Deut.* XXXIV. 8 (P).

[4] Kugler, II, 1, 192. In later Babylonian times the month was divided into two parts, each regarded as having 15 days.

[5] *Gen.* VII. 11–VIII. 3 *sq.*

[6] XL. 1. For the dedication of temples on New Year's day, compare *Exod.* XL. 2, 17. King Gudea had a vision on New Year's day, sent to him by the gods in council, bidding him rebuild the temple of Enninu (King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition,* p. 72 *sq.*). I *Esdras* v. 53 is significant. An Egyptian inscription dated the 6th Choiak in the reign of Amenhotep III (Brugsch-Bey, *History of Egypt,* I, 434) strongly suggests a (solar?) New Year rededication of a temple. See below, p. 383 *sq.* The Babylonian *Epic of Creation* mentions the building of temples in a way to suggest that the New Year was the recognized time for this rite. Cf. *Amos* IX. 11 for raising a tabernacle on the day of Yahweh, and above, p. 130, n. 5. One recalls that Hanukkah also was appointed for the day of Sol Invictus, a New Year's day. *Jubilees* XIII. 8 records the erection of an altar by Abraham (cf. *Gen.* XII. 8) on the new moon of the 1st month, and XXXI. 3 dates Isaac's founding of Bethel on the new moon of the 7th month, in consequence of a dream.

(*Rosh ha-Shanah*). This statement is in itself susceptible of different interpretations. One might surmise that his *Rosh ha-Shanah* was a movable date relative to the current lunisolar calendar, as a Babylonian record[1] informs us that the *Resh Shatti* (the solar New Year, at the equinox) might equally well fall in the lunar months Adar and Elul as in Nisan and Tishri, and it can hardly be doubted that a solar date is here actually equated with that of a lunar calendar; but it will presently be seen that this solution of the problem is not tenable. In order to be acceptable, this answer would have to apply to all similar cases; but it does not. On this hypothesis, the coincidence of the New Year's day with the 10th of the month would be relatively casual, since it might fall on any day between the 15th of the twelfth (or thirteenth) and the 15th of the first month.[2] The striking fact, which constitutes our real problem, is that in the Priestly code the 10th of the first and seventh months is regarded as New Year's day in a variety of relations which appear to have no other connection. According to *Leviticus*,[3] the Jubile year was to be heralded by the blowing of trumpets on the 10th of the seventh month. No one will doubt that this day was regarded as the beginning of the Jubile year. Again, the same date is appointed the Day of Atonement,[4] which Jewish tradition has always accepted as a New Year's day; and a comparison of its rites and observances with those of the Babylonian New Year amply justifies this view. The Day of Atonement is admittedly of late origin;[5] the date of the institution of the Jubile year is uncertain. So far as we can discover, the two ordinances have no intrinsic relation to each other, and the coincidence of their observance on the same day can be explained only on the supposition that it was a fixed date for New Year's day. We shall presently discover evidence which points to the conclusion that the 10th of the seventh month was the day from which the Feast of Tabernacles also was reckoned. And yet this is not all. The Israelites, like most other peoples of Western Asia, observed another epoch in the spring; the vernal festival of the Hebrews is of course Passover, and the whole Biblical tradition, as we have seen, regards it as a New Year's observance. *Exodus*[6] says, "This *hodesh*

[1] Weidner, p. 83.
[2] So Weidner, *loc. cit.;* but see above, p. 326, n. 3.
[3] XXV. 9 *sq.*
[4] *Levit.* XVI. 29; XXIII. 27; *Num.* XXIX. 7.
[5] A fast on the day is probably much older.
[6] XII. 2 *sq.* Kugler (*Von Moses bis Paulus,* p. 194 *sq.*) is probably right in

shall be unto you the beginning of *hodāshim;* it shall be the first *hodesh* of the year to you . . . On the 10th of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb . . . and ye shall keep it until the 14th; and . . . kill it at even." This ordinance unmistakably makes the 10th the *proëortia,* or pre-festal day, of Passover, which of course is dated from it.[1] The relation of Passover to this date is precisely that of Sukkot to the 10th of the seventh month,[2] and one cannot question that it also is a New Year's day. If there were any doubt it must yield before another datum. As we have before pointed out, the departure of the exodus, dated 430 years to a day after Israel's coming to Egypt,[3] occurs on New Year's day, and the completion of the exodus-*hag,* at the arrival of the pilgrims in Canaan, falls likewise at New Year's, culminating in the first Passover in the Promised Land held at Gilgal on the 14th of the first month at even. According to *Joshua,*[4] however, the passage of the Jordan, which is the actual time of the "return," occurred on the 10th of the first month. We have, therefore, these two fixed dates—the 10th of the first and seventh months—absolutely balancing each other in the calendar, and both unquestionably New Year's days.

How this array of data, which certainly belong to a single calendary scheme, is to be explained is a question as interesting as it is

referring *Ezek.* XL. 1 to the 10th Nisan. He explains the date of the prophet's vision by referring to the great offerings made to Marduk on that day at the Babylonian Zag-muk; but he entirely overlooks the other data which mark the 10th Nisan and 10th Tishri as Israelite (not Babylonian) New Year's days.

[1] Cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 279 (speaking of the victim to be offered at Muna): *"La victime en effet doit, suivant la doctrine, prendre, pour ainsi dire. l'*ihrâm *en même temps que le pèlerin."* See above, p. 191, n. 2. Demombynes (p. 296) points out the connection of the day of Muna in the hajj (the 10th Hijjah) to the 10th day (of Nisan and Tishri) in the O.T., noting that, though a term of 40 days is reckoned from the end of the 11th month, during which Moses retired to Sinai, this term is distinctly divided into 30 plus 10 days, the last being the day of Muna, on which the Torah was given (cf. Day of Atonement. Al-Biruni, p. 332 says: "The first 10 days of this month [Hijjah] are also called *Dies noti* and *Dies sacri.* According to some, they are the time by which God completed the time which He had promised to Moses, saying [*Sûra* VII. 138]: 'And we have promised Moses thirty nights —which are the nights of Dhû-alka'da—and we have completed their number by ten—which are the *Dies sacri.*"

[2] Volz (*Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes,* p. 25) notes that the Day of Atonement precedes the *mo'ed* of Sukkot by five days, and refers to the five-day epact preceding New Year's day in the ancient Arabic calendar.

[3] *Exod.* XII. 40–41.

[4] IV. 19.

difficult. Whatever else may be in doubt, it seems certain that the calendar with which we are dealing is not lunar: it must be a solar year on which it is based, and the New Year epochs are supposed to be fixed dates. Many eminent scholars have accepted the theory put forward by the admirable astronomer Charlier,[1] who assumed that the reckoning began with the vernal equinox, dated on the 1st Nisan. Starting there, and counting 186 days—the time elapsing between the vernal and the autumnal equinoxes—one arrives at the 10th of the seventh month. Thus one has both equinoxes and both New Year epochs simply determined. The theory is indeed ingenious; but how one can accept it passes my comprehension. Obviously Charlier, who knew the astronomical facts, made very quick work of his problem; for he took into account but two data, the 1st of Nisan and the 10th Tishri, and the only thing his theory is capable of explaining is the latter date. It requires but a little reflection to see that his suggestion creates more problems than it solves. In the first place, 186 days from the 1st Nisan brings one to the 10th Tishri *only on the assumption that the months are lunar;* but if one reckons through a lunar year, one ends ten or eleven days before the vernal equinox. One then has the alternative of annually intercalating that number of days, which there is no precedent for doing, or of abandoning the 10th Tishri as regularly the date of the autumnal equinox. But even if one makes the gratuitous assumption of a lunar calendar with an annual intercalation,[2] there is no way of accounting on this hypothesis for the parallel and almost equally prominent date of the 10th Nisan.

If, as appears to be inevitable, we reject Charlier's theory, we still have an unsolved problem, which is, however, much more complex than Charlier and those who accept his suggestion have realized. It must be clear that the calendar which regards the 10th of the first and seventh months as fixed dates and as standing in a definite relation to the New Year festivals, which certainly by some means approximated the equinoxes, cannot have been either lunar or luni-

[1] "Ein astronomischer Beitrag zur Exegese des alten Testaments," *Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft,* LVIII (1904), 386–394.

[2] One must think in terms of actual calendars, and there is no known instance of an annual intercalation in an ancient lunisolar calendar. To assume one, especially of the sort required by the Priestly code, is indeed impossible. It would take approximately three years to bring the new moon to the neighborhood of the beginning of a month whose 10th day would be the equinox, and it is of course this very anomaly that led to the cycles employed in intercalation.

solar. This is, moreover, obviously in accord with the evidence already adduced, which points to the conclusion that the calendar of the earlier period, when the Canaanitish month-names were in use, was essentially lunar and was superseded by the time of *Jeremiah* by another of a distinctly different kind.[1] As for this newer calendar, the indications already mentioned clearly suggest that it was artificial and presumably, in intention at least, solar. This conclusion receives a measure of confirmation from the fact that we find at a later time in the *Book of Jubilees* a solar calendar recommended, in direct opposition to the lunisolar calendar then in use among the Jews, as revealed to Moses by an angel reading from "the heavenly tables."

The facts at our disposal do not suffice for a certain solution of the problems connected with this calendar; but we shall presently have to consider a number of possibilities, after bringing out some additional data which unquestionably belong to the same scheme. It was pointed out above that the 10th of the first month was the pre-festal day of Pesah-Mazzot, dated the 14th/15th, and that the 10th of the seventh month stood in the same relation to Sukkot, dated the 15th. It is obvious that these dates go together, and cannot be divorced; but they do raise a difficult question, which cannot be solved by simple reference to astronomical tables. We have seen that Passover in the earlier period appears to have been celebrated at the first new moon of the half-year beginning in the spring. Since this epoch was presumably connected with the vernal equinox, we may derive from the practice of the Babylonians, who likewise had a lunisolar calendar and two annual epochs connected with the equinoxes, a suggestion as to the way the Israelites proceeded in the matter, though we are not in a position to affirm or deny that their procedure was the same. With the introduction of the new calendar came a marked change: the festivals were transferred from the beginning to the middle of the month.[2] What motives determined this

[1] It is only on this assumption that the radical change in the manner of dating becomes intelligible.

[2] New Year festivals in the middle of the month are found elsewhere also. At Rome the ancient festival of Anna Perenna was celebrated on the 15th March. Possibly the ceremony of driving a nail into the cella-wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Ides of September) was another New Year rite. Hillebrandt, in *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philol. und Altertumsk.*, III, 2, 78, mentions the festival Agrahayani, falling at the full moon (14th) of the month Margasirsa, as an ancient New Year's observance. In view of the fact that various accounts date the beginning of the Flood on New Year's

course is an open question, but one who has studied ancient calendars will think of a number of possibilities. It should be plain, however, that, whether the calendar was lunar or solar, the dates of the New Year festivals here adopted must be arbitrary, because, the summer half-year being some seven days longer than the winter, the equinoxes could not strictly be dated just six months apart. Now it happens that an astrological star-list,[1] itself not very ancient, but presumably repeating an old popular equation, shows that in Babylonia the 15th Nisan and the 15th Tishri were arbitrarily taken as the equinoxes. This may be a mere coincidence, but it will probably be conceded that the Israelites, when their new calendar went into effect, were more likely to know of a popular, astrological practice of the Babylonians than a truer determination of the astronomers. Of course, the dates of this astrological list are those of a lunar calendar, while those of the Israelite calendar under consideration belong according to our view to a solar calendar; but that is no real objection, because, as we have seen, the celebration of the new moon was carried over to the "first day of the month," and there are evidences that ancient associations of the new moon clung to Passover.[2] The Egyptian calendar, which was certainly solar, supplies

day, it is worth noting that, according to Berosus, the warning was given to Xisuthros on the 15th Dæsius. While later Jewish sources emphasize the coincidence of full moon and Passover and Sukkot, it is noteworthy that the full moon is not mentioned in the O.T. (The terms *kese'* and *keseh* [*Ps.* LXXXI. 4, *Prov.* VII. 20] which the English version renders by "full moon," seem to mean —synodic—"new moon," the dark of the moon. The dark of the moon, i. e., the eve of the new moon, is mentioned as one of the sacred days on which one did not fast, *Jth.* VIII. 6.) This fact, taken with other indications, may be significant, suggesting that the festivals were not designedly referred to the full moon, though that must be the case when the 15th day was that of a lunar month. On the other hand, the fact that the *'ereb* of the new moon, as well as the new moon, was observed may be of importance in connection with the reference of Passover to the eve of Mazzot, making it New Year's eve. We know that in Egypt the New Year celebration began on New Year's eve (Erman, *Ægypt. Religion*[2], p. 211), and Landsberger, p. 144, calls attention to the fact that in the *Imbu*-series the 30th of the month is regarded as the eve of the new moon and is sacred to Anu and Enlil, to whom the sacrifices are offered.

[1] Several more or less perfect copies exist. Weidner, p. 43, discusses one of these; Dr. J. K. Fotheringham calls my attention to another, edited by L. W. King, in *Cuneiform Tests,* XXXIII, Pl. 1–8. It is an astrological text, and may go back to an original of *ca.* 1100 B.C. It dates the solstices also on the 15th Tammuz and Tebet, just as Eudoxus, according to Hipparchus *In Arati et Eudoxi Phæn.* ii. 1. 15, placed equinoxes and solstices in the middle of their respective zodiacal signs. But the Babylonian months, by which these cardinal points of the year were dated, were lunar.

[2] See above, p. 335, n. 2. Landsberger, p. 144, calls attention to the occasional notes in the Babylonian calendar forbidding one to go out of one's door on the

unquestionable examples of the persistence of extremely ancient associations of days of the arbitrary months with the phases of the moon long since disregarded in the calendar. If one takes that into account, it is not strange that in various lands there are to be found traces of New Year festivals transferred from new moon to full moon, and that in Babylonia the celebration of the full moon did not greatly differ from that of the new moon.[1] These parallels are not cited to prove or even to suggest a necessary connection with Babylonia, direct or indirect: they are to be considered merely as indicating how peoples with similar cultural backgrounds might view the change in the dates of the festivals.

Why these dates at the middle of the month were chosen for the New Year's festivals we probably shall never know. The dates of the various New Year festivals in Babylonia vary considerably for reasons that we cannot determine, but they may be connected with shifts of local calendars, which are but little known. A wholly different matter is the relation of Pesah-Mazzot and Sukkot to the 10th of the first and seventh months. We have surveyed the evidence that both these festivals were regarded predominantly as sixth days, and have seen the tendency to regard them as lasting six days: reckoning from the 10th, as their pre-festal day, the *mo'adim* of these festivals are the 5th-6th and the 6th. Now there can be no doubt that both the 10th and the 15th were accounted New Year's days. This fact, when we first clearly recognized it, so much troubled us that we were for long sceptical of the result of our whole inquiry: it was only when we studied all the available data regarding the ancient New Year's festivals that we accepted our own findings and discovered the reasons therefor. We need not here review the whole matter, but may content ourselves with a few brief remarks. While the

29th of certain months. Can these be hollow months? Similar prohibitions occur in the Egyptian lists of lucky and unlucky days. One recalls the prohibition at the Passover in Egypt (*Exod.* XII. 22) and the taking of Jericho (*Josh* II. 19).

[1] This is only partially true, but the similarity is sufficient to make a transfer from one to the other easy. I will not here discuss the *shabattum* in relation to the Heb. *Shabbaton,* which may account in part for the view current in later Judaism that the *haggim* were Sabbaths. That the Babylonians spoke of the "Joy of the Moon" on the 15th of the month is worth recalling in connection with the emphasis on the "joy" of the *haggim* in later sources (Mazzot, II *Chron.* XXX. 21, 23; *Ezra* VI. 22; Sukkot, *Neh.* VII. 17; Purim, *Esther* IX. 17, 19, 22). The mention of the joy at the translation of the ark by David (II *Sam.* VI. 12) looks suspicious to me; the entire verse seems out of place. Can it have come in in consequence of I *Chron.* XV?

observances vary greatly in date, they have much in common: among the most common characteristics, aside from a surprising uniformity in length and calendary scheme,[1] is that of constituting an *entr'acte,* a sequence of *dies non.* The days thus set apart are a sort of epact, whether or not formally so recognized in the calendar. In fact quite as often as not the festival actually falls in the first month of the year, though the ancients themselves were not unaware that the days were properly epagomenal. This is true of the Persian Naurôz, but it is particularly interesting to see that it is equally true of the Babylonian New Year festival. Weidner[2] has called attention to a series of Babylonian texts which definitely relate the Zag-muk not only to the equinox (*Resh Shatti*) but to the *Mithirtu,* or interval of eleven days (also called *Resh Shatti*) between the close of the lunar and the beginning of the solar year. This is, as he properly says, an epact; and it is certainly clear from this conjunction of data why the Babylonian Zag-muk, whether in Nisan or Tishri, lasted eleven days.[3] But the very clearness of the connection of the New Year's festivals with this intercalary period makes it doubly difficult to understand either how there could be two such festivals in the year (since, of course, the interval of eleven days can occur but once) or how, as we know was actually the case, the Zag-muk occupied the first eleven days of the lunar months Nisan and Tishri, apparently regardless of the inevitable dislocation produced by the periodic intercalation of a thirteenth month. The New Year's festivals, then, among a people as versed in astronomy as the Babylonians

[1] See below, p. 405 *sq.*

[2] P. 82 *sq.*

[3] See below, p. 406 *sq.* Later Jewish sources seem to recognize the nine or ten days between Rosh ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement as such a *période de marge,* and the corresponding days of Nisan occasionally appear in the same light. See above pp. 102, n. 2; 133, n. 3. One might be at first inclined to think that these facts favored Charlier's theory; but they do not. They seem rather to be but another instance of the "lunar epact," which occurs in many forms, e. g., in the familiar twelvetide, without real connection with the formal calendar. The interval between the successive New Year's days came to be a *période de marge.* There is evidence of this "lunar epact" (as II *En.* XVI. 3 *sq.* calls the term of 12 days) in Greek myths (see below, p. 506 *sq.* In I *En.* XCIII and XCI. 1–15 there is a term consisting of 10 (7 + 3) "weeks" leading up to "the great eternal judgment," when "the first heaven shall pass away." "And after that there shall be many weeks without number for ever, | And all shall be in goodness and righteousness, | And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever." Clearly this is the *période de marge* between Rosh ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, translated into "weeks" and transferred to the realm of eschatology. Cf. the Moslem scheme above, p. 333, n. 1.

were, shifted their position within very wide limits despite their acknowledged connection with the equinoxes. Those who assume a very definite relation of Pesah-Mazzot and Sukkot to the equinoxes must take these facts into account.[1]

Returning now to the *mo'adim* of Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles and their relation to their pre-festal days, one cannot doubt that we have here a single scheme definitely conceived as an epact of five days plus New Year's day. The fact that both the 10th and the 15th are clearly New Year's days now finds a ready explanation, as one compares the epact in the Egyptian calendar;[2] for the five epagomenal days, which are required to bring the total of 12×30 to the required 365, though in the earliest records prefixed to the first month, are there later, but still at an early date, treated as an addendum to the twelfth. Thus the New Year proper begins on the sixth day after the close of the series of months,[3] but the first epagomenal day must likewise have long retained by tradition its character as the beginning of the year. There are other data in the Hebrew tradition which pointedly suggest the recognition of the five epagomenal days, as when the Priestly code represents the sojourn of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai as lasting one year and five days.[4] Again, the reference in *Isaiah*[5] to "days beyond [above] a

[1] See above, p. 326, n. 3.

[2] See Ed. Meyer, "Nachträge zur Ægyptischen Chronologie," *Abh. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.* (1907), 5 *sq.*

[3] Did Philo regard the five intermediate days of Passover as the epact? One cannot be quite sure of it; but it is difficult to understand what he says (*De septen.* clvii) if he did not. He says that Moses called the 1st and 7th days "holy," to give preference to beginning and end, and have the outer limits in musical concord; perhaps also to show time past and future accordant with the festival. ἥ τε γὰρ πρώτη τῆς μὲν ἑορτῆς ἐστιν ἀρχή, τέλος δὲ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, ἥ τε ἑβδόμη τέλος μὲν τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος. To be sure, he adds that this was done that the life of the good man, who has expelled from his soul grief, fear, desire, and all the other passions and diseases, might be held in equal honor with the festival; but he knew that Passover was a New Year observance, being a memorial of creation (*De septen.* clx), and hence the first day (properly Pesah) would be the last day of the preceding twelvemonth, and the seventh the first day of the coming year.

[4] *Exod.* xvi. 1; *Num.* x. 11 (both P).

[5] xxxii. 10. The epact, as a series of *dies non,* is naturally a time of confusion, nature and human society being topsy-turvy. Hence the evil of the year or the cycle is concentrated in "the last days." Jeremias, in *Das alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients*[2], p. 384, refers to *Test. Joseph.* xi. 8, where it is said that Joseph remained as a slave with the merchant 3 months and 5 days, suggesting that this period is the 3 winter months plus the epact.

year," in which Israel shall be troubled, would seem to be most naturally taken as referring to the epact, which the Egyptians also called "the days above the year." Reference was made above [1] to the fact that the five epagomenal days were known to the Phœnicians on the island of Cyprus early in the fourth century B.C. Dillmann seemed inclined to regard this as possibly confirming his theory that the early Israelites and Canaanites had a solar year, and thought it improbable that the Egyptian calendar came to Cyprus when it was conquered by Amasis in the sixth century.

Now there are evidences which suggest a knowledge of the five epagomenal days in Babylonia,[2] and this cannot be regarded as surprising in view of the fact that the Babylonians undoubtedly knew that the solar years had 365 days, while in business transactions they reckoned 360. It is even possible that in certain myths the epact was reckoned from a very early time, possibly inherited from some other people than the Egyptians. But even if this be granted, it must be clear that Babylonia is not a likely source from which the Israelitish calendar we are now considering could be derived.[3] This calendar has too clearly marked a character to be obtained by piecing together odds and ends of knowledge of Babylonia, even supposing that the Israelites knew as much about it as we do to-day; but that it was

Ibid., p. 385, he says, "The 12 sons of Jacob correspond to the 12 months of the year, and Benjamin is the 12th. To him, therefore, the 5 epagomenal days belong. Hence he received 5 changes of raiment (*Gen.* XLV. 22), and his mess was 5 times as much as any of his brethren's."

[1] Above, p. 326.

[2] Notably in the scheme of the Zag-muk, for which see below, p. 406 *sq.* The Sacæa also was a New Year festival, and lasted 5 days. The connection of the Babylonian New Year festivals with the 11-day epact was pointed out above, p. 338, n. 3. This period in the Zag-muk was divided 5 + 6. Jeremias (*op. cit.*, p. 86) refers to the Babylonian myth of the victory over the five giants as connected with the epact. This suggestion is almost certainly true, for it is an obvious parallel to the Greek Theomachy and Gigantomachy, as well as the overthrow of Apophis in the Egyptian and of Al Dahhak in the Persian myth on New Year's day. See my "Vergil's Messianic Expectations," *A.J.P.*, XLV, 205 *sq.* It might be thought that this scheme was due to the "five-day week" of Babylon; but that would ignore the specific associations of the festival, which clearly point to the epact.

[3] At the date in question Babylonian influence in Palestine cannot have been strong, as it naturally was later. One might more reasonably think of the Assyrians, but there is nothing in their calendar to suggest borrowing on the part of Israel. See H. Ehelolf and B. Landsberger, "Der altassyrische Kalender," *Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft,* LXXIV, 216–219. Their year was probably (not certainly) lunisolar, and the months were named, not numbered.

borrowed from some quarter students of Hebrew history will hardly doubt. All the evidence points to the conclusion that the calendar which we meet in *Jeremiah, Kings,* and the Priestly code was solar; whereas the Babylonian was always lunisolar. The only solar calendar known to us that existed at that date [1] was the Egyptian, and it is in fact so similar that one can hardly doubt that it was the model after which the Israelites patterned theirs. Of course there are differences, such as the definite division of the Israelite year into two parts of six months each; but even here the difference is not absolute, since Sethe has pointed out a division, though less formal, at this point in the Egyptian year.[2] Again, the Egyptian year was formally divided into three "seasons" of four months each, which were not taken over by the Hebrews; but apart from the fact that the Egyptian seasons (of sowing, of growing, of harvest and inundation) did not correspond to those of Palestine, there was sufficient reason for disregarding them because in fact they boxed the compass of the year, and may have been quite out of line with the natural seasons at the time when the calendar was adopted [3] or, let us say, adapted to the needs of Israel. But, in addition to adopting the month of thirty days and the epact, the Hebrews followed the Egyptian practice of designating the months by number rather than by name, though, rejecting the division of the year into seasons, they numbered them consecutively through the year instead of through the several seasons. Here again Egypt furnishes the only parallel; all the other neighboring peoples *named* their months.

One naturally asks when this calendar was adopted. The fact that it is used in the *Books of Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel,* the Priestly code, and the code of Holiness, but not in *Deuteronomy,* except in one verse [4] which critics agree in assigning to a Priestly editor, indicates that it was established at the beginning of the exile.[5] This then is the

[1] If, as is commonly held, the Old Persian calendar was introduced by Darius, it is of later date. It was solar, and in principle like the Egyptian. It seems natural to assume that it was borrowed from Egypt after that country fell to the Persians under Cambyses.

[2] Sethe, "Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ægypter im Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker," *Gotting. Nachr., phil.-hist. Kl.,* 1920, *Heft* 2, p. 43 *sq.* This may account for the dubious character of the 30th Mechir.

[3] Assuming that the date was *ca.* 610 B.C. and that a Sothic period began in 1322 B.C., the seasons of the Egyptian calendar would have been displaced by more than half a year.

[4] *Deut.* I. 3.

[5] This is said on the supposition that *Kings, Jeremiah,* and *Ezekiel* date at

lower limit; but an upper limit is not so easily found. The fact that *Deuteronomy* gives the ancient date of Passover as the new moon of Abib is not in itself conclusive, because this may be a case of intentional archaism. But several considerations strongly support the hypothesis that the calendar was adopted just before the exile. We have to reckon with two important facts: first, that this calendar remained, though subjected to changes of no little moment, the core of the sacral calendar of Judaism, because by it the dates of the immemorial pilgrimages have been fixed to this day, and therefore it must be assumed to have very sacred associations; and secondly, that the reformation of Josiah, which laid the foundations of Judaism, came just before the exile. Whether or not one may regard the reported reformation of Hezekiah as historical, it seems clear that Josiah's reforms first effectively centralized the cultus of Yahweh at Jerusalem. One of the logical, even necessary, steps to this end was the adoption of a uniform calendar: so long as the local shrines continued to serve as gathering-places for festal observances this need would not be felt, or at any rate would not be pressing; but if all devotees of Yahweh were to make their required pilgrimages simultaneously at sacrosanct "times and seasons," the situation was materially altered. Consequently we do not hesitate to connect this sacral calendar with the reforms of Josiah.[1] If we make this assumption, the high regard in which the days appointed for the pilgrimages of Pesah-Mazzot and Sukkot continued to be held, in spite of changed conditions, is amply explained. And this date receives further confirmation from recent additions to our knowledge of the times. As we have seen, the character of this calendar points to Egypt as its source. Egypt had of course long had relations more or less intimate with Palestine, but during the ascendancy of the Assyrian Empire these were interrupted. The Assyrians themselves were far more apt to destroy than to confer gifts of civilization, being borrowers and raiders rather than creators and civilizers; but when their empire was shaken and began to fall under the pressure and assaults of Medes and Babylonians, Egypt attempted to

latest from the exile. If, as some scholars hold, they date, at least in considerable part, from the fourth or third century, the dating of the calendar becomes very difficult.

[1] As the calendar would naturally be the work of the priests, and would perhaps not at once be recognized as a necessity, it seems reasonable to suppose that its adoption was one of the last, rather than one of the first, measures of reform. A date between 610 and 605 B.C. would appear to be most probable.

support it by moving up and occupying Palestine and Syria.[1] How soon this was done we do not know, but it was before the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.; and Egypt continued in control of Palestine until defeated in 605 by the Babylonians at Carchemish. It seems, moreover, that at this very time the priests, who must have formulated the calendar, were strong partisans of Egypt as against Babylon. If, then, the calendar was actually adopted at this time, there is every reason for expecting that it would be, as its character shows that it was, under Egyptian influence.

Hardly had the reforms of Josiah created Judaism when unspeakable calamity befell Judea: Josiah was slain, his son Jehoahaz was deposed after three months and deported to Egypt, and shortly afterwards another son was carried with a large number of leading Jews into captivity in Babylonia. But while the state thus practically disappeared, the Church was not so deeply affected. Under Babylonian rule it continued, and under the Persian kings it enjoyed protection and a degree of favor. The literary documents dating from this time are unsatisfactory sources for our present purposes. Critics are agreed that considerable additions were made to the Priestly code, but these are difficult to date; and *Chronicles* and *Ezra-Nehemiah* are in part confused and in part under suspicion of subsequent revision. In Biblical texts the calendarial references continue until quite late times in the manner of the writers of the exile; but there is internal evidence tending to show that the character of the calendar had actually changed. The months of the calendar of the reformation, as we have seen, were solar, whereas certainly from the second or third century B.C. onward the Jews have always had lunar months. In certain late Biblical texts [2] the Babylonian-Aramæan names of the months occur, certainly implying the use of lunar months; but these texts give us no satisfactory clue as to the time when the change came about. Non-Biblical documents,[3] however, which from

[1] See my study, "The Calendar of Ancient Israel," *Proceed. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, LXI, 47 *sq.* The new light on the history of Palestine at that time came with the publication by Mr. C. J. Gadd in 1923 of the newly discovered Babylonian chronicle (B. M. 21, 901), which has since been much discussed.

[2] See above, p. 330, n. 3.

[3] The Passover-letter, for example, from Elephantine, dated 419 B.C., dates the festival in the month of Nisan, and the papyri furnish other instances. I think it is a mistake to emphasize, as some scholars have done, the importance of the Jews deported to Babylonia. The Babylonian-Aramæan names of the months were current in Judea: that fact must be accepted, and is especially

their nature are not under suspicion of revision or of merely ecclesiastical influence, show that the Babylonian-Aramæan names of the months were in use as early as the fifth century. Though available data do not suffice to prove it, one suspects that, except for ecclesiastical purposes, the Jews very soon adopted the lunisolar calendar then in practically universal use in Western Asia.

If that be true, we have a ready explanation for certain festivals of the Jewish Church Year. As we have before remarked, the sacrifice for the new moon was added to the prescriptions for the first day of the month. This was of course inevitable, once the months, though still numbered instead of being named, came to coincide with the lunations. The full moon, by which Judaism now times Mazzot and Sukkot,[1] is not mentioned in the Scriptures, though late non-Biblical writers note the connection. That they should be so connected was inevitable, once the month became lunar; for in Babylonia, as elsewhere, the 15th[2] was regularly accounted full moon. But other dates also were necessarily so reinterpreted, such as the 10th of the first and seventh months. One can see the change taking place, so to speak, before one's eyes. The Priestly code makes the 10th of the seventh month the New Year of the Jubile years, and later adds the Feast of Trumpets on the 1st. The *Mishnah* then recognizes the latter as New Year's day of Sabbatical and Jubile years, and in a similar way recognizes the 1st Nisan as New Year's day. That Judaism adopted in the end the lunisolar calendar was natural, since, after the decline of Egyptian power and influence, all the environing conditions favored that practice; and whether the fact was still remembered or not by the Jews at large, it was in fact a return to the use of the Fathers.

A document of no small interest, as betraying the transition, is the story of the Flood. The main data either came from a Priestly writer or were at any rate admitted by him, which for our present purpose

noteworthy, because it raises in an acute form the question why the Biblical texts so long adhered to the manner of dating first attested in the early years of the captivity. The answer I have above given seems to me the only reasonable one.

[1] See Philo *De septen.* clv, ccx. II, pp. 203 and 297 M.; *Sirach* L. 6. Since the creation and "the Passover to come" (at the end of the world) were by the Rabbis dated variously at the New Year epochs in Nisan and Tishri (*Rosh ha-Shanah,* p. 16, tr. Rodkinson), it may be significant that it is said in *Sib. Or.* III. 20 *sq.:* [God] *ὃς λόγῳ ἔκτισε πάντα καὶ οὐρανὸν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν, ἠέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πληθοῦσαν.*

[2] Sometimes the 14th.

is practically the same thing. The Deluge is announced to occur after seven days,[1] and other terms of seven days occur in the Hebrew, as in the Sumerian version:[2] since the Flood is said[3] to have begun on the 17th of the second month, the announcement would be dated on the (10th? or) 11th. The ark came to rest on Ararat on the 17th of the second month.[4] One suspects that the month and day were regarded as Sabbatical and so appropriate to the "rest" of the ark; but the interval between this date and the beginning of the inundation is precisely five months, and it is declared to be 150 days,[5] which assumes 30 days as the standard length of a month. One asks whether the beginning of the Flood was not somehow brought into relation with New Year, as it is in *Jubilees*. There is mentioned in the story a term of 40 days,[6] which would be the precise interval between New Year's day and the date of the announcement, assuming a month of 30 days, and the 10th of the second month as the date of the proclamation to Noah. It has been repeatedly suggested by scholars[7] that the entire duration of the Flood is assumed to have been a solar year, because it is said to have begun on the 17th of the second month and on the 27th of the same month (in the following year) the earth was dried.[8] But if this conjecture be true, it must be plain that in this reckoning the months

[1] *Gen.* VII. 4.

[2] For the term of the Semitic Babylonian version, see below, p. 400, n. 1.

[3] VII. 11.

[4] VIII. 4.

[5] VII. 24; VIII. 3.

[6] VII. 4, 12.

[7] See particularly B. W. Bacon, "The Chronology of the Account of the Flood in P," *Hebraica*, VIII, 79–88.

[8] VIII. 14. There appears to be a clear duplication, coupled with a crossing of chronological schemes, in VIII. 13 and VIII. 14. In the former verse it is said that "the waters were dried up from off the earth" on the 1st of the first month (New Year's day) while in the latter it is stated that on the 27th of the second month the earth was dry. Of course the two conditions are not identical; but if we assume it to be true that the latter date is understood to be one solar year after the beginning of the inundation, as has long been thought, it is quite remarkable. *Jubilees* (which reckons by solar years) says the ark was built on the 1st of the first month (v. 22), Noah closed it on the 17th of the second month (v. 23), on the 17th of the second month (one solar year after the ark was closed and the Flood came) the earth was dry, and on the 27th the ark discharged its passengers. Here too the total length of time spent by Noah in the ark is one year and ten days, but this latter is clearly a concession to the account in *Gen.* The connection of the Flood with the New Year (for which see Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, I, 114) is clear throughout; no less obvious is the confused reckoning.

were lunar and not of 30 days. Moreover, though the number seven and terms of seven days occur frequently in the narrative, there is nothing to show that the latter constitute weeks, especially consecutive weeks. We suggested above [1] that the seventh month and the seventeenth day were understood as appropriate times for rest; but there is here no evidence of a Sabbath, as it was understood in later Judaism. Rather the situation here disclosed is in principle at least the same as that disclosed by the Babylonian records.[2] The decadic division of the month [3] is matched in Greece and Babylonia, as well as in Egypt; what especially interests us is that the seventh days of the several decads rather than cyclical weeks of seven days are emphasized. This condition of the text is inexplicable except upon the assumption that the calendar was in a state of transition and that the cyclical week had not yet become established. One would like to know to what date this composite document is to be assigned, but there seems to be no means available for determining it.

The first calendar known to us, which takes account of the cyclical week, and tries to provide for it, is contained in the *Book of Jubilees*.[4] This treatise, also called the *Little Genesis*, appears to date from the latter half of the second century B.C. The calendar,[5] though we have no reason to believe that it was ever adopted by the Jewish Church, claims our special interest because of its character. Earlier ones we have been obliged to reconstruct from scattered data, while

[1] P. 345.

[2] All those who have sought the antecedents of the Jewish Sabbath in Babylonia have had to admit that, while seventh days and terms of seven days are easy to discover in Babylonian records, there is no evidence of a regular hebdomadal week observed there. Rather the equation of three and seven, which we find in the Hebrew tradition, is fairly clear, and the seventh days of the decad are quite as marked as successive terms (not regularly recurring) of seven days, differing in this respect not at all from the *shigū*-days, which are generally the sixth in the decads of the month, but with an occasional 28th.

[3] Which therefore cannot be cited (as it was by Dillmann) as evidence of a solar month of 30 days.

[4] Less fully developed it occurs, though with a difference (see below, p. 349, n. 2) in 1 *En.* LXXII–LXXV, LXXXII. 4 *sq.*

[5] *Jubilees* VI. 23, 29–30. See Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 54 *sq.*, and B. W. Bacon, "The Calendar of *Enoch* and *Jubilees*," *Hebraica*, VIII, 124–131. It is introduced in the account of the Flood and is clearly related to that which appears in the version of *Gen.* The latter, as has just been pointed out, displays a crossing of chronological schemes, partly lunisolar, partly solar, while *Jubilees* would have a pure solar year. Whether the solar calendar of *Gen.* was one of 364 days, as Bacon and others believe, there is no evidence to decide.

we here have the entire frame clearly outlined. Moreover we are permitted to see the interests which the calendar-maker felt bound to satisfy. It is instructive to compare two passages drawn respectively from Greek and Jewish sources. In a comedy of Aristophanes,[1] the Clouds, who constitute the chorus, report to the Athenians the complaints of the Moon. "In spite of her benefactions," they say, "you do not properly observe the days, but shuffle them together in the utmost confusion; hence the gods constantly threaten her when they go home cheated of their suppers, failing of their feasts according to the reckoning of the days. Then, when you ought to be offering sacrifice, you are bickering and engaged in lawsuits; and often, when we gods are observing a fast, mourning—let us say—for Memnon or Sarpedon, you offer libations of wine,[2] and make merry." This complaint cannot arise from the maladjustment of the lunar and solar years, because its point is that the Moon has been slighted. The Greek calendars were all lunisolar, "full" and "hollow" months generally alternating; though this roughly approximated the lunations, the observed new moon might not fall on the first day of the month. Thucydides, with obvious reference to this fact, significantly speaks [3] of "the new moon according to the moon." Since the rites were professedly, but not always actually, dated from the new moon, the confusion of which complaint is made could have been avoided by careful observation, or it may be by accurate calculation, of the first appearance of the moon after the conjunction. For the Greek, then, the problem was relatively simple. The Jew, however, though concerned to achieve the same result, was confronted with a greater difficulty. In *Jubilees* [4] the angel says to Moses: "Command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to the reckoning—364 days, and these will constitute a complete year; and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from their order, and they will neglect their ordinances. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not

[1] *Nubes* 615 *sq.*; cf. *Pax* 414 *sq.*
[2] On such days "wineless offerings" (*νηφάλια*) were made.
[3] ii. 28.
[4] vi. 32–38.

find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, the seasons,[1] and the Sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know, and from henceforth shall I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book lies written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance.[2] For there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—now it disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb the order, and make an abominable day the day of testimony,[3] and an unclean day a feast-day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and Sabbaths and feasts and Jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb them, so that they will not make a year 364 days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to new moons and seasons and Sabbaths and festivals."

While it is apparent that the Jew and the Greek were alike interested in the calendar solely as it related to the sacred times and seasons, their points of view are radically different; for the Jew decries the regard for the moon, which the Greek thinks essential and deplores finding neglected. The author of *Jubilees* himself intimates, what we know from other sources to be a fact, that the contemporary Jews took precisely the same view as the Greeks. How one is to account for this situation is a question not easily answered; but it seems clear that this Jew regarded the calendar, which he proposed, as part of the Mosaic revelation,[4] that is to say, of the

[1] I. e., the *moʿadim.*

[2] This implies the general use of a lunar calendar by the Gentiles.

[3] What day is meant is not clear.

[4] The heavenly tables, mentioned in *Jubilees,* are in 1 *En.* made known to the patriarch, and are commonly taken to refer in both documents to esoteric doctrines; but one must not forget that in *Jubilees* the revelation is represented as given to Moses, the recipient of the Torah, and that the contents of its calendarial scheme are directly brought into relation to the account of the Flood in the Torah. That it is in fact related to at least one stratum of the Priestly code cannot be doubted; and it seems reasonable, according to our analysis, to regard that stratum as the older. Professor Bacon and Dr. Charles think of the time of the exile; perhaps the older stratum, which is in question, actually antedates the exile.

ancient law of his people. If he was justified in that view, it must be the Priestly code, or its older strata, which he believed to embody the true practice. But it does not follow that the calendar of the reformation provided for a year of precisely 364 days; for it cannot be doubted that this feature of his scheme owes its existence to the desire not only to provide for the cyclical Sabbaths—of which, as we have seen, there is no evidence in the account of the Flood—but to make sure that the festivals, which alone concerned the calendar-makers of the reformation, should stand always in the same position relative to the Sabbaths. This becomes at once evident when one examines his scheme in detail.[1] The year of 364 days contains exactly 52 weeks; but it is divided into 12 months of 30 days and four quarters of three months, these quarters being punctuated, as it were, by the four additional days of remembrance interjected between them.[2] Each quarter therefore comprised exactly 13 weeks, and of course the weeks were not divided between years or quarters. The chief festivals, as we have seen, for which the calendar of the reformation was designed, were Pesah-Mazzot and Sukkot, which stand near the beginning of the first and third quarters, and are thus easily referred to the weeks. As Passover is definitely dated the 15th[3] and lasts seven days, it would in this scheme begin on a Sunday and end on a Sabbath; and Sukkot, beginning on the 15th and lasting eight days,[4] would begin and end on a Sunday. The

[1] See Charles on VI. 29–30 (p. 54 *sq.*).

[2] VI. 23. The days of remembrance are memorials of the stages of the Flood. In 1 *En.* LXXII. 13, 16, 19, 25 they are really intercalary (or "passover") days; but in *Jubilees* XLIX. 14, all intercalation or passing over of days is forbidden. They are in 1 *En.* "leaders" of the quarters, i.e., first days. *Levit.* XXIII. 24 appoints Rosh ha-Shanah a memorial, but of course all the *mo'adim* of the pilgrimages, which likewise were New Year's days, were memorial days (not of the Flood, however, but) of the exodus or the giving of the Law. The particular event in the past which was to be commemorated was differently specified at different stages of the development of Judaism. The memorial days of *En.* and *Jubilees* are among the best proofs that the ancient *haggim* of Israel were intrinsically related to the "passover"-times and the epact. A very curious fact is that a calendar very similar to that of 1 *En.* and *Jubilees* exists in Iceland even now, according to Nilsson (*Primitive Time-Reckoning*, p. 78 *sq.*). The year falls into two halves (*misseri*), which are in turn divided, since they are reckoned forward in the first quarter and backward in the second. Ordinary years consist of 52, leap-years of 53, weeks; and intercalation occurs as required.

[3] XLIX. 1.

[4] Above, p. 206, in discussing Sukkot, I suggested that its term of 8 days was influenced by the 3d "week" of the Persian solar month, and called attention to the fact that, by the beginning of the Christian era, Passover also

treatise takes no account of Rosh ha-Shanah, or the Feast of Trumpets; but it makes much of the Day of Atonement[1] as a day of mourning, commemorating the mourning of Jacob for the reported death of Joseph and the actual death of Bilhah and Dinah,[2] but also connects it with the fall of the angels and the Last Judgment.[3]

One datum of *Jubilees* has given rise to much discussion. The Feast of Weeks, or "the feast of the first-fruits of the grain-harvest," is dated on the 15th of the third month.[4] Since this is not 50 days after any recognized date of 'Omer-day, some scholars have assumed another, ecclesiastical, calendar having thirteen months of 28 days, because on that supposition the 15th of the third month would be the 50th day, counting from the 22d of the first month.[5] This suggestion may be safely rejected, because *Jubilees* neither calls the festival Pentecost, nor in any way indicates a term of 50 days, nor mentions 'Omer-day. To these sufficient reasons for ignoring this hypothesis we may add that Shabu'ot is in the Torah not always treated as the deferred or prolonged *'azeret* of Passover; but, as one of the "three times" of required Pilgrimage, is sometimes regarded as an independent *hag*.[6] There is no reason why *Jubilees* should not have taken the latter view; and since the other major festivals are dated on the 15th, it was natural to assign this festival also to the same day.[7] Since our author reckons 49 years to a Jubilee, it would in fact be more consistent if he thought of the Feast of Weeks as the 49th

had come to have a like term. 1 *En.* LXXIV. 5–6 (see Charles's note *ad loc.*) singles out the relations of sun and moon at the equinoctial points in Aries and Libra for special comment, dividing the lunation into 4 quarters, the first and last of which are of 7, the middle ones of 8 days. There is, indeed, at these times a maximum recession of the moon from the sun, greatest at the quarters but perhaps most conspicuous at the full moon, the *mo'adim* of the chief festivals; but the determination of the middle phases at 8 days is obviously arbitrary and presumably in the interest of the festival terms then observed.

[1] It would fall on a Tuesday (day of Ares), which in the planetary week was a day of evil omen.

[2] XXXIV. 12–19.

[3] v. 6–18. This, like the fall of the Giants, is clearly a New Year motive.

[4] See Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 106.

[5] See the summary statement of Charles, *ibid.*, p. 54 *sq.* Charles himself, with some hesitation, accepts Eppstein's theory.

[6] See above, p. 250 *sq.* The same view must be assumed in regard to the Christian Pentecost when it was preceded, and not followed, by a fast. Of this I may treat more at length at another time.

[7] By the calendar of *Jubilees* it would fall on a Friday, which for obvious reasons would seem appropriate for a *hag*.

rather than the 50th day. The festival is said[1] to have been celebrated in heaven from creation down to the days of Noah: it might fittingly have been called Forefathers' (or Patriarchs') Day; for on it God made a covenant with Abraham,[2] Abraham died and received offerings of first-fruits from Isaac and Ishmael,[3] Isaac and Judah were born,[4] and Jacob made with Laban the passover-covenant of Galeed.[5] All this sufficiently suggests that the festival was intended to be quite independent of Passover.

There is no need of pursuing the study of the calendar in later times,[6] because it does not concern our present purpose, and others have sufficiently dealt with it. After doing one's best to solve the problems of the earlier times, one will have to confess that very much still remains obscure. Our analysis discloses three phases, during the first and last of which the year was lunisolar: between them lies a comparatively brief period, which is that of the reformation of Josiah and the organization of Judaism as a Church, when a solar calendar was adopted. We cannot even say that this institution ever obtained recognition outside of ecclesiastical circles, because we have no secular documents from that time. Certain observances, such as the rites for the new moons, proper to the lunar months, seem never to have been discontinued: one would be surprised if they had been, when one considers the immemorial sanctity of the rites. One is rather startled, however, to find their observance associated with the first days of arbitrary months, but the fact that even in Greece, where lunisolar calendars were universally in use, the first day of the month might not be the true new moon, tends to lessen one's surprise. Such changes naturally follow any systematization of the calendar, and may be the more readily accepted by people of urban habits. But the Priestly code and later Judaism bear witness to the gradual encroachment of lunar observances (such as the New Year epochs, not recognized in older documents, and not provided for by

[1] VI. 17 *sq.*
[2] XV. 1 *sq.*
[3] XXII. 1 *sq.*
[4] XVI. 13; XXVIII. 15.
[5] XXIX. 7; cf. *Gen.* XXXI.
[6] The data regarding the festivals mentioned in *Ezra* and *Neh.* have been considered elsewhere. Since they yield no certain evidence for the calendar, it is best to ignore them here, except as they may be fairly taken as indicating a degree of confusion not unnatural, on our view, after the return from the exile. Purim and Hanukkah are certainly of foreign origin and reflect other than Jewish calendars.

the calendar of the reformation) upon the scheme underlying the solar year.

That by and large the Hebrew calendar was lunisolar one may infer from various statements of the Scriptures. The story of creation [1] tells us that sun and moon were to serve for signs and *moʿadim,* and to mark days and years; the Psalmist [2] says that Yahweh appointed the moon for *moʿadim,* and *Sirach* [3] states that he made the moon "for its due season, to rule over periods, and for an everlasting sign, and by her the feasts and prescribed times are determined." The rôle of the sun, recognized in the earlier times, is mostly confined in later times to defining the limits of the day; [4] but the solstices and equinoxes are not quite forgotten.[5] These cardinal points of the year are very easily observed, as has already been said; but we have no knowledge of the manner or accuracy of the necessary adjustments made in the effort to bring the incommensurable lunar and solar cycles into practical accord. This is done by intercalation; and of the actual practice of intercalation by the Jews in the period here under consideration we are entirely without information. Those who assume a precise method in use among the Israelites from very early times seem to ignore the fact that a systematic regulation of the calendar by intercalation comes quite late even in Babylon, which was culturally far in advance of Israel.

Jubilees [6] calls the Torah "a law of seasons and of days." So far as one may judge, the religion of Israel, as of all the other ancient peoples, was always largely bound to times and seasons. The fact that some of the prophets desired a cultus less formally conditioned and observed does not imply that Israel was an exception: on the contrary it proves the point. From the historical point of view, the prophets constitute the greatest problem the student has to face and solve. However they might decry the regard for times and seasons, their own message was inherently conditioned by the very assumptions they reprobated; for did they not read the signs of the times, and

[1] *Gen.* I. 14. This is consonant with a lunisolar year.

[2] *Ps.* CIV. 19. This implies the dating of the festivals by the lunation.

[3] XLIII. 6.

[4] *Ps.* CIV. 19: "The sun knoweth his going down," which is the line of division between sacral days (e. g., the beginning of the Sabbath). In connection with Passover it was pointed out that midnight and cockcrow likewise marked the point of division between days at different periods of the tradition.

[5] E. g., *Wisd. of Sol.* VII. 18, and I *En.* LXXIV. 1–6.

[6] XXXI. 16.

proclaim the day of Yahweh's wrath or the year of his favor? The Psalmist [1] laments, "We see not our signs: there is no more any prophet; neither is there among us any that knoweth how long." One might think it was a late apocalyptic that was desired; but *Jeremiah* [2] says, "For there shall be a day, that the watchmen upon the hills of Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion unto Yahweh our God;" and one cannot doubt that he is thinking of a prophet who shall proclaim a "holy convocation" after the manner of those who, doubtless from very early times, watched on the hill-tops for the appearance of the new moon, and when they beheld it announced the *hieromenia*.[3] In Israel, as in Egypt, it must have been the function of the prophet to make the proclamation; when prophecy failed, it became the function of the priests.

To know the signs was the property of the wise;[4] and in the older time they were the prophets, in later times, the apocalyptics, who accounted themselves prophets. In Babylonia and Persia they would have been astrologers; but of a developed astrology there is little trace in Israel until quite late times. *Chronicles*,[5] indeed, speaks of "the children of Issachar, men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do . . . and all their brethren followed their commandment." But we have little confirmatory evidence [6] that Issachar was particularly blessed with either prophets or astrologers.

The Jews cried up their "holy convocations" to the sound of the shofar or trumpet. The only general statement of the Torah regarding the practice to be observed is in *Numbers:* [7] "In the day of

[1] *Ps.* LXXIV. 9.

[2] XXXI. 6.

[3] Cf. *Num.* IX. 1 *sq.*; XX. 1 *sq.*

[4] *Wisd. of Sol.* VII. 18. 1 *En.* is especially interesting because of the diverse components of that composite document. In the astronomical (or astrological) section, it blesses the man who knows the "signs," while in the ethical he is accounted blessed who died in righteousness. Thus it combines the chief ideals of the prophet, as at once one who can read the signs of the times "to know what Israel ought to do," and one who is a preacher of righteousness. *Berakot,* 60 *b,* says, "When one hears the cock crow, one says, Praised be He who hath given the cock [*sekwi* = prophet] discernment to distinguish between night and day." Here the cock is regarded as a prophet, because he announces the day, or—because cockcrow was a recognized line of demarcation—distinguishes between night and day.

[5] 1 *Chron.* XII. 32.

[6] The most significant, perhaps, is II *Sam.* XX. 14 *sq.,* especially XX, 18, 22; for Abel lay in Issachar.

[7] X. 10.

your gladness, and in your *mo'adim,* and in the beginning of your months ye shall blow the trumpet." The *Psalmist* [1] says, "Blow the trumpet at the new moon, at the *keseh* [dark of the moon [2]], on our feast-day;" and *Leviticus* [3] appoints a memorial Feast of Trumpets on the 1st of the seventh month (Rosh ha-Shanah). From the Talmud we learn that the Sabbath was likewise so announced. There is essentially no difference between the Jewish practice and the Roman; [4] for the latter also announced the holy days and on them labor was interdicted, as it was among the Jews. If there was any difference, it lay in the fact that the Romans had formal kalends on the first day of the month (in principle, in the older time, the new moon), while the Jew, though blowing the trumpet on that day, may not have indicated how long it would be until the next holy day; but that remains uncertain.[5] If in the earliest period the major *mo'adim* were actually observed at the new moon, no special announcement was necessary for them; but we read also of proclamations on special occasions,[6] and it is implied that the practice was followed by the Canaanites and other peoples.[7] Fasts were announced for the morrow or for a future date, previous notice being required; but feasts might be heralded the selfsame day.[8] Where, as at Pesah, there was a pre-festal day, that may have sufficed; but the obligation to remove all leaven before Mazzot may be assumed to have called for public notice. Our information is fragmentary and apparently not of a piece; it is altogether probable that the practice was not the same at different periods of Israelite and Jewish history.

[1] *Ps.* LXXXI. 4.

[2] See above, p. 335, n. 2.

[3] XXIII. 24.

[4] See below, p. 402 *sq.*

[5] If it was not done, it was presumably because the dates were supposed to be known: so the Roman pontifices on the kalends apparently announced only the nones, because, these known, the other dates were determined.

[6] *Exod.* XXXII. 5; *Judges* VII. 3; I *Kings* XXIX. 3; II *Chron.* XX. 3; *Jer.* XXXVI. 9.

[7] *Exod.* XXXIV. 15; I *Sam.* IX. 13, 24; XVI. 3; *Jon.* III. 5, 7.

[8] So Pentecost (*Levit.* XXIII. 21), like its analogue, the Jubile year, proclaimed on New Year's day with the blowing of trumpets (*Levit.* XXV. 9 *sq.*).

CHAPTER VIII

The Day of Yahweh and the Sabbath

I. *The Day of Yahweh*

The results of our study of the Hebrew pilgrimages in relation to ritual schemes and the calendar, as set forth in the preceding chapters, are surprising, to none more surprising than to the writer; for in all this survey the Sabbath, as the seventh day, which in Judaism came to be the holy day *par excellence,* plays a rôle so inconspicuous as almost to disappear from view. In the older period the "three times," or pilgrimages, occupy the stage, and the *mo'adim* of the festivals are the holy days of Israel, the days of the people's tryst with Yahweh. These, as we have seen, were in the ritual schemes rated preferably as second or sixth days, and were properly observed as fast-days, to be followed by feasts kept with joy. The earliest documents seem to indicate that the festival was a triduum, which might be repeated, yielding a term of six days; but in the course of time longer terms came to be observed, as long as seven and eight days, which might again be repeated. The varying length of the festal term, which we can only imperfectly explain, itself bears witness to the fact that it was not the primary consideration, in that it readily yielded to temporary influences; whereas in regard to the *mo'ed,* though here also changes supervened, a far greater conservatism was displayed, as is shown by the continuance of the same schemes down to the time when the cyclical week became established and finally fixed the place and character of the Sabbath. These facts make it imperative that we should inquire more fully into the "day of Yahweh" and the Sabbath.

Though we are not concerned with questions of origins, and freely confess that even the early history of the festivals is involved in impenetrable obscurity, it must be said that all the *haggim* were apparently appropriated by the cultus of Yahweh from pagan neighbors. Pesah proper may possibly be an exception; but its obvious

character as a Passover or *rite de passage,* and its kinship with other passovers and observances not peculiar to Israel, make this seem doubtful. But if this be granted, we have no certain datum regarding the forms of the cultus of Yahweh before its introduction into Canaan. We must then look to the prophets for such indications as we may hope to find of the thought of the early Israelites regarding the tryst with Yahweh; but in seeking to determine its significance we must bear in mind the fact, which is beyond question, that the day of a deity is fixed with reference to a ritual scheme.

That this is true of the "day of Yahweh" is as plain as one could desire.[1] Even the most superficial knowledge of the Hebrew tradition will suffice to convince the reader that the day of Yahweh is always and everywhere related to the eschatological expectations of the people; and the Israelite is no exception to the rule that a people's eschatology takes the form of its past or present ritual pattern: the "last things" occur on the Last Day, and the Last Day shares the character and signature of the festal term. This is so obviously true of Jewish and Christian eschatology that it calls for no argument; and there is every reason to believe that it is equally true of that of the prophets. What, then, is the character of the "day of Yahweh" according to the prophets?

As for *Amos,* it is certain that he regarded it as a fast-day: Yahweh will not smell the savor of sacrifice, as the heavenly gods enjoy the savor of communion-offerings on feast-days, and he will not hear songs nor the melody of viols. He will sit in judgment, and righteousness, not favor, will he dispense; mourning and wailing shall be in the ways. It is darkness, and not light. Let not erring Israel hope for that day;[2] for, as the Psalmist says,[3] "If thou, Yahweh, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who could stand?" That it is a *dies iræ*[4] the prophets agree,[5] though some comfort themselves and their fellows with the thought that Yahweh so fully identifies himself with his people that he reserves his wrath for their enemies; and *Isaiah*[6] calls his day "the day of the great slaughter," and *Joel*[7] exclaims, "Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of de-

[1] See Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.,* p. 188 *sq.*

[2] v. 18 *sq.*

[3] *Ps.* cxxx. 3.

[4] The great hymn *Dies iræ* best expresses the associations of the day of Yahweh.

[5] *Isa.* II. 12 *sq.*; *Zeph.* I. 7 *sq.*; v. 4 *sq.*; *Ezek.* xxx. 1 *sq.*

[6] xxx. 25.

[7] III. 14.

cision! for the day of Yahweh is near in the valley of decision!" One might illustrate more fully the conception of the day of Yahweh which was held by the early Israelites, but it is hardly necessary: it is from first to last the day of judgment, of the final decision, quite like the Day of Atonement, the fast-day *par excellence* of Judaism. One may not, however, pass over in silence one aspect of this judgment of Yahweh: it is generally thought of as the decision of battle.[1] The day of Yahweh is then the day of battle, like the "day of Midian."[2] In this arbitrament of battle the people might fondly think that their god would incline the scale in their favor; but the prophet might take the larger view that Yahweh is not the god of Israel alone, being no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him.

The Minor Prophets are especially instructive. The oracles of Amos, for example, are detached fragments, to be sure, but they have been composed in a measure, probably by a later editor. Like most of the other prophecies, the word of Yahweh by the mouth of Amos begins with denunciation and the call to repentance, and ends with a promise of mercy; thus conforming to the scheme of the pilgrimage festivals. *Joel*[3] clearly indicates a fast before the day of Yahweh. Again, *Joel* and *Amos* and *Nahum*[4] unmistakably associate the great day of Yahweh with the blessing or curse of the god's "passing over" Israel or withholding the passage of the enemy. *Amos* in one passage[5] is obviously thinking of the autumnal epoch, connecting the eschatological end (*kez*) with the vision of the basket of summer fruits, while *Habakkuk*[6] with obvious intent associates the *kez* with the *mo'ed*.

[1] Cf. Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*[2], p. 398. One may compare the suggestions of the Arabic *yawm*, and "the day," *"der Tag."* See below, p. 424, n. 5, for the battle of Bedr.

[2] *Isa.* IX. 4.

[3] I. 8 *sq.*; II. 12 *sq.*

[4] *Joel* III. 17; *Amos* V. 17; VII. 8; VIII. 2; *Nah.* I. 15 (*Heb.* II. 1). The intentional use of *'ābar* is obvious; cf. the similar use of *'ābar* and *pāsah* in *Exod.* XII. 12, 13, 23, 27.

[5] VIII. 1 *sq.* Note VIII. 2, "the songs of the temple shall be wailings in the day."

[6] II. 2–3. Cf. *Ps.* CII. 13.

> "Thou wilt arise and have mercy upon Zion;
> For it is time to have pity upon her,
> Yea, the *mo'ed* is come."

One might readily match these points of view with sayings of the Greeks. A comparison of beliefs, however, would be of small value unless they were shown to be associated with days of like character and significance. For this purpose we shall do well to consider certain data regarding the *dies nefasti* of the Greco-Roman world. Before doing so, however, we may again refer to the scheme of the three libations, which Plutarch with good reason connects with the scheme of days: the first was offered to the Olympian gods; the second, to Heroes, to gods of the lower world, and to the "good spirit;" the third, Olympian-wise to the Saviour. As we have repeatedly remarked, the second day is very frequently equated with the sixth. As regards the divinities, though differences in ritual are not overlooked, Homer and Hesiod make no clear distinction between *theoi* and *daimones;* but by the time one comes to Plato, one sees that the difference between them has come clearly to consciousness, and in Plutarch the distinction is as plainly as possible drawn with express reference to rites performed in the cultus. The gods (*theoi*) are good and benevolent, while the spirits (*daimones*) are generally evil and malevolent; and the sacrifices offered to them correspond to their respective characters. "Next after the Olympian gods and the gods of the State," says Plato,[1] "honor should be given to the gods below; they should receive everything in even numbers, and second[2] in order, and of evil omen;[3] whereas things first, things in odd numbers, and things of good omen are to be offered to the gods above by him who would rightly hit the mark of piety." What the master thus left half-defined, his successors, notably Xenocrates, developed into sharp distinctions. In discussing the Egyptian divinities, Plutarch attempts to trace this characterization back to Homer and remarks that the *daimones* have a mixed and uneven temper. "Wherefore," he says,[4] "Plato assigns the auspicious and the odd to the Olympian gods, and their opposites to the evil spirits [*dai-*

[1] *Legg.* 717 A, tr. Jowett (adapted).

[2] δεύτερα.

[3] Of course, the Mysteries held out brighter hopes for the dead, and hence fostered a conception of the gods of the dead less terrifying (cf. Plato *Phædo* 62 C *sq.*, esp. 63 B), and the myths of the Isles of the Blessed Dead (e. g., *Gorgias* 523 A) gave hope to the good. The common people, however, with their instinctive fear of death, do not seem to have been greatly influenced by such rites and conceptions.

[4] *De Iside* xxvi. For the distinction between τὰ θεῖα and τὰ δαιμόνια, cf. Plato *Apol. Soc.* 27 A *sq.*, and Plutarch *Qu. Gr.* vi, and *De Iside* xxv and xlv *sq.*

mones]; but Xenocrates[1] thinks that the black days [*apophrades, dies nefasti*] and all festivals which include beatings, or mourning, or fasting, or utterances of evil omen, or obscene talk, do not belong to the gods, nor to the good spirits; but that there are in the atmosphere great and powerful beings, churlish and morose, that take pleasure in such things, and if they receive them, do not turn to something worse."

Again, in the *Life of Pelopidas,* considering the dream which came to that general during the night preceding the battle of Leuctra and bade him sacrifice a virgin to the daughters of Scedasus, the Heroines of the place, Plutarch, having related the arguments of those who urged a literal compliance with the supernatural command, proceeds to say,[2] "Others, on the contrary, argued against it, declaring that so lawless and barbarous a sacrifice was not acceptable to any of the supernal beings, for it was not the fabled Typhons and Giants[3] who governed the world, but the father of all gods and men; even to believe in the existence of beings who take delight in the slaughter and blood of men was perhaps a folly; but if such beings existed, they must be disregarded, as having no power; for only weakness and depravity of soul could produce or harbor such unnatural and cruel desires." The same writer expresses himself even more plainly in his essay *On the Cessation of Oracles:* "There are," he says,[4] "as among men, so among spirits also, degrees of excellence, and in some there subsists still some slight, faint remnant of passion and unreason, as a slough; in others this is strong and hard to eradicate, its traces and tokens being in many places preserved and sporadically found in sacrifices and rites and myths. As to the Mystic rites,[5] in which the most evident and transparent indications may be had of the truth about the spirits, 'let one observe reverent silence,' as Herodotus says; but festivals and sacrifices, as on days nefast and morose, when there are meals of raw flesh, and rendings and fastings and beaten breasts, and in many places obscene

[1] With the views of Xenocrates and Plutarch compare that of the Roman Labeo, in Augustine, *Civ. Dei* ii, 11 (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.,* p. 696).

[2] xxi, tr. Perrin.

[3] Cf. Plutarch *De superst.* 171 D. The entire treatise is significant, because reference is made largely to Semitic rites.

[4] xiii-xv, tr. Prickard, freely adapted.

[5] For initiation on an *apophras,* see Lucian *Philopatris* xxiii. The scene is apparently modeled on the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. At Rome also the *Orci nuptiæ* were dark rites.

utterances at the rites, 'madness and hallooings, roused by tossing of the head' (as the poet sings)—all these, I should say, were offered to no god, but are modes of appeasement and soothing to propitiate evil spirits. As for the human sacrifices, which used to be performed, it is not credible that they were either commanded or accepted by the gods; nor yet did kings and captains endure to give up their own children to sacrifice and slay them without a purpose. It was to soothe and satisfy the heavy displeasure of beings cruel and relentless, and in some cases their mad and tyrannous lusts, when they could not or would not satisfy them by carnal intercourse.[1] As Heracles besieged Œchalia for the sake of a maiden,[2] so strong and violent spirits, requiring in vain a human soul involved in the body, bring pestilences on cities and sterility on the land, and stir up wars and seditions, until they succeed in getting that on which their affection is set . . . Now all the crimes of violence, all the wanderings of gods,[3] all tales of hiding, banishment, or servitude, which are said or sung in myth or hymn, are adventures which happened

[1] Cf. Plutarch *Qu. conuiu.* i. 1. 3.

[2] Troy also was besieged because of Helen.

[3] Plutarch no doubt had in mind the wanderings of Demeter in quest of Cora, enacted in the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the similar rites in the Mysteries of Isis. As we have shown that the story of Israel's exodus reflects the ritual of the *hag,* in which the people followed the departing god, this also may be compared; for the god was supposed to be abroad or in the underworld, and his followers fasted. The passing of Elijah (II *Kings* II) seems to reflect a double passover of the Jordan, Elijah passing (as did Moses) at the passover. The waters of Jordan are divided as at the passover of Joshua. When Elijah ("El is Yahweh") disappears, fifty men are sent out who seek him three days in the mountains. Similarly the *Gospel of Nicodemus* XV relates that men sent out by Nicodemus searched the mountains three days and three nights in quest of Jesus after the Resurrection, and refers to the search for Elijah. In each case the failure to find the departed was regarded as confirming the truth of the reported ascension to heaven. From these accounts we may probably infer that the ascension was celebrated on the fourth day, the *epibda* of the triduum. At another time I hope to present the evidence for resurrection and ascension observed on New Year's Day. The departed is frequently regarded as hidden or confined in a mountain; cf. Al-Biruni, p. 209; Zimmern II, p. 3 *sq.* Hence the ὀρειβάσια so frequent in the Levant (see Picard, *Éphèse et Claros, passim*) and probably also the bacchanalian quest for Dionysus in the mountains. In the Christian tradition the ascension of Jesus is referred now to Easter Sunday, the Hilaria *par excellence,* now to the fortieth day thereafter. The ascension of Heracles is expressly referred to the fourth day. For the three days during the dark of the moon as ἀποφράδες, see *Etym. magn., s. v.;* Hesychius, *s. v.,* where it is said they are days on which dark rites (ἐναγίζουσι) are performed for the dead.

not to gods, but to evil spirits. Widest of the truth of all are the theologians of Delphi, who, thinking that a battle once took place there between the god and a serpent for the possession of the oracle, allow poets and speech-writers contending in the theater to tell these stories, belying their own most sacred rites."

This statement deserves far more attention than it has received; for, excepting Philochorus, whose works have unfortunately survived only in scant fragments, Plutarch, by reason of his connection with the priesthood at Delphi, knew more of Greek ritual than any writer of whom we have record. It can be shown that every one of the observances here mentioned as proper to evil spirits and nefast days is properly assigned, and has in fact nothing to do with the Olympian gods except as they, in their character of chthonians and Mystery-gods, might claim them on the nefast days which fell within their festal terms. The failure to discover this fact is due to the circumstance that the popularity and the consequent elaboration of the programs of certain festivals, as well as the complication arising from the superposing of Olympian on ancient local rites, tended to obscure the ritual schemes—even to the Greeks themselves. Plato, in the *Laws*,[1] shows his usual perspicacity when, discussing the regulations to be laid down regarding music, he asks whether it would not produce disheartenment and be regarded as of evil omen, if, when a private sacrifice had been duly burned on the altar, a son or brother standing by the altar and sacrificial victim should begin utterly to blaspheme. "And yet," he proceeds, "this is just what takes place in almost all our cities. A magistrate offers a public sacrifice, and there comes in not one but many choruses, who take up a position a little way from the altar, and from time to time pour forth all sorts of horrible blasphemies on the sacred rites, exciting the souls of their auditors with words and rhythms and melodies most mournful to hear; and he who after the completion of the sacrifice most makes the city weep carries away the palm of victory. Now ought we not to forbid such strains as these? And if ever our citizens must hear such lamentations, then on some unblest and inauspicious day let there be choruses of foreign and hired minstrels, like hirelings who accompany the departed at funerals with barbarous Carian chants." The sacrifices to the Olympian gods, the gods of the state, being concluded, dramatic and dithyrambic choruses, to

[1] 800 B *sq.*, tr. Jowett, adapted.

which Plato clearly refers, sing songs which are fit for a nefast day and an occasion of mourning, but seem blasphemous when brought into relation with the Olympian gods. Such confusion of ritual did not originally exist; for every contest, or *agōn,* except the lyric, properly fell on nefast days, the second or the sixth.

Among the writings of Lucian there is a scurrilous diatribe[1] against a petty sophist, Timarchus by name, which may properly engage the attention of the student of nefast days; for it purports to have been occasioned by Timarchus, professing not to comprehend the term *apophras* (*dies nefastus*), when one in his hearing remarked that his coming was likely to convert the joyful day of the Roman Vota[2] into an *apophras.* The invective shows that the term, though good Attic, was universally known throughout Greece even to shopkeepers and laborers, and that the institution thereby designated existed also in various foreign lands. What lends especial interest to the diatribe is the fact that its author asserts that the *apophras* really resembles Timarchus,[3] and proceeds by a review of the sophist's life to prove his assertion. No clearer exposition of the suggestions of the *dies nefastus* can well be imagined than results from this survey, the details of which may be left for the interested reader to consult; it is necessary only to add that the acts with which Timarchus is charged, though obviously reckoned as vices, are precisely such as an intelligent study of the *hag* shows to have been immemorial practices of the occasion. Since Lucian was a Syrian, it is not impossible that he gained the insight he displays into the connotations of the *apophras* in the land of his birth. Though his analysis is not so thorough as that of Plutarch, there is no noticeable disagreement among them in regard to the features of the day.

In view of the occasions which Plutarch enumerates as calling for the rites of the nefast days, it is instructive to consider briefly the prayer which Solomon is reported to have offered when he dedicated the temple.[4] Though certainly unhistorical, and at least in its

[1] Entitled *Ψευδολογίστης ἢ περὶ τῆς ἀποφράδος κατὰ Τιμάρχου.*

[2] viii. The Vota later fell on the 3d January. Originally it was New Year's day proper.

[3] Lucian probably owed the comparison to Eupolis; cf. Hesychius, *s.v.* "*ἀποφράδες:*" *μεταφέρουσι δὲ τὴν λέξιν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηρούς*; *Etym. magn.* *καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς δὲ ἀποφράδας ἐπιθετικῶς ἐκάλεσαν· οἷον,* "*Ἄνθρωπος ἀποφρὰς καὶ βλέπων ἀπιστίαν* (Eupolis, *fr.* 22 Meineke).

[4] 1 *Kings* viii. 22 *sq.*; cf. ii *Chron.* vi. 14 *sq.* and xx. 5 *sq.*

present form of rather late date, it is interesting to find that it represents the temple—aside from the fact that the Israelites faced toward it in prayer—chiefly as the place for special rites of supplication to avert or assuage the wrath of Yahweh, which is shown in smiting the people by the hand of their enemies, in withholding rain, in sending famine or scourge or pestilence, in delivering Israel to the enemy, or on the occasion of going forth to battle. How strangely it sounds to hear Yahweh in this context invoked to harken to the people's prayers and supplications "in heaven thy dwelling place"! To be sure, Plutarch also thought of the evil spirits, to whom the rites of appeasement were offered on nefast days, as inhabiting the atmosphere; but he distinguished them from the Olympian gods. Such occasions as Solomon's prayer mentions led in Greece and Rome, if we may trust tradition, to the holding of fasts on *dies nefasti* and to the institution of Mystery-rites—often by direction of the Delphic Apollo. Assuming, as we do, that the prayer is of late date, we are surprised to find that it contains no reference to services at stated times, either to the *haggim,* or to the continual offerings day by day, or on the Sabbaths.[1] The pilgrimages, however, had their connection with the wilderness rather than with the urban temple of the king, while the cyclical Sabbath seems to have had its affiliations more especially with the synagogues. The associations of the temple with either were secondary and remote.

It will have been observed how Plato in the passage above quoted associated the even numbers and particularly the "second" things with the gods of the lower world, whom Xenocrates and Plutarch preferred to call evil spirits. From such statements comes the common general saying that all even numbers are unlucky and all odd numbers lucky. This is an error, though one may quote ancient authority for it, even from Jewish writings. Possibly it arose in circles where speculations regarding the mystic significance of numbers were limited to the first three digits. The Rabbis, for example, certainly shared the superstition current among many peoples re-

[1] To be sure, I *Kings* IX. 25 says, "And three times in the year did Solomon offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon the altar." This may be Deuteronomic, but is certainly not to be referred to Solomon's time. It has all the marks of an addition subsequent in date to the body of the prayer. It is, however, older than II *Chron.* VIII. 12: "Solomon offered burnt-offerings . . . as the duty of every day required, . . . on the Sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the set feasts, three times in the year, in the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and in the Feast of Weeks, and in the Feast of Tabernacles."

specting the number two. Thus we read in the Talmud:[1] "When R. Dimi came from Palestine he reported, 'Two eggs, two nuts, two cucumbers, and two of something else, which I cannot recall, prove injurious to men; this is a Sinaitic law': and because the Rabbis could not discover what the other thing was, as a measure of precaution they included two of everything." In the same connection, however, we are informed that four, six, eight, and ten were excepted from the even numbers which are proper to evil spirits. Regarding the even numbers excepted it is not necessary now to speak at length, because the ritual schemes which we have been studying sufficiently explain the feeling of the Rabbis about all but six and ten. Ten as a perfect number could not well be regarded as of evil omen; but the case of six is different, and will have to be discussed presently.

Whether there were Jews who thought themselves superior to such superstitious beliefs we do not know; for it is not clear that those who disapproved of observing times and seasons did so on these grounds rather than because the practices to which they objected were to their minds idolatrous. As for the Greeks, their temper was such that we should be certain that there were doubters among them, even if we did not chance to have express testimony to the fact. It is well known that among the Romans the second days, *dies postriduani*—that is to say, those immediately succeeding Kalends, Nones, and Ides—were regarded as ill-omened. This belief was connected with various events, notably with the disastrous battles of the Allia, of Cremona, and of Cannæ,[2] which were supposed to have occurred on such days. The *dies Alliensis* is by our authorities clearly presumed to have fallen on the 16th July,[3] the *dies postriduanus* of the Ides: it is thus according to one reckoning a second, according to another a sixth day. In discussing the *dies Alliensis*

[1] *Pesah.*, Chap. x. For the associations of the number two one may compare *The Bibl. Ant. of Philo*, LIII. 4: "If one call unto another twice in the night [at midnight?] or at noonday, they shall know that it is an evil spirit. But if he call a third time, they shall know that it is an angel."

[2] See Livy vi. 1; Macrob. *Sat.* i, 16.

[3] This is the date of Plutarch. Livy and the others (see Mommsen in *C.I.L.*, I, i², 322) date the battle *a. d. xv Kal. Sextiles*, i. e., July 18th. How this date was arrived at we do not know; Mommsen establishes the connection with the *dies postriduani* by dating the preliminary sacrifice on the 16th, though the text of Livy does not admit of that interpretation. We may rather have a case similar to those which we meet in the text of Plutarch.

Plutarch says,[1] "The question whether we must share the view that certain days are unlucky [*apophrades*], or hold Heraclitus right in rebuking Hesiod for calling some days good and others bad, not knowing that the nature of every day is one and the same, has been fully discussed elsewhere.[2] Still, even in the present connection it may not be amiss to mention a few examples. To begin with, then, it was on the 5th Hippodromius—the Athenian Hecatombæon—that the Bœotians won two illustrious victories, which resulted in liberating the Greeks; the battles, to wit, of Leuctra,[3] and of Ceressus more than two centuries earlier, when they conquered Lattamyas and the Thessalians. Again, on the 6th Boëdromion[4] the Greeks defeated the Persians at Marathon,[5] on the 3d at Platæa[6] and at Mycale together, and on the 26th[7] at Arbela. Moreover, it was about the full moon[8] of the same month that the Athenians under the command of Chabrias won the naval battle off Naxos, and about the 20th that at Salamis,[9] as has been set forth in my treatise *On Days*. Furthermore, the month of Thargelion has been a disastrous one for the Barbarians; for on the 6th [?] Thargelion[10] Alexander conquered the King's generals at the Granicus, and on

[1] *Camill.* xix, tr. Perrin.

[2] Probably in his lost treatise Περὶ ἡμερῶν. See Tresp, p. 105 *sq.* Probably Plutarch drew largely from the treatise of Philochorus with the same title; cf. Tresp, p. 78 *sq.*

[3] Plutarch *Ages.* xxviii gives the same date.

[4] The month of the Saviour, the 3d of the year. The Boëdromia, a festival of salvation, fell in this month, probably on the 2d or 6th. See Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 176.

[5] The 6th is the day of the festival (Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 175 *sq.*)

[6] Ælian (see below, p. 369) gives the 6th Thargelion. Plutarch *Arist.* xix gives the 4th Boëdromion, equated with the Bœotian τετρὰς τοῦ Πανέμου (= Attic Metageitnion) φθίνοντος, which is impossible: see Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 169. Plutarch *Arist.* xxi dates the Eleutheria, at which funeral offerings were made to the Greeks slain at the battle of Platæa, on the 16th Alalcomenius (= Attic Mæmacterion). In these dates there is presumably a confusion of the day when the battle was commemorated and the calculated date of the battle.

[7] πέμπτῃ φθίνοντος.

[8] Polyænus (iii. 11. 2) and Plutarch (*De glor. Athen.* 349 F; *Phocion* vi) say on the 16th.

[9] See below, p. 368.

[10] The text of Plutarch does not here mention the day, but it may be supplied with certainty, and should be added; for Plutarch is obviously drawing on the same source as Ælian (see below, p. 370), who must refer to the Granicus. Plutarch *Alex.* xvi dates this battle in Dæsius (= Thargelion).

the 24th[1] the Carthaginians were defeated by Timoleon off Sicily. On the same day[2] of Thargelion it appears that Ilium too was taken, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus have stated. On the contrary, the month Metageitnion—the Bœotian Panemus—has not been lucky for the Greeks. On the 7th of this month they were defeated by Antipater in the battle of the Crannon, and utterly undone; earlier they had unsuccessfully fought Philip at Chæronea on the same date, and in the same year on the same day of Metageitnion Archidamus and his army, who had crossed into Italy, were cut to pieces by the Barbarians there. The Carthaginians also regard the 22d of this month with fear, because it has ever brought upon them the worst and greatest of their misfortunes. I am not unaware that at about the time that the Mysteries were celebrated[3] Thebes was razed to the ground for the second time by Alexander, and that afterwards the Athenians were forced to receive a Macedonian garrison[4] on the 20th Boëdromion, the very day on which they escort the mystic Iacchus forth in procession. And likewise the Romans, on the selfsame day,[5] saw their army under Cæpio destroyed by the Cimbri, and later, when Lucullus was their general, conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. Both King Attalus and Pompey the Great died on their own birthdays.[6] In short, we

[1] *ἑβδόμῃ φθίνοντος*, 23d or 24th, according as the month was hollow or full.

[2] This is not quite accurate. Callisthenes (*Schol.* on Euripides *Hec.* 910) says that some date the event on the 12th Thargelion, but that the *Little Iliad*, by saying that the moon rose bright at midnight, fixes it *ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος*. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. 381 P.) names Hellanicus and Dionysius of Argos as accepting the former date, while some writers on *τὰ* 'Αττικὰ accepted the latter, and Agias and Dercylus assigned the same day in the month Scirophorion. Whether the *ὀγδόη* or *ἑβδόμη φθίνοντος* Θαργ. was connected with the Attic Plynteria is very uncertain: see Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 495, n. 3. We may be sure that the 12th was an *apophras*. The date in Scirophorion may be connected with the Attic Diisoteria.

[3] Cf. Arrian i. 10. 2.

[4] Cf. Plutarch *Phocion* xxviii, quoted below, p. 369, n. 2.

[5] 6th October; cf. above, p. 186 *sq.*

[6] This may have been the case, but the statement may be due to the tendency to refer the birth and death to the common day of commemoration, for which see *Rosh ha-Shanah*, p. 17, tr. Rodkinson. In Greece it was more usual to observe the anniversary of a great man's death, as in Christendom a saint's day is that of his martyrdom. Ptolemæus Chennus (Photius *Bibl.*, p. 148 *b* 31) states that it was said that Crœsus was born at the festival of Aphrodite, at which the Lydians hold a procession, conferring all their wealth upon her. This, of course, is said because of the fabulous wealth of the king. If the commemoration of Crœsus was really connected with the festival of the Asiatic Astarte (a sixth day), it is perhaps more probable that it was because of the story of the pyre, from which he was saved (by Apollo).

can adduce many cases where the same times and seasons have brought opposite fortunes to the same men. But this day of the Allia is regarded by the Romans as one of the unluckiest, and its influence extends over two other days of the month throughout the year, since, in the presence of calamity, timidity and superstition often overflow all bounds. However, this subject has been more carefully treated in my *Roman Questions*."

It is not necessary to discuss this passage in detail, because its nature is sufficiently transparent. It reveals a deep-seated superstition regarding lucky and unlucky days, entertained by many peoples, together with a rationalistic disposition which aims to discount and undermine the beliefs of the vulgar. With the latter we are not now concerned, except to remark that it might be expected to avail itself of any data that seemed likely to serve its purpose, however ill founded or little understood they might be. Some of the dates which Plutarch here cites, apparently as negative instances, are, as will presently be seen, not difficult to understand as *dies religiosi* when regarded in connection with a more comprehensive survey. As for objective history, the data of the rationalists are perhaps less trustworthy than those of the superstitious; for the existence of the superstition was of course a factor with which every general must have had to reckon, and it was as reasonable to maneuver for a favorable time as for an advantageous position. Cases of the sort are in fact well known.[1]

Plutarch in the extract last quoted referred to his discussion of the question in his *Roman Questions*. It is not necessary here to set down the entire passage,[2] but some of his statements deserve to be mentioned. He says that the battle of the Allia was fought on the day following the Ides of July (16th July), whereas Livy and certain calendars give the 18th July as the *dies Alliensis*. He may be in error here, as Mommsen has tried to show, confusing the day of the battle with that on which the inauspicious sacrifice was made

[1] The Roman generals would not attack the enemy on the *dies postriduani;* but it was not considered unlucky to fight on those days, if attacked. Just this was the situation, according to the auspices, at the battle of Platæa. For other instances of maneuvering for a favorable day, see Plutarch *Alex.* xvi; Polyænus iii. 11, 2. Zenobius (iii. 791) says that the Athenians might not take the field before the seventh day of the month. Cf. also Herod. vi. 106, and the much debated question regarding the date of the battle of Marathon and Sparta's delay in going to the assistance of the Athenians.

[2] xxv.

preparatory to the battle; for our present purpose this makes little difference. It is important, however, to note that the *dies postriduani,* i. e., the days next following Kalends, Nones, and Ides, were reckoned *dies nefasti* (*apophrades*) and unsuited to setting out on a journey abroad or on a military expedition. Here Plutarch compares the Roman practice of making the first month (January) sacred to the Olympian gods and devoting the second (February) to dark rites offered to the chthonians and the departed, and the Greek custom of doing reverence to the gods at the new moon and to Heroes and *daimones* (evil spirits) on the second day of the month, and offering the second bowl to Heroes and Heroines. He refers likewise to the character of the dyad, or number two, and regards the second days as suitable for parasceves, but not for a real beginning. Since the Romans did not begin festivals on days with even numbers,[1] this is important, especially as two is the first even number, and might fitly be regarded as the source of all evil.[2]

Returning to the list of fateful days among the Greeks, we may note that Plutarch elsewhere[3] says, "On the 6th Boëdromion the city of Athens to this day holds a festival in commemoration of the victory at Marathon; on the 16th of the month a libation of wine is offered for the victory of Chabrias at Naxos; on the 12th[4] they sacrificed a thank-offering for liberation, because on that day they returned from Phyle; on the 3d they won the battle of Platæa;[5] the 16th Munychion they consecrated to Artemis, on which day the full moon shone on the Greeks in their victory at Salamis;[6] the 12th Scirophorion was hallowed by the battle of Mantinea, in which, when their allies were routed, they alone defeated their opponents and set up a trophy over the victorious enemy." It will be observed that with the exception of that of the battle of Platæa all these dates are second or sixth days. As for the second day, one recalls the remark of Plutarch[7] that the Athenians always omit the

[1] Fowler, *Rom. Festivals,* p. 3.

[2] II *En.* XXIX. 4–5 dates the fall of the angels on the 2d, and XXX. 8 *sq.,* the fall of man on the 6th day of Creation.

[3] *De glor. Athen.* 349 F.

[4] This was clearly an *apophras,* as the 12th Anthesterion (Choës), the 12th Pyanopsion (Thesmophoria), and other occasions.

[5] Cf. p. 365, n. 6.

[6] The battle is dated on the 20th Boëdromion, above p. 365.

[7] Plutarch *De frat. amore* XVIII; *Qu. conuiu.* IX. 6. The day on which Panathenais, the daughter of Herodes, died was likewise omitted. Such days were *dies nefasti,* like the day of Set, likewise omitted. Cf. *Job* III. 6.

2d Boëdromion on the ground that the strife between Athena and Poseidon occurred on that day, and the fact that the battle of the gods and Giants was decided on the sixth day. Hence a passage in Ælian[1] becomes especially interesting. "The 6th Thargelion," he says, "is said to have brought much good[2] both to the Athenians and to many others. For example, Socrates was born on that day;[3] on it the Persians were defeated, and on it the Athenians, pursuant to the vow of Miltiades, sacrifice the 300 kids to Artemis Agrotera. The battle of Platæa, they say, fell on the same day,[4] and the Greeks were victorious; the defeat of the Persians, above mentioned, was that at Artemision. The victory of the Greeks at Mycale is acknowledged to be the gift of the selfsame day, since they won

[1] *V. H.* ii. 25.

[2] The sixth days were *apophrades,* but their issue was good, as Israel hoped that the day of Yahweh would be. One must so interpret this statement (Leutsch, *Paræmiogr.,* I, 401): ἕκτη ἡμέρα· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμερῶν· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ μυθεύεται τοὺς θεοὺς νενικηκέναι τοὺς γίγαντας. The Jewish Day of Atonement has the same dubious character. It was, as we have seen, a New Year's day, but also the Last Judgment. For the righteous it is the day of forgiveness and salvation; for sinners, the day of doom. The synagogue-service says, "O cast the Tempter into fetters [cf. *Rev.* xx. 1 *sq.*]: declare to the captives [the dead in Sheol, as Christ declared to those in Hades, where he was thought to descend on Good Friday] the accomplishment of their hope [of release and resurrection]; and we will hallow Thee on this fast of the 10th day." The feeling of the Greeks is well expressed by Plutarch (*Phocion* xxviii) in connection with the introduction of the Macedonian garrison into Munychia on the 20th Boëdromion, during the Eleusinian Mysteries: "The disturbance of the sacred rite led most men to reflect upon the attitude of the heavenly powers [τὰ θεῖα] in earlier times and at the present day. For of old the mystic shapes and voices [see Plutarch *Themist.* xv; Herod. viii. 64 *sq.*] were vouchsafed to them in the midst of their most glorious successes, and brought consternation and affright upon their enemies; but now, while the same sacred ceremonies were in progress, the gods looked down with indifference upon the most grievous woes of Hellas." In what follows reference is clearly made to Halade Mystai, the 16th Boëdromion, in speaking of the washing of the pig in the sea. The Eleusinia apparently began on the 15th: hence the 16th was the second, the 20th was the sixth day. There is clearly a confusion, due to the ritual scheme, in the allocation of the date. The Æantidæ, who were supposed to have proved the saviours of Athens at Salamis, had their festival on the 16th Munychion (Plutarch *De glor. Athen.* vii; *Lysander* xv).

[3] See also Plutarch *Qu. Gr.* viii. 1. 1 and Diog. Laert. ii. 44. As the latter refers expressly to the rites of purification on that day, it may well be asked whether the Academy, which doubtless celebrated it, did not appoint the commemoration of Socrates then because it regarded him as a Pharmakos-saviour. It observed the 7th as the day of Plato, as the son of Apollo.

[4] One may assume that Platæa was commemorated both on the 3d Boëdromion (see p. 365) and on the 6th Thargelion. With the latter date one may associate the 16th Alalcomenius.

on one and the same day the battles of Platæa and Mycale; and Alexander of Macedon, son of Philip, likewise on the 6th Thargelion destroyed many times ten thousand Barbarians,[1] when he overthrew Darius. It is agreed that all these events fell on the same day of this month. Furthermore, it is credibly reported that Alexander was born and died on this same day." [2]

Without here going into the complex details of these passages, which can be more satisfactorily treated in the notes, we may well remark on the peculiar character of these days. Plutarch and others after him were puzzled by the things they found: for the days were obviously accounted *apophrades,* or *dies nefasti,* but they certainly brought salvation to the Greeks.[3] Moreover, the rites performed on these days leave no room for doubt that they were black days.[4] When, therefore, the sixth day is spoken of as a good day, the explanation is to be found in the profound and somewhat mixed emotion stirred by religion. Here, again, *Good* Friday furnishes the necessary clue: it is a fast-day, in fact the fast-day *par excellence,* of Christendom, as the day of the Saviour's crucifixion and death;

[1] At the Granicus: see p. 365, n. 10.

[2] Plutarch *Alex.* iii dates his birth on the 6th Loös (= Hecatombæon), another day of terror in the cultus of Artemis; *ibid.* lxxvi, he gives the 28th Dæsius (= Thargelion) as the date of his death, as recorded in the court journals. See Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. alten Gesch.,* II, 445 *sq.*

[3] One may compare the Laphria (sometimes called Elaphebolia) celebrated at Hyampolis in Phocis; see Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 221 *sq.* The ætiological myth told of a desperate battle between the Phocians and Thessalians, in which the former were saved. The festival fell in the month Laphrius (= Attic Elaphebolion), and (though the day is not mentioned) certainly on a sixth day, since the sacrifice was offered to Artemis. Among the significant names of this goddess, to whom (because her special day was the 6th) most of the sacrifices for victory were made, was that of Nicephorus—"Bringer of Victory." The victory *par excellence* is that of the Sun-god over the powers of darkness, celebrated at New Year. For New Year's day as the birthday of the Sun-god, Rā; for its displacement in the Egyptian calendar; and for its proper connection with the epact, see Ed. Meyer, "Nachträge zur ägyptischen Chronologie," *Abh. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl.* (1907), 5 *sq.* The Vikings celebrated their festival of victory when their campaigns *began,* certainly at the beginning of a year. See Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning,* p. 82 *sq.* In the *Nibelungenlied* the great battle was fought at the summer solstice. It must be remembered that the Lacedæmonians regularly offered a kid to Agrotera before a battle (Xenophon *Hell.* iv. 2. 20), and obviously the practice was common in Greece.

[4] The reader is reminded that in the Greek medical writers after Hippocrates, followed by the Romans and the physicians of Islam, the sixth is regularly considered the worst of all critical days.

but on it our salvation was wrought, and therefore it is good. One may go far without finding a more succinct expression of the situation than that given by the Emperor Constantine in his letter to the Church regarding the paschal controversy:[1] "Our Saviour has left us only one festal day of our deliverance, that is to say, of his holy passion."

It would be superfluous to dwell upon the close parallel presented by the *dies nefasti* of the Greco-Roman world to the sacred days of the Hebrew tradition. Let us rather pursue our inquiry and consider certain special data in the lists of days above quoted. The attentive reader will have remarked that among the Bœotians the 5th Hippodromius was regarded in much the same light as was the 6th Boëdromion or the 6th Thargelion at Athens. In view of the facts presented, no one will explain this attitude toward a fifth day by pointing to the two victories won on it: even if, as a matter of mere fact, this was the date of the battles in question, the feeling of the Bœotians regarding the day would not be thereby accounted for, any more than the Roman superstitions about the days next following the Kalends, Nones, and Ides can be traced to historical events, independently of an antecedent scruple. Nor will one lay stress on the fact that the issue of the battles was fortunate and that five is an odd, and therefore a lucky, number. There is other evidence that fifth days, and in particular the day of Leuctra, were black days, as were the second and sixth. If we may reckon the catalogue of days in the Hesiodic *Works and Days* as representing Bœotian sentiment, we have not far to seek for testimony to this fact: "Avoid fifth days," says the poet:[2] "they are unkindly and terrible. On a fifth day, they say, the Erinyes assisted at the birth of Oath, whom Strife bare to trouble the forsworn." At Athens, also, the black day known as Genesia, Nekysia, or Nemesia, was the 5th Boëdromion;[3] and on the 15th of the same month, it is commonly understood, began the rites of the Eleusinian Mysteries.[4] It may be noted, moreover, that the fifth Attic month bore the name Mæmacterion, pre-

[1] Cf. Euseb. *U. Const.* iii. 18. I quote from John Dowden, *The Church Year and Kalendar*, p. 117.

[2] 802 *sq.* Cf. Proclus on vs. 180.

[3] Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 172 *sq.* Cf. *Theol. Arith.* 51 Ast: Νέμεσιν καλοῦσι τὴν πεντάδα.

[4] Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 213.

sumably because it once witnessed (on a fifth day?) a rite Mæmakteria devoted to the evil (Zeus) Mæmaktes.[1] As for the day of Leuctra, which Plutarch gives as the 5th Hippodromius, its character may be readily inferred from the story of the Leuctrian Heroines, who demanded the sacrifice of a virgin, though a sorrel filly is said to have served vicariously in her stead.

This evidence drawn from Greek sources has its counterpart in Judaism when three-day fasts were appointed, as, e. g., in the fasts accompanied with prayers for rain: the days designated were Monday, Thursday, and again the following Monday. A similar procedure was observed in seven-day fasts.[2] These fasts of Monday and Thursday, the second and fifth days of the week, were so generally recognized that we may be sure they were those observed by the self-righteous Pharisee who fasted twice in the week.[3] In the Christian Church the practice was somewhat changed: the *Teaching of the Apostles*[4] says, "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week; but do you fast on the fourth day and the Parasceve [Friday]." The corresponding injunction of the *Apostolic Constitutions*[5] reads, "But do you fast the fifth day, or the fourth day and the Parasceve." When the Church appointed special fasts, known as *superpositiones,* they fell on the second, fourth, and sixth days.[6] No doubt many will be inclined to regard this latter practice as inspired by the belief that all even numbers are unlucky; and for the Roman world this explanation might suffice, though hardly valid for the Greeks and Jews. For the later Jews four, six, eight, and ten were not unlucky

[1] We have no record of any festival in this month, but may assume that there was one in early times, which may later have ceased to be observed.

[2] There is no need to cite authorities for this well-known custom; for other Jewish fasts, where the same practice applied, see Al-Biruni, pp. 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 277. Among the Mohammedan Sufis also these days were prescribed as fast-days in every week. Margoliouth (*The Early Development of Mohammedanism,* p. 151), who reports this fact, is apparently unaware of the Jewish practice, and makes the suggestion that it may be due to "the principle of antedating the Christian fasts, somewhat as the Friday anticipates the Sabbath and Sunday." This so-called "principle," though appealed to by early writers, probably had nothing to do with any of the arrangements in either Judaism, Christianity, or Islam. See Muir, *The Life of Mahomet,* p. 182.

[3] *Luke* XVIII. 12.

[4] VIII. See the commentaries of Harris, Funk, and Harnack.

[5] VII. 23.

[6] One naturally suspects that this arrangement was due to the desire to mitigate the severity of fasting by omitting alternate days.

numbers, as was pointed out above;[1] and the Greeks certainly did not so regard four,[2] eight, and ten. The fast-days of the early Church are capable of a more satisfactory explanation on ritual grounds, which must now be clear to the reader, except as to the fourth day. At present we are chiefly concerned to point out that the fifth day was observed as a fast not only in the Synagogue but likewise in a part of the Christian Church. Different grounds were assigned for keeping these Jewish fast-days: some attributed the practice to the fact that the first temple was burned by Nebuchadnezzar on the second day, and the second temple by Titus on the fifth, while others associated these fast-days with Moses' fast of forty days on Sinai, alleging that he ascended the Mount on the fifth and returned with the Law on the second day.[3] The latter explanation is indeed cleverly conceived, in that it yields the required forty days and serves again to bring the giving of the Law into relation with a second day; but, of course, neither has any real significance, except as showing the ritual schemes employed by the Rabbis. The practice of fasting on the fifth day, though suggested as an alternative to the observance of Wednesday and Friday in the *Apostolic Constitutions,* was discontinued in the Church. Since all students of Christian ritual are agreed that it had its origin in the observances of Holy Week, one may conjecture that the reason for the lapse of the custom is to be found in the fact that the institution of the Lord's Supper, commemorated by the mysteries of the eucharist, was referred to Maundy Thursday, and the requirement of partaking of the cup of wine was not regarded as consistent with fasting.[4]

[1] P. 364.

[2] What Nilsson (*Die Entstehung des gr. Kalenders,* p. 39) says regarding the fourth day as an unlucky one is for the most part mistaken: only Eustathius (1353. 5) calls it *apophras.* Hesiod (*O. et d.* 770, 794) distinctly implies that it was lucky, and in relation to Hermes, Heracles, Aphrodite, and Eros, it certainly was so.

[3] See Zahn, *Forschungen,* III, 317, and the Strack-Billerbeck commentary on *Luke* XVIII. 12. The Jews now commemorate the destruction of both temples on the fast-day of the 9th Ab.

[4] Augustine (*Epist.* [118] *ad Ianuar.* vii), speaking of Maundy Thursday, says: "There was a particular reason why many could not fast upon this day, and therefore they received the communion in the morning; for it was customary with many, who had kept Lent, to bathe and wash their bodies on this day, as the catechumens did . . . when they came to be baptized on the vigil, or night between the Great Sabbath and Easter day: they could not bear both bathing and fasting, and therefore they fasted not on this day, but received the communion in the morning and ate their dinner as at other

The *Constitution* of Pope Melchiades [1] forbids the Thursday fast on the ground that "the pagans [2] celebrate this day as a fast." We need not discuss the merits of this document, which Harnack pronounced worthless; but enough evidence has already been adduced to prove the existence of fifth-day fasts both among Jews and pagans. As to the origin of this practice one can speak only by way of conjecture. Melchiades does not refer to the Jews, but only to the pagans; and one may well believe that he had in mind facts not known to us, which, if we but knew them, might lead us far. As it is, we have little foundation for a theory; but we have before directed attention to two data which deserve to be recalled to mind. In the first place, Thursday among the Rabbis marks the beginning of the Sabbath-triduum, things done "in honor of the Sabbath" being generally confined to Thursday and Friday, which thus become in effect parasceves.[3] While this fact might account for a certain sanctity attaching to the fifth day, it hardly suffices to explain its designation as a fast-day. The other fact, however, seems more significant, that the passover was sometimes, as on Maundy Thursday, referred to the fifth, rather than the sixth day. This circumstance, it will be recalled, we have brought into relation with the five-day epact, the

times; while others fasted all day, and received communion after supper." These are really ritual scruples: various ablutions are connected with Maundy Thursday. The Church at Rome did not approve of fasting on Thursday, especially Maundy Thursday; see Augustine in *P.L.*, XXXII, 140; Anastasius, *ibid.*, CXXVII, 1499; Isidore, *ibid.*, CXXX, 563. In Judaism also, "the priests of the weekly watch and the standing men of Israel are prohibited from shaving their heads or washing their clothes; but on Thursday they are permitted to do so in honor of the Sabbath" (*Mo'ed Katan*, Chap. III).

[1] Quoted by Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, I, 25.

[2] Cf. Servius on Vergil *Georg.* i. 217 for the unlucky fifth day. For five as the number of Fate (Heimarmene), see Lydus *De mens.* ii. 10; *ibid.* IV. 76 for the fifth month (May) devoted to the dead. Cf. also the 5th Nisan in the Babylonian Zag-muk, below, p. 408 *sq.*

[3] Something analogous may be found in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, the full tale of days being fourteen, or two weeks, of which, however, four are not reckoned, Friday and Saturday being regarded as parasceves for Sunday. The count begins with Wednesday, so that Sunday is the third, Monday the fourth day. The stories of the third day (Sunday: cf. Easter-day) are largely concerned with the return of persons accounted as dead; while those told on Monday, the *dies postriduanus*, are in accordance with the theme appointed for the day devoted to tales of luckless love or the unlucky termination of various intrigues. Boccaccio was obviously following a scheme, though it cannot always be made out: in this he had a clear model in Dante's *Divina commedia*. In the *Heptameron* of Margaret of Navarre I find no evidence of a scheme.

transition from year to year occurring at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth days; and in view of the multiplying evidences indicating a very wide distribution of festivals connected with the epact [1] this may be the most probable explanation of the fifth-day fast, because preliminary fast-days are even now observed in Judaism preparatory to New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement.[2]

Friday, the sixth day of the week, is regarded as unlucky not only in Christian lands but among Arabs [3] and, it is said,[4] among the Brahmins of India likewise. Taking these things into account alongside of the indications regarding the *mo'adim* of the festivals, Passover, Tabernacles, and the Day of Atonement, we should expect

[1] Without wishing to assert a certain connection with the epact, I call attention to the fact that Orpheus is said (Lydus *De mens.* ii. 11) to have hailed the hexad with the words ἴλαθι κύδιμ' ἀριθμέ, πάτερ μακάρων, πάτερ ἀνδρῶν, which would be appropriate either to the monad or to the number *par excellence;* while Plato (*Phileb.* 66), after enumerating a fivefold division (cf. Plutarch *De E ap. Delphos.* xiii), says ἕκτῃ δ' ἐν γενεᾷ, φησὶν Ὀρφεύς, καταπαύσατε κόσμον ἀοιδῆς, ἀτὰρ κινδυνεύει καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ἐν ἕκτῃ καταπεπαυμένος εἶναι κρίσει. This would be consistent with the view that a sixth day of rest followed a term of five days. Other Orphic fragments suggest a different scheme, but Proclus (on Hesiod *O. et d.* 180) remarks that Orpheus and Melampus differed in regard to the *dies nefasti.* The apparently Orphic (cf. Abel, *Orphica, fr.* 146) doctrine, reported by Lydus *De mens.* ii. 11 (p. 32, 4 *sq.* Wünsch), that six is the ἀριθμὸς γεννητικώτατος, may be brought into relation with the sixth day, as the day of creation *par excellence.* According to the old Orphic theogony, man was created during the reign of Dionysus, the sixth divine ruler of the world (i. e., in the sixth era). Cf. Rohde, *Psyche,* II, 120, n. 1. Six is frequently said to be the nuptial number (Lydus *ibid.;* Philo *De opificio mundi* iii; Plutarch *M.* 1118 D; for the Jews, see Harris, *The Teaching of the Apostles,* p. 101; for some Germanic countries, see Nilsson, "Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes," *A.R.,* XIX, 118 *sq.*). See below, p. 490. n. 1.

[2] At Rome also the Mamuralia was observed with the driving-out of Mamurius Veturius, as if he were a scapegoat, on the eve of Anna Perenna, an ancient New Year festival. The Egyptian New Year celebration, like the Passover, began on the eve of the New Year.

[3] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* II, 463. Friday among Moslems is the day of resurrection, as we shall see later (below, p. 389, n. 4). Whether this is to be connected with the fact that the Arabs before Islam knew the five-day epact one cannot say. Al-Biruni, p. 304, says, "According to some scholars, Muslims celebrate their Friday because on that day the Creator finished the creation of the world and breathed his spirit into Adam." It may be significant that among the Syrian Nestorians "there is no difficulty about a festival and a fast falling on the same day; as a matter of fact, most of the holy days fall on a Friday, but that day is, nevertheless, a fasting day" (*E.R.E.,* v, 771 *b*). See also Al-Biruni, p. 306 *sq.,* and Pope Nicholas (*P.L.,* CXIX, 891).

[4] Chambers, *Book of Days,* I, 42.

to find Friday a recognized fast-day among the Jews. *The Gospel of Peter* [1] represents the disciples as fasting on the day of the Crucifixion,[2] which presupposes that Jews were so observing the day; but of course this instance might be explained in ways which would invalidate the evidence, since it is possible either that the Christian writer was guilty of an anachronism in attributing to the Apostles a later Christian practice of Good Friday, or that the fast, assuming it to have been actually observed on that day, was the spontaneous expression of the grief felt by the Lord's companions. One need not, however, confine oneself to Christian sources for evidences of fasting among Jews on Friday. "One of the solicitudes of rabbinical law," we are told,[3] "was to enforce the exceptional character of the Sabbath as a day of rejoicing and good cheer; hence on Friday no sumptuous repast was to be eaten, even at a wedding,[4] in order that all might anticipate the Sabbath meal with avidity. Some of the pious even went to the length of fasting during Friday in order to whet their appetite." Certain acts proper to a fast were enjoined "in honor of the Sabbath," while others were treated as optional. It is a well known fact, moreover, that Jews as well as Christians observe Friday in the eating of fish,[5] an observance of the fast which one

[1] VII: "they fasted and sat mourning and weeping *night and day until the Sabbath.*" This and the introductory phrase "and in addition to all this" make against the assumption that the fast was specially connected with the Crucifixion.

[2] Jewish authorities agree that this occurred on the *'ereb,* or eve, of Passover, which had come to be rated as a Sabbath.

[3] *J. Enc.,* X, 595 *b.*

[4] For marriage on the eve of a feast, see *Mo'ed Katan,* Chap. I.

[5] In the gospel accounts of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes with loaves and fishes there is much that suggests a connection with the ancient pilgrimages. This is notably true of the feeding of the five thousand. Jesus and his followers are in the wilderness and the people hunger. The disciples bid Jesus send the people away (ἀπόλυσον αὐτούς, *Mark* VI. 36 and parallels), which suggests the *apolysis* of a *hag.* When Jesus bids them feed the multitude, they ask, "Shall we go and buy two hundred pennyworth of bread, and give them to eat?" They find five loaves and two fishes. One recalls the account of the quail-manna Passover in *Num.* XI, where the people remember the fish they ate in Egypt for naught (XI. 5); and when Yahweh promises food for the great multitude, Moses asks, "Shall flocks and herds be slain for them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?" The people are marshaled into ranks as in the *hag* (cf. Hom. *Od.* iii. 7 *sq.*). *John* VI. 4 in this connection says that the Passover was near at hand (presumably it was the eve of Passover). That night about the fourth watch (i. e., about cockcrow) Jesus miraculously crossed over the sea of Galilee (*Mark* VI. 48). On the following day (*John* VI. 22), presumably a Sabbath, Jesus discourses in the synagogue at Capernaum (VI. 59) of the manna and of

may be certain was not adopted by the Synagogue from the Church.[1] Thus there is unimpeachable evidence of a Friday-fast kept by Jews; but we have equally good evidence of the contrary practice. The standing men, it is said, refused to fast; and it is reported that with the Rabbis Wednesday and Friday are accounted days of joy, the former being appointed for the wedding of virgins, the latter for that of widows.[2] In the book of *Judith* [3] we read that the heroine, herself a widow, "fasted all the days of her widowhood save the eves of the Sabbaths and the Sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel."

At first sight this showing would seem to constitute a strong argument against some of the most important conclusions of our study; but a closer scrutiny will dispel that impression. The very practice imputed to Judith in the passage just quoted suggests a probable explanation of the apparent anomaly. The Rabbis were quite well aware, as has already been pointed out, that the pilgrimages were observed now as fasts, now as feasts, and that during the time of the second temple the latter practice prevailed. Even in later Judaism New Year's day (1st Tishri) and the Day of Atonement, though

his body, the true bread of God come down out of heaven. Does the mention of fish on these occasions imply a (half?) fast observed by eating fish? On the Jewish and Christian sacrament of fish-eating, see R. Pischel, *Über den Ursprung des Christlichen Fisch-Symbols;* Scheftelowitz, "Das Fischsymbol in Judentum und Christentum," *A.R.,* XIV; R. Eisler, "Orpheus the Fisher," *The Quest,* Vols. I–II, "John, Jonas, Oannes," *ibid.,* Vol. III, "The Messianic Fish Meal of the Primitive Church," *ibid.,* Vol. IV. I owe these references to Jessie L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance* (1920), p. 118, n. 2. The context of this passage is important. It is significant that, according to Oppian (*Halieut.* iii. 18 *sq.*), Typhon was caught and slain by Jews while he was eating a meal of fish on the seashore, because we know that this occurred on a sixth day. When the Jews ate fish on the Sabbath, this was only another instance of their attempt to transfer rites of the sixth to the seventh day. The practice did not prevail. When Jews ate fish at a fast or half-fast, this practice is presumably connected with the cult of the Syrian Atargatis, who was identified both with Aphrodite and with Artemis. Her day was undoubtedly the sixth, as was that of Hadad, with whom she was coupled. They were the chief deities of Syria (*E.R.E.,* II, 166*a*).

[1] See Reinach, *Cultes, mythes, et religions,* III, 49.

[2] Harris, *The Teaching of the Apostles,* p. 101. Is there possibly a connection between this practice and that of the Romans mentioned and discussed by Plutarch in *Qu. Rom.* CV? He says that it was customary for widows, but not for virgins, to marry on days of the public festivals. The Talmud prescribes that marriage (of virgins?) shall not occur on the festivals, because the latter are to be kept "with joy," and the joy shall be undivided.

[3] VIII. 6.

both were days of judgment, and the latter was commonly regarded as the fast *par excellence,* were differently observed by pious Jews, there being some who forbade fasting on these days.[1] The dubious character of the Sabbath, also, is too well known to require special discussion here: though ostensibly a day of joy and luxury, the taboos connected with its observance were so numerous that it was by all pagan and by many Christian authors regarded as a fast-day.[2] We may be sure that this arose from the fact that the Sabbath had fallen heir to the association of the *hag.* Hence, if Judith did not fast on the new moon, the Sabbaths, and the feasts and solemn days, she had good warrant for her practice; and if she similarly observed the eves of the Sabbaths and of the new moons, it is reasonable to account for her procedure on the principle of adding from the profane to the holy,[3] which was well recognized among the Rabbis. Thus Friday, as the *'ereb* of the Sabbath, shared the fortunes of the holy day of Judaism.

If one seeks confirmation of the general conclusion we have reached regarding the sacred days of ancient Israel, one will naturally turn to the two great nations with which the Israelites were brought into most intimate contact, Egypt and Babylonia. The sacral calendars of these lands are still very imperfectly known, and will probably long present great difficulties, arising from causes quite similar to those which wrought confusion in Palestine. Among all these peoples the older local cults were overlaid with cults superimposed by the unified state-religions. In Egypt the deities of the circle of Osiris came to be worshiped throughout the land, and it may be assumed that when this occurred the local calendars were affected, though it is not known just what changes resulted from the process of assimilation. In Babylonia the process itself is most clearly reflected in the *Epic of Creation,* where the old local gods are represented as subjecting themselves to Marduk, the god of Babylon, and becoming as it were particular manifestations of the supreme deity.[4] This was not the first time such a thing had happened in Mesopotamia; and analogous processes in Greece resulted in identifying innumerable local divinities with the Olympian gods, who acquired

[1] *J. Enc.,* v, 375 *a,* 376 *a.*

[2] This view may be explained, if not justified, by *Levit.* xxiii. 32.

[3] *J. Enc.,* x, 594 *b.*

[4] See Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria,* pp. 38, 99 *sq.*

their names, as Marduk appropriated those of Ea, Anu, and Enlil.[1] To unravel the tangled skein of this confusion of gods and their rites would call for knowledge which the writer does not possess; but there are certain data which are already known and which have an undeniable relation to the question we are considering. The Hebrew pilgrimages, as we have seen, were properly one and all fasts, and associated with sacrifices to the dead,[2] excepting Pentecost, which was regarded as the *'azeret,* or post-festal day, of another pilgrimage. It is, therefore, to the days on which offerings to the dead were made that we must look, if we would be sure of finding analogues to the *mo'adim* of the Israelites; and the inevitable conservatism of mankind in such a matter may well assure us that these days are of extreme antiquity.

As regards Egypt, there is much difficulty in the way of discovering the scheme of its sacred days. This we have already observed respecting the *dies fasti et nefasti.* The problems presented by the Egyptian calendars appear to be far from completely solved; for there is evidence from quite late times of dates determined with reference to lunations, despite the early introduction of the Sothic year with its arbitrary months of thirty days. This is notably true of certain days fraught with sacrosanct religious associations. Thus Brugsch[3] calls attention to a series of Theban burial stelæ, dating from the XVIII Dynasty, which enumerate the funerary festivals as falling on new moon, the 2d, 6th, and 15th. These are of course days of the lunation. Apparently the "new moon" in this connection means the conjunction; for the 2d is said to be the day on which

[1] As a consequence of this process of syncretism, it seems quite as impossible to disengage the ritual forms of the cultus of Marduk as of Zeus. In the case of lesser deities the task is not so hopeless. The data regarding the days designated as *nubattu* and *ūmu eshsheshu,* to wit, the 3d and 4th, 7th and 8th, 16th and 17th, which Landsberger (p. 109) regards as the monthly festivals peculiar to Babylon, are not calculated to throw much light on the ritual scheme of the cultus of Marduk. When the interpretation of these notations is assured, it may, however, help us to understand an important rite. Comparison with Hebrew and Greek schemes suggests the question whether Johnston was not right in taking the *nubattu* as the time of the ἱερὸς γάμος. If that were true, we should expect the *ūmu eshsheshu* to be the analogue of the *epibda,* or post-festal day; and in that case *nubattu* would not correspond to the Hebrew *'ereb.* Further discoveries and study alone can answer this question. See Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms,* Introd., p. xxi.

[2] For Jewish commemoration of the dead on the Day of Atonement and other fast-days, see *J. Enc.,* II, 282*b*.

[3] *Æg.,* p. 351; see also Budge, *The Liturgy of Funerary Offerings* (*Egypt*), pp. 10–18.

the glorious soul of Osiris displays itself in order to fill the left eye (i. e., the moon); or, again, the 2d is called the day of the waxing, the 15th that of the waning moon.[1] This assumption, if correct, would perhaps explain the custom observed in Egypt of ending a festival, which began in one month, on the first day of the next following. But the appropriation of the 2d to the moon, as Monday is the second day of the week, cannot well be dissociated from the 6th as the day on which, as we shall presently see, the full light of the sun was thought to begin. In view of the close association, in Egypt as elsewhere, of lunar and solar cults, the emphasis laid on the 2d and 6th days in Egypt, as in other lands of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin, is doubtless significant; but we must leave to Egyptologists the question as to the age and presumptive origin of this connection. While the days appointed for funerary offerings are obviously determined with reference to the moon, and presumably antedate the solar calendar, there are others which are brought chiefly, though not exclusively, into relation with the sun.

The Egyptians, like other peoples, occupied themselves much with cycles of time, which, though of very different duration, had much the same spiritual suggestions, especially in reference to the life-cycle of man. The sun, at rising, is thought of as born; at setting, as dying. When it rises again, its new birth is a resurrection; but it is likewise a new creation. The Lord of Light battles daily, or rather nightly, with the Powers of Darkness under the leadership of Set and Apophis, and comes forth a triumphant victor. The annual revolution of the earth about the sun matches its diurnal rotation; for the New Year has the same suggestions of resurrection and triumph of Light over Darkness as has the sunrise: Apophis, the dread serpent, and Set are vanquished and cast upon the sea on the morning of New Year's day. But the Egyptians likewise knew longer cycles of time, notably the Sothic period, at the expiration of which came the *apocatastasis,* or the perfect restoration of all things, as they were at the beginning. This implies an era of creation. In Ptolemaic and Roman times this era was either the vernal equinox or the beginning of the Sothic year; more precisely it was by preference the time of the conjunction of sun and moon at the vernal equinox, which was regarded as "the fortunate coincidence."[2] How

[1] Brugsch, *Rel.,* pp. 454, 457.
[2] See Brugsch, *Rel.,* pp. 255–280, 348, 708.

ancient the era of creation in Aries was in Egypt, we cannot say: it seems probable, however, that it was of rather late date. That it agrees well with certain views of the Hebrews is so obvious that no comment is required. Moreover, according to certain Egyptian documents, there was current, apparently in Ptolemaic or Roman times, a view that Rā was born at the winter solstice, and became successively a youth at the vernal equinox, a mature man at the summer solstice, and a *senex* at the autumnal equinox.[1]

There is, however, another series of data which are incomparably more significant, and apparently of great age. They relate to the sixth day and the sacred eye of Horus. Only an Egyptologist aware of the importance and associations of the sixth day in other lands can treat this subject as thoroughly as it deserves; the writer, who is dependent on the published work of others, is sadly conscious of his limitations.

The importance of the festival of the sixth day in connection with the cult of the dead and the funeral offerings has long been recognized. This association is not surprising in view of the observance of Jumah in Islam and the facts brought out elsewhere in this study concerning the sixth days in Greek ritual and the Hebrew pilgrimage festivals. But the most significant facts regarding the sixth day in Egypt are those which are brought into relation with the sacred eye of Horus.[2] Horus himself attained his preëminence in Egyptian religion at a comparatively late date, appropriating, as did Osiris, functions and associations which earlier belonged to other solar and lunar deities. He had two eyes, the left being the moon, the right, the sun. These eyes are thought of as lost and again restored. Rightly or wrongly, one surmises that this conception originated in a lunar cult, where the loss of the moon's light in total darkness would naturally lead to religious observances; its application to the sun would seem to be a secondary development. The left eye is restored

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 328 *sq.* Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 18. It seems natural to explain the rapid growth of the divine child in Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue,* and in many myths and rites, by assuming that he is originally the Sun-god, whether his life-cycle be that of the year or the æon. See Brugsch, *ibid.*, p. 164 *sq.*

[2] See G. Müller, "Die Zeichen für die Bruchteile des Hohlmasses und das Uzatauge," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* XLVIII (1911), 99–101, and H. Junker, "Die sechs Teile des Horusauges und der sechste Tag," *ibid.*, pp. 101–106, from which source the facts given in the text, except where other sources are cited, are derived. Valuable information about Egyptian terms used by Dr. Junker was given by Elizabeth Stefanski, Scientific Assistant in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

or "filled" at full moon, which was observed on the 15th of the (lunar) month. The right eye of Horus, the sun, was thought to be "filled" on the sixth day. How this notion originated is not apparent;[1] but the dates of this supposed occurrence seem to leave no room for doubt that they were not commonly reckoned by the solar calendar, but were either arbitrarily fixed or were sixth days of the lunation.

The sacred (right) eye of Horus was supposed to consist of six parts, which were successively restored, the last missing part being brought to him by Thoth or by his sister-consort Hathor-Iusaset on the sixth day, when their reunion was consummated. It had been lost in the desperate combat with his arch-enemy, Set, which we know recurred nightly, but especially at the turn of the year. In the calendar of Esne two dates are noted[2] with reference to this occurrence of the loss and restoration of the eye of Horus; and they are, as we might have expected, both New Year's days; one being the 1st Thoth, the other being the equivalent of the beginning of the Sothic year. That these dates were reckoned as sixth days (after the close of the twelvemonth) can occasion no surprise; but other dates seem more difficult to explain.[3] It may be noted in passing, however, that when the sun was thought to pass and be born again as a child at the winter solstice, the complete restoration of its light would come at the expiration of six months, at the summer solstice, as the sun attained its greatest height at noon, or the sixth hour.[4] The equation of the year and the day is not uncommon, and the emphasis on the hour is likewise familiar, as when the lion-goddess Menhit, consort of Shu, is called the form of Hathor at the sixth hour of the sixth day. Nevertheless we may well ask whether the sixth day was not originally that of the lunation. In Egyptian hieroglyphics the moon is represented by the half-disk,[5] particularly in connection

[1] One would naturally think of New Year's day, as the 6th following the close of the twelvemonth.

[2] Brugsch, *Rel.*, p. 455 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

[5] This phase of the moon was regarded with especial awe. The Koran foretells that on the day of judgment the moon will be split in two; and Mohammed is said to have miraculously so divided the moon at Mecca, the two halves appearing simultaneously in the sky (Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 253). If this occurred at the beginning of the hijra, it is especially significant. Is there an allusion to this superstition in the Babylonian *Epic of Creation*, tab. 5, l. 15 *sq.*? An anony-

with the full orb of the sun, as the sight of the æon; which was especially appropriate, if it was thought that the great cycles of time, measured by revolutions of the sun, began with the moon at the first quarter. We have seen that the Celts began their months, years, and longer cycles of time on the sixth day of the lunation.

In Egypt, as among the Hebrews, creation was in fact associated with the sixth day, as was indeed, at least at Edfu, every sacral beginning. At Dendera, Egypt (or more likely Egypt regarded as the first land of earth) is called "the land of the sixth day." On that day the earth and the light are said to have been "opened," or created, in the beginning; the sixth days were accordingly observed in commemoration of that event. As the new moon was dedicated to the Sun-god Ptah and Mut, the sixth day belonged to Atum and Mut, no doubt in their character of divinities of creation. Osiris, conceived as awaking from sleep (death?) and taking his station in the heavens as the Moon, received offerings with Atum and arrived (in procession?) at Dendera at the hour of the evening-offering before the sixth day. On the latter, certain Mysteries of Osiris were begun. The rite at Dendera is presumably that of the resurrection of Osiris, who is called "the child in the nest" on the fifth epagomenal day both in an inscription of Dendera and in the Challier-papyrus. Chabas is clearly right in saying that the young god is Osiris born the last night of the year.[1] This brings the sixth day definitely into relation with the epact; but it remains uncertain whether that connection explains the origin of its observance. It is clear, however, that in Egypt the birth-day of the Sun-god, and of the Æon, was from early times dated on a sixth day.[2]

If these facts strongly suggest a connection with the Hebrew ritual scheme, there are others which seem to leave no doubt on that point. The sixth day, which witnessed the union of Osiris-Rā and Hathor-

mous Greek epigram (*Anthol. Palat.* xi. 262, tr. Paton) informs us that "the young men of Alexandria [in Egypt] bring down Selene [the moon] divided in two in the ethereal night." This probably implies magical rites (to Hathor = Hecate?) at the first quarter of the moon; and it is possible that this practice was ancient in Egypt and connected with the sixth days. The corresponding third quarter appears to have been little regarded in Egypt, as in other lands. One of the few instances is in the date of the *Little Iliad* for the fall of Troy.

[1] See my article, "Vergil's Messianic Expectations," *A.J.P.*, XLV, 205 *sq.*, especially p. 229, n. 16.

[2] See Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, p. 24 *sq.*, esp. p. 38, and my article mentioned in the preceding note.

Iusaset, is repeatedly called the festival of temple-building. At Edfu a sixth day was regularly selected for every important act connected with the construction of a temple. The Hebrew parallels [1] make it clear that these days were regarded as New Year's days. Of even greater significance is the fact that this use of the sixth day is explained by the circumstance that on it the innermost chamber of the temple was opened. One cannot doubt that this act is the ritual equivalent of the opening of the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem on the Day of Atonement, an ancient New Year's day. Since the opening of the innermost chamber of the temple was associated likewise with the bringing of light, we have here an obvious parallel to the Glory of Yahweh which appeared in the Holy of Holies when the high priest entered. The shifting of the sixth day in Egypt, however, enforces the need of caution in accepting the inferences of Charlier and Morgenstern [2] regarding the precise equinoctial date of the Day of Atonement.

Dr. Junker, to whom we owe most of these data regarding the sixth day in Egypt, emphasizes the fact that the documents in which they are found belong largely to Ptolemaic times; but from certain texts of earlier date he seems justified in concluding that the observance of the sixth day and its associations are extremely ancient. This fact is of importance for our study, but renders more difficult the question regarding the possible source and origin of these ideas, which played a conspicuous rôle in the religion of Egypt. As for the Sabbath, we have found no evidence of its observance in Egypt; but Dr. Junker calls attention to the fact that in certain texts the sixth and seventh days clearly belong to the same series. This circumstance suggests the lunar origin of their observance in connection with the first quarter of the moon; but about this we are in no position to dogmatize.

As we might have expected, the most significant parallels to the Hebrew *mo'adim* are found in the Babylonian hemerologies. These have recently been published by Benno Landsberger [3] in a study of the sacral calendar of the Babylonians and Assyrians, which came to the writer's notice after the present treatise was almost completed. In other connections cognizance will be taken of data regard-

[1] See above, p. 331, n. 1.
[2] Above, p. 325, nn. 1 and 2.
[3] "Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer, Erste Hälfte," *Leipziger semitistische Studien* (1915), VI, 1–2.

ing other days; but at this point we must direct attention to the extremely important indications of the hemerologies regarding the sixth days. Unfortunately the writer is not an Assyriologist, and is therefore entirely dependent on the findings of the specialist in this field; but even the specialist is apparently still quite unable to interpret many of the ritual directions contained in the original sources. Dr. Landsberger reveals no knowledge of the complex of problems we are here considering, since he refers to nothing beyond the field of the Assyriologist, except in his discussion of the seventh day, where he touches on the question of the Jewish Sabbath, and at one point in his consideration of the sixth day, where he refers to the release of Barabbas; hence we may be sure that the following discussion of the sixth day in the Babylonian hemerologies will be of interest to the Assyriologist as well as to the student of the Hebrew tradition.

The sixth day of the month is sacred to the god Adad,[1] with whom the eleventh month of the year is associated.[2] Since Adad was a god of the storm, of lightning and thunder,[3] one may recall that the Yahweh of Sinai, who spoke to Israel on the (sixth?) day of assembly amid terror-inspiring circumstances in giving the Law, was of like character. But the sixth day of the month does not stand alone. Landsberger says: "But from our texts we learn also another

[1] See Landsberger, pp. 114–118, for all the data here mentioned as referred to the sixth days in the Babylonian hemerologies. Cf. also Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms,* Introd., p. xxii.

[2] Jastrow, *op. cit.,* p. 238.

[3] For Adad (Hadad, Addu) see Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum, s.v.,* who notes that the name is once substituted for that of Nergal, the god of the nether world, and that the number six was sacred to him. Hommel (*Beiträge zur morgenländischen Altertumskunde,* p. 21) points out that six is the number of the underworld in Babylonian documents. On p. xiv, Deimel suggests that he was identical with the Melek of the Canaanites. Clay and others regard Adad as of Amorite origin. S. A. Cook, in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.,* I, 231 *sq.,* 242; II, 349 *sq.,* 404; III, 349 *sq.,* notes the prominence of Addu, or Hadad, in the Amarna-period, and gives reasons for regarding him as the great Baal of Syria and Edom in the early time, who subsequently yielded to Yahweh. If this be true, we may be sure that the sixth day was sacred to Adad before he entered Mesopotamia; and the persistence of the sixth day in the Hebrew tradition, though thinly overlaid with a stratum of seventh days, is at least in part explained. How and whence Yahweh came to take the place of Adad and the Baalim still remains obscure. See also W. H. Ward, "The Origin of the Worship of Yahwe," *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.,* XXV (1909), 175–187. G. F. Moore (art. "Molech, Moloch," in *Enc. Bibl.,* III, 3183 *sq.*) regards Melek as Yahweh and the rite as of Phœnician origin.

meaning of the number six, which is probably connected with its character as the number of Adad. At the same time we find once more a perfectly certain illustration of the influence which the number-wisdom exerted on the cultus; for the 6th, 16th, 26th, and occasionally the 28th[1] (28 = 10 + 6 + 6 + 6), are the days on which a characteristic form of the liturgy, the *shigū*, is prescribed for the king."[2] This *shigū*-service is clearly marked as one connected with rites for the dead, being accompanied with ecstatic excitement and loud crying, and intended to appease the wrath of the gods. Numerous fragments of this liturgy which survive have long been seen to have the character of penitential psalms,[3] in which the king

[1] How the 28th came to be associated with the sixth days is not clear; but it is of course connected with the dark of the moon. If its observance started in hollow months, when the 28th would be the second from the end of the month, it would be a perfect parallel to certain calendary arrangements in Greece. This conjecture seems to be confirmed by the facts adduced by Landsberger, p. 141 *sq.*, relative to the 28th and 29th days of the month. Particularly noteworthy are the indications there signalized, which suggest that, on the nefast *ūm bubbuli*, the Moon-god Sin was supposed to descend to the nether world and to relieve Nergal, its lord, who then temporarily reigns in the upper world, as Saturn reigns in the epact. Since in Greek and Roman schemes this dark day is apparently the second from the end of the month, one might expect that the 28th, when marked as *ūm bubbuli*, would be in a hollow month; but perhaps the early arrangements did not provide for a regular alternation of full and hollow months. In that case one would expect some notation to provide for the omission of a day depending on the observed disappearance of the moon. The *ūm bubbuli* is the day *par excellence* of mourning for the dead; it may fall on the 28th, 29th, or 30th, as one might have expected.

[2] W. Schrank (*Babylonische Sühnriten* [1908], p. 47 *sq.*) discusses the *shigū*-rite, but says (p. 49) that on these days the king is bidden *not to pronounce it*. The contradiction is unintelligible to me, unless the reference be to intercalary Elul. See Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Introd., p. xxiii. The intercalary month was naturally regarded as an exception. It is perhaps significant that all the great liturgies, which ordinarily were inscribed on six (occasionally on seven) tablets, end with a *shigū*-psalm.

[3] On these psalms, see Jastrow in *D.B.*, extra vol., 566 *sq.*, where references are given to full publications. They are intended for *dies nefasti* (very probably including New Year's day, if not specially composed for it; for in the synagogue-service for the Day of Atonement a penitential psalm has a prominent place), and consist largely of petitions to various gods to turn their averted faces in mercy on the suppliant, and to use their kind offices with other gods who are angry and estranged. We have elsewhere seen how the Hebrews regarded Yahweh on their fast-days; precisely the same conceptions are found among the Babylonians. "In the mourning for a god," says Landsberger, p. 5, "the situation imagined is that he has forsaken his place in the temple, either because, overcome by a hostile god, he is forced to descend to the nether world, or because, withdrawing in wrath at mankind, he has gone

"depicts in the strongest colors the sad plight of the suppliant, as of one who is utterly undone by the wrath of the god and prays for the forgiveness of his sins and the appeasement of the god's anger." This service is not performed on every sixth day nor in every month. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader how completely this rite parallels the observances of the Hebrew *hag* of the older time. These penitential psalms find their analogues not only in the Hebrew psalter, but also in the songs we have recognized as Passover-psalms, having no affinity to the character of the Sabbath, as it appears in the prophets.

But this is not all. Landsberger calls attention to a group of directions contained in certain documents which are intended for the man in private station. These seem to show that we have here to do not only with rites to be performed by the king in his capacity of high priest, but also with observances practised by the people at large: in other words, the *shigū*-ritual belongs to festivals in which the people joined. Landsberger suggests that the directions were properly meant for the people and were somewhat modified when prescribed for the king in the court-calendar. This is indeed not unlikely, since we may be sure that in their essentials the directions were derived from immemorial customs observed among the people. The fact that not only the 6th, but the 16th, 26th, and—at least occasionally—the

a-hunting in the mountains, or tarries in the land of the enemy" (cf. *Deut.* xxxi. 16 *sq.*). In Greece the very type of such a divinity is Hecate, chief sorceress and mistress of incantations, whose days are the 6th and 16th. The "penitential psalms," as Jastrow remarks, are indeed by superscriptions and subscriptions classed with incantations. Several of the best are addressed to Ishtar, to whom likewise the number six was sacred. Rogers (*Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament,* p. 161) notes that one of these is found on the reverse of tablet six of a series of six tablets. Whether this is significant I cannot say. Others of these psalms are addressd to Sin, the Moon-god, and to Ishkur, a Sumerian god identified with Ramman and Adad. As the latter's day was the sixth, this too is worth noting. In one of the prayers to Ishtar (complete text in Rogers, *op. cit.,* p. 153 *sq.*), Ishtar is addressed as "thou that openest the bonds of all slaves" (vs. 33), in another (*ibid.,* p. 163, vs. 21) as one "who openeth the bolt of the gleaming heaven" (see below, pp. 389–392). As in the rites of Hecate, the prayer or incantation is to be recited thrice, and the officiant is bidden not to look behind him (*ibid.,* p. 161, vs. 110). Jastrow compares these incantation-psalms to another series addressed to Labartu, who, he says, likewise has much in common with Hecate. In Rogers, *op. cit.,* p. 193, she is identified with Ishtar as goddess of wailing. In Greece nearly all the divinities to whom slaves were devoted, or sold at manumission, were those who had oracles or Mystery-rites; in other words, they were, at least in great part, chthonians.

28th[1] days were so observed may be taken as evidence that a Priestly scheme has taken up and elaborated a ritual complex which in the popular mind was associated chiefly, though not exclusively, with sixth days, not necessarily identified as the 6th of the month.

But we must proceed to the ritual acts which are prescribed. They include (1) directions regarding the king's apparel, (2) a command that he shall release a slave or a prisoner, and (3) that he shall open a locked and barred door. Of these we must speak more at length.

In regard to the directions touching the king's apparel, Landsberger is puzzled. They seem to be twofold, requiring that the king shall wear soiled garments, and again that he shall put on clean raiment; and Landsberger asks whether there is not here a crossing of two different religious motives, that of the penitent in soiled garb and that of the purified through the remission of sins. This is not unlikely, as one may see by comparing Jewish practice: the penitent and the mourner sit in sackcloth and ashes during the fast-day, but on the fast-day *par excellence,* the Day of Atonement, which, as we have seen, was a New Year and rated as a sixth day, the high priest ceremoniously performed ritual ablutions and clothed himself in pure clean garments. Moreover the states may well have been successive, the act of putting on clean raiment symbolizing the remission of sin effected by prayer and penance. But there is reason to suspect that there was not only a change,[2] but also an exchange of garments. Landsberger sees in the *shigū*-ceremony a symbolic exchange of station,[3] in which the king posed as a slave, while the slave took the rôle of king. Such an act would involve the exchange of garments.[4] Now one does not have to seek far for examples of this sort. At the ancient festivals this exchange of garments, one of the forms of disguise constantly recurring, is well known, especially in the practice of ex-

[1] Kugler (*Im Bannkreis Babels,* p. 73) shows that the 14th and 28th days of the month belonged to Nergal, the god of the dead.

[2] On the Jewish Day of Atonement the high priest changed his vestments repeatedly, wearing now his usual garments, now those which he put on when he entered the Holy of Holies. For the details, according to the Torah and the *Mishnah,* see *J. Enc.,* II, 284 *b.*

[3] This custom is most clearly seen in the Saturnalia, in which slaves and masters changed places, the latter serving the former. At the Cena Domini also, Jesus washed the feet of the disciples.

[4] What was true of the festival was reflected in the eschatology. The great trumpet announced the festivals, and was expected to be blown to gather the tribes of Israel for the synaxis of the Last Day (*J. Enc.,* V, 216 *a*): simultaneously all will be changed (1 *Cor.* XV. 51), as Paul says, revealing a mystery.

change of garments between the sexes, which the Torah forbade. But Jesus, the prisoner, was at the Passover dressed in the king's robe, and at the Saturnalia this must have been regularly done with the Saturnalian king, who was often a prisoner. We have above referred to the repeated exchange of garments by Dionysus and his slave Xanthias on the day when the god descended to the nether world; one may ask also whether this was not the original meaning of the incident commonly known as the despoiling of the Egyptians, when the Israelitish women borrowed articles of clothing from their (Egyptian) mistresses at the Passover in Egypt,[1] since the Israelites are represented as slaves of the Egyptians. It is not necessary to cite more examples of this practice.

Closely connected with this change or exchange of raiment is the liberation of a slave or captive. Here the Jewish practice was so clear that Landsberger did not fail to note it in this connection; for *Matthew* says,[2] "Now at a feast the governor [ruler] was wont to release unto the multitude one prisoner, whom they would." This act is attested in the Babylonian hemerologies for the 6th, 16th, and 26th Marcheswan. As for parallels, it is hardly necessary to multiply instances, since we have in the preceding chapters repeatedly called attention to the connection of emancipation with the sixth day, the sixth year, and the pilgrimage festivals. The release of Barabbas at the Last Passover is no more clear than the emancipation of Israel at the Egyptian Passover; but even in the Greek rites one may see traces of the same practice; for when Dionysus descended to the nether world, it was with the avowed purpose[3] of releasing and restoring to life one poet.[4] In connection with the Day of Atone-

[1] *Exod.* III. 22; XI. 2; XII. 35.

[2] XXVII. 15. See above, p. 386, n. 3. In *Rosh ha-Shanah*, p. 16, tr. Rodkinson, the Rabbis Eliezer and Joshua are quoted as saying, "On New Year's day Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah were visited with the blessing of children [their wombs being opened], Joseph was released from prison, and the bondage of our fathers in Egypt ceased."

[3] Aristophanes *Frogs* 65 *sq.*

[4] It was to have been Euripides, but after the contest the choice of Dionysus fell on Æschylus. Though the god renders the decision, he hints not obscurely (1475) that the audience (both in Hades and in Athens) approves. This procedure is practically identical with that of the Jews as stated by *Matthew*. The Torah directs that Aaron shall decide by lot—wherein God decides—which goat shall belong to Yahweh, which to Azazel. Among Moslems "there is a tradition that every Friday Allah performs a great act of manumission, which with mankind is especially pious: He releases sixty thousand souls that are imprisoned in Hell" (Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Moham-*

ment it was pointed out that the release of a prisoner or slave was a ritual consecration and consequently ritually equivalent to death, since it took the form of banishment. The Pharmakos was driven out and banished; Pharaoh bade Moses and the Israelites begone and see his face no more; and among the Greeks, at least, emancipation commonly took the form of sale, that is to say, of consecration, to a god.[1] Animals also were consecrated to a god by being released and allowed to wander free: of such character was the scapegoat when driven out into the wilderness to Azazel on the Day of Atonement, and such the horses which Cæsar is said to have released when he crossed the Rubicon. Landsberger notes the parallel between the release of slaves or captives at the *shigū*-ceremony and the release of animals, and in one instance the release of captives, at a rite of exorcism.[2] He is presumably quite right, and enables us thus to find a Babylonian analogue for the scapegoat. Whether he is justified by the texts in supposing that the king and the slave exchanged rôles and that the king did penance in the slave's stead, Assyriologists must decide; but if he is right, the flagellation[3] of Dionysus as well as of Xanthias in the

medanism, p. 165). Christian tradition represents the Saviour as descending to Hades on Good Friday to release the captives there. *Sib. Or.* VIII. 311 calls this "the end of the ages [æons] and the Last Day." Stephanus Gobarus (in Photius *Bibl.* 290 *b*, 28 *sq.* Bekker) quotes a tradition of the Fathers that the Saviour gave his blood to the Enemy, who exacted it, as a ransom for captive man. For the release of the souls of the dead at New Year festivals in Egypt, see Foucart in *E.R.E.*, III, 103 *b*.

[1] One may ask whether Paul did not have this in mind when he said (1 *Cor.* VII. 22), "For he that was called in the Lord, being a slave, is the Lord's freedman: likewise he that was called, being free, is Christ's bond-servant. Ye were bought with a price; become not bond-servants of men." In like manner one may explain Paul's calling himself a bond-servant or slave of Jesus Christ (*Rom.* I. 1); for the freedman not infrequently called the man who had emancipated him his "saviour." The title "servant of Yahweh," applied to the expected Messiah, may belong to the same complex of ideas. Cf. also *Gal.* VI. 17 and Herod. ii. 113.

[2] The scapegoat carried away not only the sins but also the ills of men. The latter were conceived as possession by evil spirits: hence exorcising evil spirits is closely akin to the banishment and forgiving of sins. When Jesus exorcised the legion of evil spirits from the demoniac, who dwelt among the tombs, they entered into the swine that (like the scapegoat and the Pharmakos) plunged down the cliff and perished (*Matt.* VIII. 28 *sq.* and parallels).

[3] Flagellation as a means of driving out evil is too well known to require further comment; but one may recall the ritual practice of it at Sparta, where the boys were beaten (sometimes to death) at the altar of Artemis Orthia. We may be sure that it was done on the sixth day, which was sacred to Artemis. For flagellation practised by the Jews on the Day of Atonement, see *J. Enc.*, II, 282 *b sq.* One recalls that Jesus was scourged on the day of his crucifixion (*Matt.* XXVII. 26).

Frogs of Aristophanes is a close parallel, though it rather suggests that each did penance for the other. If the slave bore the king's sin, he might perhaps be sent away free with the injunction to see his face no more.

The Babylonian text directs that, before the king enters upon the *shigū*, "he shall open a bar and lock," or a barred lock. Just what the rite consisted in, we do not know; but it may safely be taken in conjunction with the other ceremonies as an act of release. Quite probably it had other suggestions to the minds of the Babylonians; but when a prisoner was set free, a door locked and barred, and sometimes sealed,[1] was of course opened. Among the Jews similar customs prevailed. We referred above[2] to the statement of Josephus that "during the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which we call Passover, it was customary for the priest to open the gates of the temple from midnight on," and to the Jewish practice of leaving the house-

[1] Cf. *Matt.* xxvii. 66.

[2] P. 96, n. 3. See Chambers, *Book of Days,* ii, 794, for the ceremonious formality of opening the house-door, as the clock strikes twelve and announces the New Year, in order "to let out the Old, and let in the New Year." Among other portents preceding the fall of Jerusalem, Josephus (*B.I.* vi. 292 *sq.*) mentions the circumstance that at Passover the eastern gate of the temple opened of its own accord at the sixth hour of the night (midnight). The rites of the Babylonian Zag-muk repeatedly call for the ceremonious opening and closing of the temple-doors at stated times; but the meaning of these acts is not clear. There can hardly be any doubt, however, about the significance of a notation in a Babylonian hemerology (see Weidner, p. 85) to the month Tishri, which begins the second half-year, "The Pure of the Lands offers the year-libation to the Anunnaki: the portal of Apsu is opened." M. Thureau-Dangin (*Rituels accadiens,* p. 118 *sq.*) publishes a fragment of the ritual of the temple of Anu at Uruk for the 16th and 17th of an unnamed month. The chief observance falls on the night of the 16th, and is a vigil, which continues until 40 minutes after sunrise on the 17th. One might call it a *theodaisia* and festival of the new fire, the practices having a striking resemblance to those observed on Easter-eve in Jerusalem at the Holy Sepulcher. The door of the temple is left open. These circumstances suggest that the rite was related both to the passover and to the *shigū*. M. Loisy (*Revue critique* for 1st March, 1922, p. 84 *sq.*) suggests that it may belong to the vernal *aqitu*-festival; but that apparently closed on the 11th Nisan. It may well have had another connection, determined by the appearance of the stars of Anu and Antu, and nevertheless have been in fact a New Year festival, though not recognized as such in the conflate calendar. When the vigil ends after sunrise, the temple-door, according to the ritual, shall be opened before Anu and Antu; this is apparently the familiar rite of the *apertio,* known in Egyptian (see Cumont, *Oriental Rel. in Rom. Paganism,* pp. 95, 236) and Anatolian cults (see Picard, *Éphèse et Claros,* index, *s. v. "apertio"*): it obviously signified an epiphany of the deities in their temple. One may compare the opening of the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. See above, pp. 383 *sq.*

door ajar on the night of Passover. That rite, as we have seen, is doubtless connected with the fact that Passover is a *rite de passage*. But the New Year also is, like Passover, a time when the graves open, and the dead come forth;[1] and, as was pointed out above,[2] Peter's release from prison, apparently regarded as a return from his grave, occurred at Passover, and was attended with the mysterious opening of the city gate. In this connection one may quote Pausanias, who speaks of the two most wonderful graves that he knows, one of which is the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; of the other he says,[3] "In the land of the Hebrews, and in the city of Jerusalem . . . there is the grave of a native woman named Helena.[4] In this grave there is a door which, like the whole grave, is of stone, and is so contrived that it does not open until the revolving year has brought round a certain day and a certain hour; then it opens by its own mechanism, and after a short time shuts of itself. At any other time you could not open it, if you tried,[5] though by using force you might break it down." Though, unhappily, Pausanias does not tell us the day and the hour when, according to his informant, who was doubtless a Jew, this grave opened of its own accord, one might easily guess it.[6]

Beside the ritual directions for the *shigū*-service already mentioned, there is in the hemerologies a further column, which is said to contain "promises and threats." Landsberger, who transcribes the notations, offers neither a translation nor an interpretation of them;

[1] See above, p. 102, n. 1.

[2] P. 298, n. 4.

[3] viii. 16. 5, tr. Frazer.

[4] The Helena here meant was not a native, but a proselyte, and queen of Adiabene: see Josephus *Ant.* xx. 4. Owing to her measures of relief at the time of the famine, she may well have received the title Σώτειρα, though we have no record of it. Her tomb lay just outside Jerusalem, to the north.

[5] *J. Enc.*, x, 384 *a*. Resurrection of the dead "was declared to be solely the act of God, who alone possesses the key that will unlock the tombs (*Berakot* 15 *b*)." The release of the imprisoned dead was generally thought of as effected by a god descending to the underworld (*ibid.*). Accordingly, when Allah (see p. 398, n. 4) delivers a host of souls every Friday, it may be supposed that he was originally conceived as descending into Hell.

[6] However, *Mark* xiii. 32 and *Matt.* xxiv. 36 say that "of that day or that hour knoweth no one" (cf. *Acts* i. 6; 1 *Thess.* v. 1 *sq.*), as Mohammedans debate regarding the day of the month's fast of Ramadan, on which fell the Night of Qidr, when the Koran descended, and some say it cannot be known (cf. Al-Biruni, p. 331). Consequently the injunction to watch with fasting and prayer. So there is a particular time on Friday when, the Mohammedan believes, prayer is quite certain to be answered, doubtless because the heavens open; but its location is unknown (Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 165).

consequently the writer is in no position to comment on them. Our study of the Hebrew pilgrimages suggests, however, a possibility which may here be mentioned solely as a conjecture to be considered by Assyriologists. We have seen how closely the blessing and the curse are associated with the passovers in the Hebrew tradition. May we recognize in the "promises and threats" of the *shigū*-days the Babylonian analogue of the blessings and the curses of the passover? If so, we have here a most interesting additional direction which serves to make the parallel between the *shigū*-rites and the Hebrew *hag* almost complete. It will be recalled that in *Deuteronomy* we found patent evidence of a liturgy in connection with the recital of the blessings and the curses.[1] But even without insisting on this point, which is of course altogether hypothetical, there is enough in the certified common elements to establish a connection between Hebrew and Babylonian rites, and to make it clear that the former belonged essentially to sixth days.

When one reflects on the evidence already adduced, there seems to remain no possible doubt regarding the ancient Israelitish days of Yahweh. These days were not fixed in relation to a cyclical week of whatever length, but were appointed at most a few times in the year. Though they may have been observed before the worshipers of Yahweh settled in Canaan,[2] there is no reason to suppose that they bore a different signature from those held sacred by some at least of the neighboring peoples; on the contrary, *Hosea*[3] clearly implies that the days of Yahweh coincided with those of the Baalim, as did the rites; and the same implication may be found in the statement of the *Book of Kings*[4] that from Jeroboam to Hezekiah all Israel was wholly given to idolatry, fearing Yahweh, but worshiping their own gods, the Baalim. Even during the exile, *Jeremiah*[5] found an assembly of all the Judeans in Egypt at Pathros, to whom he preached and prophesied in the name of Yahweh, while they turned away and offered incense to the Queen of Heaven, as they and their fathers had done in the land of Judah. One cannot doubt that this occurred on a sixth, or possibly a second, day;[6] and *Deuteronomy* connects the

[1] See above, p. 174 *sq.*

[2] The fact that the second and sixth days are observed in Islam is in favor of this assumption, suggesting an ancient regard for them among Semites.

[3] II. 13.

[4] II *Kings* XVII.

[5] XLIV. 15 *sq.*; cf. II *Kings* XXI. 5.

[6] See above, pp. 64, n. 9, and 65, n. 1.

giving of the Law, whose associations with second and sixth days we have before pointed out, with "the day of the assembly," on which Yahweh spoke to Israel from out the fire on Horeb and filled all with such terror that they prayed Moses henceforth to speak to them instead.[1] In our study of Islam, we observed that the sacred days of Mohammedans are the second and the sixth, and that Jumah,[2] their "day of assembly," is Friday. When the Prophet, abandoning his attempt to introduce the Jewish Sabbath, fixed on the sixth day of the week for preaching and special devotions, we may be sure that he was falling back on ancient Arabian practice; for there is evidence of the hebdomadal week as well as the five-day epact in Arabia before Islam.[3]

The coincidence of the days of Yahweh with those of the gods of other peoples and cult-associations must suggest to any student of religion that the differences between the cults as regards rites and beliefs were likely to be less than they are commonly supposed to have been. The cult of the dead is regarded as both the most ancient and the most persistent element of Semitic religion.[4] We have seen evidences of it in connection with the Hebrew pilgrimages, and even today it is inseparable from the Mohammedan festivals.[5] Respecting the conception of Yahweh on the part of his worshipers, it cannot be

[1] See above, p. 170 *sq.* From this "day of assembly" one cannot dissociate the day (or time or year) of reckoning, mustering, or visitation (*pekuddah*), frequently threatened by the prophets. *Hosea* IX. 5, 7 perhaps shows the association of ideas most clearly; but one may compare also *Isa.* X. 3; *Jer.* VIII. 12; X. 15; XI. 23; XLVI. 21; XLVIII. 44; L. 27; LI. 18; *Mic.* VII. 4. As for the "year," one may recall that the epact is in Egypt sometimes called a "year."

[2] The name means "Assembly." For the observance of the day, which shows some inconsistency, see Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 163 *sq. Enc. Brit.*[11], XI, 215 *a:* "According to Mohammedan tradition, Friday . . . was the day on which Adam was created, entered Paradise, and was expelled, and it was the day of his repentence, the day of his death, and will be the Day of Resurrection." Al-Biruni, p. 304, says, "According to some scholars Muslims celebrate their Friday because on that day the Creator finished the creation of the world and breathed his spirit into Adam. According to the astrologers, in all religions certain week-days are celebrated, because the horoscopes of their prophets and the constellations indicative of their coming stood under the influence of the planets that reign over these respective days." The Moslem era dates from the Hijra, the Christian from the Nativity, both connected with the New Year, i. e., the transition from the fifth to the sixth day, and in the hebdomadal week with Thursday or Friday. See above, p. 72, n. 3, and p. 101, n. 1.

[3] See above, p. 65 *sq.*

[4] Cf. Stade, I, § 92.

[5] Mohammed exhorted Moslems to remember their dead on Friday, which is accordingly observed by the faithful by visiting the cemeteries.

said to differ greatly from that of the heathen gods. In an earlier chapter we pointed out that the days of Mastema, or of Satan, are shown by the *Book of Jubilees* to have been the second and the sixth, which were likewise the days of Yahweh. There is, therefore, the less reason for surprise when one finds that acts which are sometimes attributed to Yahweh are ascribed at other times to Satan or Mastema. The practice is not confined to extra-canonical Scriptures. The temptation of David to take a census of his subjects is laid now to Yahweh, now to Satan;[1] and while Satan appears as the tempter in *Job,* old tradition represents Yahweh as tempting Israel at Meribah.[2] The incident of the prophet Micaiah[3] is familiar: it is a tale of false prophecy,[4] of a lying spirit put into the mouth of prophets by Yahweh, of disguise, of a fateful battle—doubtless on a day of Yahweh—and of the death of a king. *Isaiah*[5] also knew the god of Israel as the creator of evil. As a revelation of the conception entertained even as late as the exile, nothing, however, is more noteworthy than the word of Yahweh declared by *Ezekiel:*[6] "Moreover also I gave them statutes that were not good, and ordinances whereby they should not live; and I polluted them in their own gifts, by causing them to pass through the fire[7] all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they may know that I am Yahweh." If Yahweh could be charged, even by his inspired prophet, with instituting the most abominable practices of the heathen, one may not wonder that the humane Plutarch[8] should exclaim, "Yet not all regard the gods as good: but see, what thoughts the Jews and Syrians entertain concerning their gods!" Christian apologetics has hardly removed the difficulty by ascribing such sins to the hardening

[1] II *Sam.* XXIV. 1; I *Chron.* XXI. 1.

[2] Cf. *Zech.* III. 1 *sq.,* and *James* I. 13.

[3] I *Kings* XXII. 5 *sq.*; cf. I *Kings* XII–XIII, connected with the worship of the golden calf at Bethel.

[4] Yahweh sends false prophets to prove Israel (*Deut.* XIII. 1 *sq.*); their function as forerunners of the last days is shown by *Matt.* XXIV. 11, 24; *Mark* XIII. 22.

[5] XLV. 7.

[6] XX. 25–26.

[7] See above, p. 92, n. 3.

[8] *De Stoic. repugn.* 1051 E. *Ps.* CVI. 35 *sq.* says of the Israelites that they mingled themselves with pagans and served their idols, "yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons." *Deut.* XXXII. 17 represents the demons as "new gods that came up of late, which your fathers dreaded not." Cf. Plutarch *De superst.* 168 D, 169 C, 171 C *sq.* for the superstitions of the Jews, their fear of demons. See Bertholet, p. 124 *sq.*

of men's hearts and charging God with responsibility therefor. Such thoughts are readily explained by the agreement in time and ritual of the cultus of Yahweh and the Baalim,[1] for the hardening of men's hearts is a standing motive of the *hag;* and in turn they serve to explain why Marcion and other early Christians pronounced the god of the Jews, or the Creator, an evil being, overlooking quite other views of Yahweh held by the Jews.

We conclude, therefore, that the day of Yahweh differed in ancient times from the days of the Baalim neither in character nor in signature. One might illustrate the general agreement of these cults in many ways, especially by rehearsing and interpreting the old traditions regarding the priesthood of Yahweh; but to do so would require considerable space and might be somewhat irrelevant. What is of most importance is to observe that in late Judaism two changes have supervened: first, the sacred day in the cultus of Yahweh is no longer the second or the sixth, but the seventh, or the Sabbath; and second, the character of the day and the character of Yahweh are likewise quite different. If the Sabbath, despite its numerous and oppressive taboos, is hailed as a day of joy or luxury, the post-exilic prophets likewise dwell with emphasis on the thought that Yahweh is reconciled with his people. Instead of a god estranged and departed in anger, whose departure was the signal for an exodus or *hag,* they speak by preference of a god returning in the goodness of his mercy[2] or dwelling in his holy temple.[3] With the psalmists the goodness and mercy of Yahweh are favorite themes, and the prophet *Zechariah*[4] commands that fast-days be converted into feasts. A brighter prospect opens before the people and results in

[1] *Hosea* II. 13 (15): "I will visit upon [appoint for?] her the days of the Baalim, wherein she burned incense, when she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels [cf. *Exod.* XI. 2 *sq.*], and went after her lovers, and forgot me." This is a threat, and offers no pleasant prospect: the days of the Baalim are not days of joy (*ibid.* II. 11 (13).

[2] Cf. *Num.* X. 35–36 and the Targums *ad loc.,* where it is clearly implied that the departure of the shekinah and the ark signified the angry departure of Yahweh, who was to be propitiated by the journey of Israel, i. e., by the *hag* and the fast in the wilderness, and that when these representatives of Yahweh rested, he might be expected to return in mercy. *Ps.* CXXVI suggests that the return of the exiles to Jerusalem was celebrated as a harvest-home: "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing the measure of seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, bringing his sheaves." The scheme of the *hag* in the wilderness is here accommodated to that of an agricultural festival; but the ritual form becomes the frame for eschatological hopes.

[3] *Ps.* XI. 4.

[4] VII–VIII.

a more cheerful temper without quite removing the fears long entertained, or permitting a whole-hearted rejoicing: the psalmist [1] well expresses the attitude of Judaism when he bids one "serve Yahweh with fear, and rejoice with trembling." This ambiguous mood of Judaism is reflected in the ambiguous character of the Sabbath.

II. *The Sabbath*

The questions relating to the history of the Sabbath are many and of extreme complexity, and have been the subject of much discussion. Owing to the purpose and scope of this inquiry, our present problem is fortunately more circumscribed, being limited to ascertaining the position of the Sabbath in the ritual schemes of the Hebrews and its consequent suggestions in their religious life. We are not at all concerned with the questions relating to the origin of the Sabbath, or of the term of seven days,[2] which calls for our consideration only so far as it enters the patterns which the cultus of the Hebrews successively assumed.

Regarding the etymology of the word "Sabbath," Semitic scholars, despite much study and debate, have reached no general agreement; and many emphatically assert that it has no connection with *sheba'*, "seven." [3] Nevertheless, so far as the Hebrew tradition is concerned, there seems to be no good reason to doubt that the Sabbath was always regarded as a seventh day. We have, to be sure, had occasion to point out that the Sabbath, like the seventh day, is not infrequently identified or equated with the third day, and occasionally with the fourth; [4] but this may reasonably be explained as due to the

[1] *Ps.* II. 11.

[2] See Hehn, *Siebenzahl u. Sabbat.*

[3] See however C. C. Torrey, *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, XXXVI (1916), 53.

[4] We shall see that the Sabbath, so far as it is a day of rest, follows the festival-term; in the case of a triduan term, it follows the third day. Just that form is met in the Mohammedan hajj. There, as we have seen, the first three days (8th–10th) alone are of obligation. For those who content themselves with this term, the following days of Tashrik are an Hilaria. As Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 298, says, *"Les trois jours qui suivent la désacralisation et les cérémonies du 10 sont consacrées au plaisir sous toutes ses formes: boire, manger, et jouissances sexuelles . . . ce sont jours officiels de réjouissance religieuse."* But the 11th also is a day of rest in their quarters for those who have made the hajj. *Ibid.*, p. 300: *"Il porte le nom de* lailat el qarr *ou* yawm el qarr *parce que 'les gens restent alors dans leur logis.'"* The initiates in the Eleusinian Mysteries likewise had a day of rest in their homes (Aristotle

exigencies arising from the need of adjusting different schemes one to another. Though there still remains much to explain in the complicated processes followed by the Babylonians in fitting months and days into their elaborate sacral calendars, one seems to discover in them data which suggest that essentially the same procedure was adopted.[1] At all events, we shall do well for the present to accept the theory that among the Hebrews the Sabbath was always reckoned a seventh day, whatever other values it might receive.[2]

Our study of the day of Yahweh and the *moʿadim* of the principal pilgrimages has shown that among the ancient Hebrews the same days, the second and the sixth, were the most holy, as they are even now in Islam; but in both instances the sixth day is the more important. These days are differently assigned at different times, and we are in no position to speak dogmatically regarding the context in which they acquired their special sanctity. Thus the sixth day is now taken as the sixth of a month, and as such suggests a connection with the first quarter of the moon; now it is identified as New Year's day, which must generally in early times have been new moon, and as such

Athen. resp. lvi. 4), perhaps, as Mommsen (*Feste,* p. 217) conjectures, on the 17th Boëdromion, the day following Halade Mystai; if that were true, it would be the third day.

[1] Landsberger (p. 108) calls attention to the fact that the 3d and 7th days are designated as *nubattu;* but the same note occurs on the 16th. If this day were reckoned the 3d from the 14th, as the beginning of rites connected with the full moon, it might be significant; but this is not known (cf. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum,* p. 176 *b*). He observes (p. 87 *sq.*) that in the Babylonian calendar used in ancient Elam, the 3d and 8th months are designated as *She-bu-ti* or *Shi-bu-ti,* which he thinks admits of no other meaning than "seventh;" yet he offers no explanation of the supposed fact. One may compare the months to which festivals of Ishtar (and Tammuz) are assigned. At Nippur in the 3d millennium *Kin* ^{dd} *Inanna* (another name for Ishtar) is the 6th; in a list from Umma. *Dumūzi* (= Tammuz) is the 12th; at Nippur, in the time of Hammurapi, *Duzu* (= Tammuz) is the 4th, while Ululu (Elul), the month of the wailing of Ishtar for Tammuz, is the 6th. The last-mentioned arrangement continued in the Babylonian and Jewish calendars. The equation of the 6th and 12th months is readily understood. The connection of Tammuz with the 4th month may account in part for the occasional character of the 4th day as a *dies nefastus.* As an apparent instance of the virtual equation of the 2d and 6th days, so common among the Hebrews, one may cite an inscription given by Landsberger (p. 149), where on these days the same note occurs, to wit: *é—dingir—re—ne—shag—uru—az—ag—ga;* but for the 6th day there is added: *é—shal—shu.*

[2] E. g., as the post-festal day of a Passover falling on a 2d day. If the Hebrews were confronted with as many different schemes as the Babylonian calendar-makers apparently were, they may well have had to compromise with necessity.

suggests a constructive epact of five days;[1] now, as in the Babylonian calendar, it appears as the sixth day of the several decads of the month, the 6th, 16th, and 26th, but interestingly consorting with the 28th, perhaps originally the second from the end of the month; and finally, not to speak of the fact that the sixth month of the year and the sixth year—in the emancipation of slaves—have the same character as the several sixth days, one must not forget that Friday, as the sixth day of the hebdomadal week, bears even in our time a name filled with superstitious dread over a good part of the earth. One may add to this the associations of the sixth hour, whether midnight or midday, as the fateful divider of time, at which spirits were supposed to come forth, the hour of the Crucifixion, of the Passover, and of the weekly Friday assembly of the Moslems. Without wishing to discourage the hardy explorer who would track this regard for the number six to its source, we may well suggest that it probably antedates any evidence one may now produce in the effort to explain it.

But if the signature of the sixth day does not necessarily imply as its precondition any definite term, it cannot be doubted that in the Hebrew tradition it was connected with a term of six days, and that at a comparatively early date the Sabbath was brought into relation

[1] That certain festivals obviously connected with the New Year, such as the Hebrew Passover and the Persian Naurôz, actually came to fall on the 6th of the first month becomes intelligible when one sees that the sixth days, wherever placed, were apt to have the same character. That they freed themselves from the calendar to a certain extent does not show that they had no relation to the epact, but at most that the epact was not always formally recognized as such. Epiphany is a good example: it repeats Christmas, and is obviously a New Year's day, though it dates on the 6th January. Such accommodations are frequent and call for detailed and comprehensive treatment. Pliny's statement regarding the Druids (*N.H.* xvi. 250) is especially interesting. Speaking of the mistletoe found on the oak, he says: *Est autem id rarum admodum inuentu et repertum magna religione petitur et ante omnia sexta luna, quae principia mensuum annorumque his facit et saeculi post tricesimum annum, quia iam uirium abunde habeat nec sit sui dimidia.* The golden bough of mistletoe of Verg. *Æn.* vi, 201 *sq.*, gathered apparently *brumali frigore*, must certainly be associated with this rite. If, as is probable, Norden (*Die Geburt des Kindes*, p. 19) is right in taking *bruma* here in the restricted sense of "winter solstice," we have a connection with New Year, Christmas, and the sixth day. Elsewhere we have noted that Christmas is made a sixth day by dating its *proëortia* on the 20th. Nilsson (*Primitive Time-Reckoning*, p. 80) mentions a New Year falling on the 6th April in Northern Scania. On the Celtic calendar, see MacNeill, "On the Notation and Chronography of the Calendar of Coligny," *Eriu*, x (1926), 1–67. He concludes that Pliny's statement is correct.

to it.[1] Just what that relation was in the earliest period of Hebrew history which our records show, it is our present task to determine. But since the result of our study has of necessity been anticipated in previous chapters, it can serve no useful purpose to lead up to it here step by step, and reserve the statement of it until the conclusion of the argument. Let us rather formulate it at once as a thesis which is to be explained and justified by considerations presently to be set forth. In brief, it is this, that in the older period the Sabbath was the Hilaria or post-festal day of rest succeeding a festal term of six days. Subsequently the character of the Sabbath underwent a change, becoming a day of almost infinite taboos, though its nature in former times was never quite forgotten. In due course we shall offer some suggestions regarding the circumstances and influences which may be assumed to have conspired to bring about this result.

In the prophets we find references to the Sabbath which clearly imply that it was a heathen observance.[2] This showing should occasion no surprise, since "the day of Yahweh" was not different from the day of the Baalim; but of itself this fact yields no insight into the character or observance of the day. Again, it may be noted that the Sabbath is mentioned together with the new moon; but obviously this might be done whether the occasions were alike or not, for in

[1] Homer's *Odyssey* shows several such terms, though not all have an obvious connection with ritual. In x. 80 *sq.* no such reference is apparent: Odysseus and his companions sail six days and on the seventh reach Telepylus, where the ways of night and day lie very close together. One might take this to mean that they had reached a point where one doesn't count days: time, in the ordinary sense, is no more. Not unlike this is xv. 476 *sq.*, where Eumæus sails six days and on the seventh loses his treacherous nurse by death. The other two instances are plainly related to ritual: in xii. 397 *sq.*, the companions feast six days on the kine of Helios, while the gods are enraged and the Sun-god threatens to shine among the dead; on the seventh day the company sails, and all but Odysseus are slain. In xiv. 249 *sq.*, Odysseus and his crew feast and sacrifice six days in Crete, and sail away to Egypt on the seventh. In xii. 339 and xv. 477, Zeus is expressly said to have "added" the seventh day. Exactly the same term occurs twice in the Semitic Babylonian account of the Flood; Gressmann (in Ungnad und Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* [1911], p. 207) discusses these, but is puzzled by them. He makes unwarranted suggestions about the text. See above, p. 345. In view of the clear evidence of terms of six days abundantly brought forward in this study, it is hardly necessary to discuss or criticize in detail the views of Roscher (*Abh. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., phil-hist. Kl.*, XXI, No. iv, 47, and Nilsson, *A.R.*, XIV, 433, n. 1). The obvious fact is that there were hexaëmeral as well as hebdomadal terms. The former are quite ignored by these scholars. In the next chapter we shall discuss the six days in Homer's account of the fighting before Troy.

[2] *Amos* VIII. 6; *Hosea* II. 11; *Isa.* I. 13.

either case they might be equally obnoxious to the prophets of Yahweh. The Shunammite, one recalls, sought Elisha, the prophet of Yahweh, on a day that was neither new moon nor Sabbath;[1] for the day when he performed miracles was presumably Yahweh's day. Of far more importance for our purpose is the fact that *Ezekiel*[2] clearly regarded new moon and Sabbath as equivalent from the ritual point of view; for since the new moon was doubtless regarded as a first day, to be observed with joy, one may assume that the Sabbath was of like nature. Other prophets include the Sabbath in lists no less significant, as when *Hosea*[3] couples *haggim,* new moons, Sabbaths, and *mo'adim* as occasions of mirth, and *Isaiah*[4] brackets the Sabbath with new moon, kalends, and *'azerah.* In as much as *'azerah* is identical with *'azeret,* the later passage refers solely to first days, unless the Sabbath be an exception; and *Hosea* too may perhaps be understood in the same sense, provided that *haggim* and *mo'adim* stand generally for festivals, which closed with a joyful *'azeret.* In any case business was generally suspended alike on new moon and Sabbath: "When will the new moon pass, that we may sell grain? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?" we read in *Amos.*[5] But this was apparently not regarded as of obligation; for when, after the exile, certain West Semites, men of Tyre as well as Jews, held open market on the Sabbath and were denounced as profaning a holy day, *Nehemiah* clearly implied that the practice had been common before the exile, and, having a new conception of the obligations of the day, attributed the sad plight of the Jews to disregard of them.[6] As *Hosea* represents the Sabbath as an occasion of mirth, an apparently late addition to *Deutero-Isaiah*[7] says, "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure[8] on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a de-

[1] II *Kings* IV. 23.

[2] XLV. 17; XLVI. 1, 3. In XLVI. 1 the versions give: "the gate of the inner court . . . shall be shut *the six working days;* but on the Sabbath day it shall be opened, and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened." But the meaning seems clearly to be "the six days of religious service;" the current versions go back to the Septuagint, which was influenced by later conceptions based on the hebdomadal week.

[3] II. 11.

[4] I. 13.

[5] VIII. 5. Does this "passing" of these days imply that they were transition-days?

[6] *Neh.* X. 31; XIII. 15 *sq.*

[7] LVIII. 13–14. The context is wholly concerned with fast-days.

[8] Probably, "business" is meant.

light, the 'holy' of Yahweh honorable; and shalt honor it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words; then shalt thou delight thyself in Yahweh." But, as one sees, the day of joy and delight has received a new interpretation; for the Israelite is here, as in the *Psalms,* bidden to take delight, not in things profane, but in Yahweh and his Law.

The place of the Sabbath in the ritual scheme of the Hebrews can be best brought out by considering the suggestions it had in their thought, and the chief connections in which it is mentioned. Here one thinks at once of its character as a day of rest and release from servile labor. Simple as this may at first appear, it will readily be seen that there are several distinct notions merged in the conception of the day of rest. Rest-days are known from all quarters of the world, and are often associated with market-days,[1] as we have found the Sabbath in part observed as a market-day. For the religion of the Hebrews, it is to be feared, nothing of consequence can be extracted from this association. Nor can the fact that the Hebrews rested, and enjoined rest, on the Sabbath teach us more than we already know, that even before the exile the day was observed by West Semites as a religious festival; for festival-days were rest-days among other peoples as well as among the Hebrews,[2] and these festival-days might be of very different characters, either joyful or dreadful.[3] Considerable light is shed on these matters by Macrobius in his discussion of the Roman *feriæ,* from which we may quote the words relating to the injunction to rest at the festival. "The priests," he says,[4] "maintained that the *feriæ* were profaned if, after they were proclaimed and begun, any work were done. Furthermore the *rex sacrorum* and the *flamens* were not permitted to see any work being done; consequently proclamation was made by a herald that nothing of the sort should be done, and whoever disregarded the command was fined. The priests asserted that, beside the fine, he who had unwittingly done any work on these days must offer a pig in expiation; Scævola the pontifex ruled that he who did so knowingly could not expiate his sin, but Umbo denies that he has defiled himself who has done anything concerned with the gods or connected with sacrifices, or anything urgently needful for life. Finally, Scævola, on being consulted

[1] Cf. Hutton Webster, *Rest Days.*

[2] Cf. Strabo x. 3. 9.

[3] Doughty (*Arabia Deserta,* II, 197 *sq.*) found at Keybar the belief that Sunday was an unlucky day for beginning any work. He offers no comment.

[4] *Sat.* i. 16.

regarding what might be done on the *feriæ,* laid down the rule—'One may do anything, the omission of which would be harmful'; wherefore, if an ox fell into a pit and the head of the house by his endeavors set him free, he is not to be regarded as having defiled himself, nor one who by supporting the broken roof-tree saved his house from threatened collapse." One need not go into further detail to show how closely parallel Jewish and Roman notions ran in this regard. The Sabbath as a day of rest for man shows no distinctive character capable of differentiating it from other festival occasions, whether among Hebrews or among other peoples.

The Hebrew tradition, however, regards the command to rest on the Sabbath as a corollary to God's rest on that day after completing the work of creation. This association of ideas is far more specific, and demands closer consideration; for it may well lead to a determination of the place of the Sabbath in the ritual scheme. The data themselves, however, are here complicated by the inevitable merging of connected but separable factors in one composite whole, in which nearly all the sanctities of Judaism were finally united. Practically it is not quite feasible to keep these several motives apart, because they are interlaced, apparently in other traditions as well as in that of the Hebrews.

Repeatedly the Sabbath is thus brought into relation with the hexaëmeron of creation; nowhere more pointedly than in *Exodus,*[1] where it is said that "in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth, and on the seventh he rested and was refreshed." Now, the acts of creation proper were always confined to the term of six days, and the seventh day is superadded. This fact, as we shall presently see, is significant; for in this matter we may cite parallels the relevancy of which cannot be questioned. And first we may address ourselves to the motive of creation itself. In view of the numerous religious motives of the Hebrew tradition which we have shown to have been inseparably connected with the ancient pilgrimage festivals, one may not unreasonably ask whether this motive of creation was not one of the number. Among the Hebrews themselves one finds indications by no means obscure which point to this conclusion; as when the association of the Sabbath with creation is paralleled by that with the release of Israel from the bondage of Egypt,[2] which furnished the

[1] *Exod.* xxxi. 17; cf. xx. 10–11; *Gen.* ii. 2–3. The synagogue-service also emphasizes the connection, calling the Sabbath a memorial of creation.

[2] *Deut.* v. 12–15. The synagogue-service again betrays the immemorial as-

setting of Passover in the sacred story. But, as we know, the Passover as well as the release of the slave was connected with the sixth day and with the New Year, which was reckoned as a sixth day. *Exodus* so times the departure from Egypt as to make it obvious that the pilgrimage, which is supposed to be commemorated by Passover, falls at the turn of the year. Christian eschatology and theology, repeating the forms of Jewish thought, see in the first and second coming of Christ a new creation,[1] beginning a new era, which of course dates from a zero-hour marking the close of one cycle and the beginning of another. From this we might certainly infer that the creation "in the beginning" coincided with the beginning of the year; but we are not left to mere inference, having in the Talmudic tract on the New Year a passage,[2] already several times cited, which leaves no doubt on the subject: "R. Eliezer says: In Tishri the world was created . . . in Nisan our ancestors were redeemed from Egypt, and in the same month we shall again be redeemed." This future redemption is that to be wrought by Messiah "at the Passover to come," as the Jewish liturgy says. The only difference between the learned Rabbis concerns the question, which of the two New Year's days witnessed the creation "in the beginning." But if creation coincided with New Year's day, it would of course be indissolubly connected with the New Year festivals, Pesah, Sukkot, the Day of Atonement, and Rosh ha-Shanah, and the form of the story of creation would be influenced by that of the festivals.[3]

Bearing in mind what has already been said regarding the forms observed in the arrangements for the Hebrew pilgrimages, it is not difficult to see that the same ritual principles are to be found among

sociation of ideas with the festivals. Passover, of course, celebrates chiefly the exodus, but the liturgy for the day does not ignore creation; on the other hand, while the service for Rosh ha-Shanah lays special stress on creation, it calls New Year's day a memorial of the departure from Egypt. The hymn of unity for the sixth day (Friday) celebrates creation. The Day of Atonement in turn recalls not only the day of judgment and the casting of the tempter into fetters, but also the new creation. Through the association of the day with the Law given on Sinai it is brought into connection with the exodus.

[1] II *Cor.* v. 16–17; *Rev.* xxi. 4–5. For the end of the old, and the beginning of the new world, see Bertholet, p. 455 *sq.*

[2] *Rosh ha-Shanah*, p. 16, tr. Rodkinson.

[3] The discerning reader, who knows the associations of the festivals, will find abundant evidence of this fact in the summary of Jewish eschatology given by Bertholet, p. 449 *sq.* Cf. my article, "Vergil's Messianic Expectations," *A.J.P.*, xlv, 211 *sq.*

other peoples with whom the Hebrews were in contact. In an earlier context [1] we pointed out that the Biblical account of creation, while holding fast to the view that creation was completed on the sixth day, shows a certain duplication which permits one to regard the hexaemeron as a repeated triduum. If that were so, the particular disposition of the several acts of creation could hardly be regarded as an essential part of the scheme. The fact that the third and sixth days are distinguished by having each two separate acts assigned to it, suggests that they are in a peculiar sense days of creation. For the third day in this connection we cannot cite a perfect parallel elsewhere, though we shall presently refer to a group of data which are somewhat analogous. The sixth day, however, presents no great difficulty. It is natural that man, when he began to inquire about the origins of things, concerned himself primarily with his own origin. The Babylonian story of creation, like many another told by primitive man, is distinctly of this character,[2] so much so that many have declined to admit any possible connection between it and the longer narrative (P) found in *Genesis*. Such doubts are, however, without justification; for in the Priestly code the interest clearly centers likewise in the creation of man on the sixth day, the works of the other days being mere preliminaries. In several Babylonian versions the creation of man precedes, instead of following, that of other things.[3] Assuming then that there exists a connection between the Hebrew and the Babylonian versions, it must be clear that the order of the acts of creation is not of the essence of the story. One may here refer to another parallel, which must be compared, though its relation to the Hebrew scheme is uncertain. Among the ancient Persians there were observed six festivals, called *Gahanbars,* disposed at intervals throughout the year; they seem always to have lasted five days, and occurred at cardinal points, either at the beginning or at the middle of seasons. Whether or not they originally had such a reference, they

[1] Above, p. 48 *sq.*

[2] See Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions,* p. 94. In Dr. Poebel's Sumerian version of creation (*ibid.,* p. 96), three motives, all characteristic of New Year's day, occur: (1) creation of man and animals, (2) giving the law, (3) allotting abodes to the gods. The last mentioned motive recurs, e. g., in Greek myth, in connection with the victory of the Olympians over the Giants, which tradition dated on the sixth day.

[3] See King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition* (1918), p. 58. The same is of course true of the Judean account (J); see the conspectus in King, *ibid.,* pp. 142–143.

came in time to commemorate creation, which thus fell into six acts: (1) heavens, (2) waters, (3) earth, (4) trees, (5) cattle, (6) man.[1] There is reason to suspect that the Gahanbar was somehow related to the epact of five days, which was inserted in the interval between the years proper consisting of 360 (12×30) days, and the last Gahanbar may originally have coincided with the epact. The epact, however, was regarded as belonging to the first month, Farvardin, and with the first five days of this month constituted a festival on which the spirits of the good departed returned to earth.[2] So close was this connection that the Persian calendar recognized two New Year's days, falling respectively on the 1st and 6th Farvardin,[3] each obviously reckoned as a sixth day. On this view the system of six Gahanbars would most naturally be regarded as an elaborated epact plus New Year's day, on which creation was completed.[4] In support of this theory one may cite the facts that the Gahanbars, like the epact, were passovers, or marked the transition from season to season, and that the Egyptian epact was regarded as a little year. Among Hebrews, Persians, and Babylonians alike, creation was connected with the celebration of the New Year.[5] This connection being granted, we have in the epact and the succeeding New Year's day a sufficient explanation of the association of creation with the sixth day and the hexaëmeron. While Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Persians had New Year's festivals with many common sugges-

[1] See Ginzel, I, 283–285.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 287, 289.

[3] To these we must add Mihrajân, another New Year's festival, likewise lasting six days, in the seventh month.

[4] The relation between the New Year's festival (Naurôz) and the Gahanbars is recognized by Al-Biruni and by modern scholars; cf. *E.R.E.*, V, 872 *b*. For creation as associated with Naurôz, see Al-Biruni, p. 199: "Persian scholars say that in the day of Naurôz there is an hour in which the sphere of Fêrôz is driven on by the spirits for the purpose of renovating the creation." *Ibid.*, p. 55: "The Persians believe that the beginning of their year was fixed by the creation of the first man, and that this took place on the day Hurmuz of Farvardin Mâh" (1st Farvardin).

[5] For the Hebrews this is clearly brought out by Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos;* for the Babylonians, see H. Zimmern, *Verh. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, LVIII (1906), *Heft* 3, p. 128. The Egyptian year properly began with the heliacal rising of Sothis (Sirius) about the summer solstice; according to Solinus xxxii. 13, and Porphyry *De antro nymph.* xxiv, this was regarded as the birthday of the world. Since it was likewise regarded as the birthday of the Sun-god, Rā (see above, p. 370, n. 3), we know that this was really the Egyptian view. Philo (*De septen.* cli–clx) expressly gives it as the Jewish view that the vernal equinox and the vernal festival (Pesah-Mazzot) are "a memorial of the genesis, or creation, of the world."

tions, the ritual schemes differed enough in detail to explain the variations to be found in the several sacred stories.

Regarding the Babylonian New Year's festivals we have considerable, though incomplete, information,[1] notably for the festival of Anu at Uruk[2] and for that of Marduk at Babylon.[3] In the former city, and presumably in the latter also, a double celebration occurred at the beginning of the half-years, in the months Nisan and Tishri, lasting from the 1st to the 11th days.[4] Amid the multitude of details it is difficult to discern the scheme, especially as it has obviously become overlaid by altered practice. At Uruk the cars of Anu move to the *aqitu*-shrine daily from the 2d to the 7th days inclusive,[5] though the great and solemn progress in procession occurs on the 7th day. The return, at the close of the festival, must be thought of as occurring on the 11th. At Babylon information is lacking for the 1st Nisan, the records thus far known beginning with the 2d. Here, as at Uruk, there is a bewildering profusion of rites. One thing, however, stands out very clearly: while observances start at the beginning of Nisan, the festival proper appears to commence with the coming of Nebo from Borsippa to visit his father, Marduk, at Babylon. This visit extends from the 6th to the 11th Nisan,[6] which may accordingly be

[1] This material has been collected and discussed in Zimmern I, II, and III, and by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921). Citations in the following refer to these works.

[2] Thureau-Dangin, p. 86 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 127 *sq.*

[4] This term is obviously related to the "lunar epact" or excess of the solar over the lunar year. See above, p. 338, n. 3.

[5] Thureau-Dangin, p. 94, l. 3, it is said "[from the 1st] to the 8th day." The editor remarks that obviously the 8th is excluded; but we may be sure that the 1st is similarly used as giving the outer (not included) limit.

[6] Here again the outer limits "from the 5th to the 12th," are given (*ibid.*, p. 141, l. 363); this is clear from the fact that the festival closed on the 11th (p. 99), and that Nebo arrived on the 6th (p. 133, l. 212). Possibly the inclusion of these outer limits may be due to the same consideration which led the Hebrews to add of the profane to the holy, allowing some leeway lest a sacred day be violated by mistake. This same feeling is no doubt in part responsible for dating Passover on the 14th Nisan (a fifth day), when it properly began on the 15th, which was a sixth day. Though the fact does not necessarily signify much, it may be noted that Borsippa, anciently the city of Nebo, is said by Strabo (xvi. 1. 7) to be sacred to Artemis and Apollo. Astrologically, Nebo was identified as Hermes (Mercury); but as a prophet he would as naturally be regarded by the Greeks as identical with Apollo. Possibly Nebo's association with the sixth day of the year (New Year's day) may have contributed to the identification of him and his consort with Apollo and Artemis.

regarded as the New Year festival proper. If this be so, the festival begins and ends on sixth days. There is a difficulty here, however, which cannot be ignored. According to the fragmentary record, the account of the 5th Nisan is extraordinary long, extending even beyond the limits of the extant tablets. Zimmern,[1] indeed, has suggested that the notation on the tablets may be erroneous, and one can hardly resist the conclusion that it is so.

The ritual of Uruk consists largely of ceremonious processions accompanied by sacrifices and liturgical exercises, in which the gods pay homage to Anu and his consort Antu. The opening of the temple gate, as at the Hebrew Passover, is expressly mentioned. At Babylon, if we may judge by the record, the rites were more significant. On the 2d Nisan, Bel, "incomparable in his wrath," is invoked as dispenser of destinies and of oracles. The high priest of Marduk alone enters the holy of holies, and a curse is pronounced on the Evil One.[2] On the 3d the folding doors are opened. Of especial interest is the fact that on this day preparation is made for a striking rite of propitiation to occur on the 6th.[3] Artisans are bidden to prepare two statuettes, one of cedar, the other of tamarisk-wood, which are to be broken and burnt (?) before Nebo upon his arrival on the 6th. Early on the morning of the 4th, the high priest in the court of the temple addresses the constellation of Aries, in which the sun stands at the vernal equinox. The liturgy for the day includes prayers to Marduk, as Lord of the Earth and King of the Gods, asking that he give the scepter to the king who fears him, and to his consort Sarpanit, asking her to determine the lot of the king. On the evening of this day the high priest is required to recite the *Epic of Creation* entire before the image of Marduk. It is clearly the pericope for Zag-muk, as the New Year festival. Obviously the 4th has special reference to the earthly and heavenly kings.[4] If, as there is ground for believing, there was enacted the death and resurrection of Marduk

[1] II, p. 42. In a later discussion (III), Zimmern seems tacitly to retract this suggestion, making no mention of it, and accepting the account of the document. I leave my statement as it stood, except that I incorporate in it a few additional points of special interest from Zimmern's latest essay.

[2] These data are in keeping with the character of the second day.

[3] This suggests a correspondence between these days. The rite on the 6th is parallel to the New Year's rites of riddance on the Jewish Day of Atonement.

[4] Cf. the enthronement of Marduk on the fourth tablet of creation. Among the seven names of Marduk at the New Year exodus (Zimmern II, p. 44), the fourth, given to Marduk in the Hall of Destiny, is "King of the gods of heaven and earth." See also Thureau-Dangin, p. 146 *sq.*, and below, p. 413, n. 5.

at the festival,[1] we have no definite clue as to the time when this occurred. One would naturally think of it as a preliminary to the great festival extending from the 6th to the 11th; but it is to be noted that when the great procession halted at a station, in order to transfer the image of Marduk from the car to a boat, there was sung a hymn which implies that the god was departing in displeasure.[2] This would point to a day in the latter part of the festival, when the procession departed from Babylon by the passover-way (*Ai-'ibur-shabum*). As has already been stated, the liturgy and ritual for the 5th Nisan is especially rich in detail. In view of the certainty that the 6th–11th were the principal days[3] of Zag-muk, this fact is interesting and at first disconcerting, suggesting that by an oversight on the part of the scribe the beginning of the 6th Nisan was not marked. But, assuming that the ritual text is correct, we may infer that the 5th was of exceptional importance as the last of the five preliminary days, which constitute a constructive epact, and as the parasceve of the 6th, the real New Year's day. At Babylon, then, as in other lands, the New Year festival began on New Year's eve. But to proceed with the important ritual acts, we have, in the first place, elaborate invocations of Marduk and Sarpanit, in which they are addressed as "Lord" and "Lady," and are brought into relation with numerous stars and constellations. There follows a thorough purification of the temple[4] by various magical means, chiefly with the carcass of a ram. At this ceremony the high priest is forbidden to be present, lest he become defiled. It is performed by an enchanter and a sacrificer, who, after purifying the temple, carry the carcass to the Euphrates and, facing west,[5] cast it into the river. This done, the officiants are bidden to go out into the open country and not to reënter the city while Nebo

[1] The text has been republished with translation and notes by Langdon (*The Babylonian Epic of Creation* [1923], p. 34 *sqq.*).

[2] See Zimmern III, p. 21.

[3] Not only Nebo but all the great gods arrived at Esagila, the temple of Marduk, on the 6th, "to clasp the hands" of Marduk and accompany him on his exodus to the house of prayer, looking like a king with his assembled army. On the 11th they returned with him, and took their departure to their several shrines on the following day (the 12th), the *apolysis* of the festival, but for the visiting gods, perhaps, the beginning of the *hag* of their nostos. Cf. above, p. 118 *sq.*

[4] In the Christian Church, the special day for the purification of the church, the altar, the walls, and the floors, is Good Friday. For references in the Fathers, see *P.L.*, CCXX, 529.

[5] As the Jewish priest did in offering the sacrifice on the Day of Atonement.

is there. The high priest pronounces a spell bidding all evil in the temple depart,[1] and praying that Bel may destroy the Great Demon.[2] The table is spread before Nebo, who, as we have seen, was expected to arrive on the 6th, as if he were present. Then follow two significant ceremonies. First, the king is brought in and divested of his royal tiara and robes[3] together with the other insignia of his holy office, which are set before Marduk. As he kneels humbly before the god, the high priest smites him on the cheek, and pulls his ears. After a declaration of innocence not unlike that supposed to be made by the dead in Egypt, when brought before the judgment-seat of Osiris,[4] the king is assured that he has found favor with Marduk and is reinvested with the regalia. This is unmistakably a rite performed at the expiry of one year and the beginning of another, as in other lands kings and magistrates at the beginning of each year renewed their oaths of office. This ceremony is succeeded by another in which a white bull is brought in and offered up, the rite including the kindling of a new fire with rushes, which is quite as certainly a New Year observance.[5]

Beyond this our sources do not at present permit us to follow the ritual of the festival at Babylon, and the liturgical directions for the festival of Anu at Uruk for the following days are not of a character to disclose the scheme, except that the exodus *par excellence* of the god is there distinctly dated on the 7th of the month. If this was true also of the exodus of Marduk at Babylon,[6] the exodus would

[1] For this New Year rite, see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., p. 575.

[2] The old serpent, Satan, is destroyed at New Year. See below, p. 412, n. 1.

[3] Compare the practice of Persian kings on the 1st Dai-Mâh (Al-Biruni, p. 211 *sq.*), and of Fêrôz (*ibid.*, p. 215), on the 30th Bahman-Mâh, called Anêran. See also above, p. 315, n. 2. Babylonian (and Assyrian) kings were obliged to clasp the hand of Marduk not only on the first, but on every, New Year of their respective reigns. That means, of course, that the royal prerogatives were a gift from Marduk, beginning with the first New Year after accession to the throne and renewed annually. The day was a fast until nightfall and the appearance of the new moon. See Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, pp. 602, 621 *sqq.* As the accession of a king marked a new era, and his reign formally began on New Year's day, to be annually renewed, the importance of the day as the beginning of the year and of the cycle becomes clear.

[4] At the sixth hour (midnight).

[5] Thureau-Dangin, p. 146, n. 1, compares Vergil *Georg.* i. 217.

[6] Thureau-Dangin (p. 147) says it cannot have been before the 6th nor after the 8th. Possibly, however, it was on the 6th; for of the New Year's names of Marduk, the fifth belongs to him "in the street" and the sixth "in the float," referring no doubt to that in which he made the passover. While dogmatic statements are for the present inadvisable, one may expect from

fall on the second and the return (on the 11th) on the sixth day of the festival. The days from the 1st to the 5th Nisan would then be preliminary,[1] but the New Year's festival proper would begin and end on sixth days. That this was in fact the scheme is highly probable, if not certain, and is confirmed by a comparison with the Persian calendar. Including the Great Naurôz, we have, as at Babylon, a term of eleven days with two New Year's days, each of which is the sixth from the beginning of the special term to which it belongs. The only marked difference is that the Persians reckoned this term from the close of the twelfth month, recognizing a formal epact, whereas the Babylonians counted in the same manner without taking formal cognizance of the epact,[2] because they reckoned lunations and periodically adjusted their lunar to the solar year by the intercalation of a month. If, as is altogether probable, the Babylonian scheme recognized a seventh day following the New Year festival proper, i.e., the 12th Nisan, it is likely that it was truly a day of rest, a *dies non*.[3]

Having in mind this analysis of the Babylonian New Year festival, we may now consider the Babylonian *Epic of Creation*. When the tablets were first discovered, the fact that they numbered seven was acclaimed as marking a close parallel between the Babylonian and Hebrew stories of creation; but as differences in detail were emphasized, the assumption that each tablet corresponded to a day of creation was generally abandoned. There are unquestionably differences not only between the Babylonian and the Hebrew versions, but also between various Mesopotamian versions, when compared one with the other; but when one considers the close connection of creation with the New Year and the liturgical use of the *Epic of Creation* at the Babylonian New Year festival, one may ask whether the first guess was not too lightly dismissed.[4] In an earlier connection we pointed out

future discoveries evidence which will decide the relative importance of the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, confident that on these days the principal acts of the ritual drama occurred.

[1] See Ginzel, I, 128, n. 1, where a connection with the epact and a comparison with the old Persian Naurôz are suggested. Cf. Al-Biruni, p. 210.

[2] In view of the latent epact in the Babylonian scheme this fact is of great importance. Though the epact is very ancient in Egypt, it would be rash to assert that it originated there.

[3] See above, p. 409, n. 3.

[4] Langdon (*The Babylonian Epic of Creation* [1923], p. 11 *sq.*) says: "The Epic originally contained only six books. The hymn to the names of Marduk, which now forms Book VII, must have existed as an independent poem; it was finally attached to the Epic in the late period, but it disagrees with the poem itself at many points . . . The arrangement of the poem in six books was

that the Hebrew hexaëmeron falls into two tridua: something not unlike this may perhaps be discerned in the Babylonian story, though the motives, as might be expected, are mixed. In this story the slaying of Tiâmat,[1] as the primary act of creation, is of course the point of cardinal importance. Now, since this act is reported on the fourth tablet, it is evident that the first three tablets are really preliminary. The motives of the introductory tale are in part easily discerned, though they are plainly mixed. On the one hand, the story embodies the familiar scheme which recognizes three divine generations before man appears;[2] on the other, we find here the pattern of three Saviours, familiar from the Greek "third Saviour" and the

probably taken from the rules of liturgical compositions. When the Babylonians edited the canonical Sumerian liturgies for their own use and provided the Sumerian text with an interlinear Semitic version, the material was almost invariably distributed over six tablets." *Ibid.*, p. 207, n. 17, Langdon points out that the text itself seems to imply the independent existence of the hymn to the names of Marduk. The fact that the Sumerian liturgical scheme was hexadic and that the Semites *added* a seventh division, is itself significant, and accords with our view of the Sabbath as an added day. Applied to terms of days, precisely the same scheme appears on tab. 5, l. 15 *sq.* In the festivals, as our text points out, there appear the same schemes. That the hexadic scheme is Sumerian only deepens the mystery of its origin.

[1] The myth was clearly ancient even in the days of Hammurapi; for it was already interpreted in various ways. Beside the interpretation given in the text, as the sacred marriage of Bel and the Dragon, it cannot be doubted that it was understood, as were the Greek myths of the battles of the Olympians with the Titans and the Giants (ending on a sixth day), as the conquest of the powers of darkness by the Lord of Light. As in *Rev.* xx. 7 *sq.* "the dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan," is to be cast into the abyss at the eschatological turn of the ages, so Tiâmat the dragon is slain by the Sun-god Marduk on New Year's day; and in an Egyptian inscription of the time of Amenhotep III (see Brugsch-Bey, *History of Egypt*, I, 434), the king says by way of threat, "They shall become like the snake of Hell Apophis on the morning of the New Year; they shall be overwhelmed in the great flood." In Gunkel's *Schöpfung u. Chaos* the connection of the myth of Rahab, with whom Yahweh battles in heaven, with the story of creation and the New Year is sufficiently pointed out: perhaps, however, too much stress has there been laid on its specific connection with the Babylonian myth. Persian myth connects the overthrow and imprisonment of Dahhak (Satan) by Feridun or Jamshid with a New Year's festival, the Great Mihrajân; see Al-Biruni, pp. 202, 209, 220. Cf. *Sepher ha-Zohar*, II, 34*b* (III, 169 *sq.*, tr. de Pauly) for the slaying of the male and female dragons at creation and its connection with the New Year. Is the victory of Haik over Bel, still observed by the Armenians on New Year's day (*E.R.E.*, V, 836*a*), a parallel? It is regarded as a pagan survival, and follows a term of five days, evidently the epact, devoted to an ancient nature-goddess. One cannot even guess the age or provenience of the observance.

[2] It is familiar from Egyptian myth and many others, and appears in the Valentinian ogdoad.

three Saoshyants among the Persians.[1] This Babylonian version is clearly an artificial construct, partly due to the fact that Marduk has fallen heir to predecessors who before him ruled the pantheon. Marduk, when he slays Tiâmat, is of course the Saviour, and he has had two precursors [2] who have essayed the task, but failed. In the Babylonian story, however, this act of slaying Tiâmat, the primal dragon-woman, is quite certainly conceived as the consummation of the marriage of the divine Bridegroom and Saviour, creation taking the form of procreation.[3] The story is a relic of primitive savagery: but as Bridegroom of Tiâmat also Marduk has had two predecessors, Apsu and Kingur. The third tablet closes with a banquet, which has all the characteristics of a marriage-feast,[4] whereat the gods drink deeply and become intoxicated. On this occasion Marduk is hailed as god and king, though he has not yet won his promised victory. The preliminaries being over, the fourth tablet recounts the formal enthronement of Marduk [5] and the awful struggle with Tiâmat, in which her

[1] Early Christianity applied this scheme to Jesus, assigning to him as precursors various pairs, as Moses and Elijah, or Elijah and John. *John* III. 28–29 shows the connection of the precursor with the Bridegroom, and certain Fathers elaborate the theme. See also above, p. 309, n. 3, and below, p. 456, n. 4, for the third prince.

[2] Tab. 4, l. 125 *sq.*

[3] In the bilingual story of creation (Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels,* 49, l. 21) Marduk with Ururu creates the seed of mankind. For the New Year sacred marriage of Ninib and Gula at Nippur, of Ningirsu and Bau at Lagash, of Marduk and Sarpanit at Babylon, see Jastrow, *Rel. Belief in Babyl. and Assyria,* 340, and "Sumerian Myths of Beginnings," *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.,* XXXIII (1927), 112 *sq.*; and Langdon in *E.R.E.,* IX, 71; and for other similar myths, Gruppe, p. 439 *sq.* For the Phœnician cosmogony, cf. Philo Bybl., *fr. 2* (*H.G.f.,* III, 565).

[4] Or of the king's birthday-feast, which may well have been observed on the anniversary of his enthronement. It is noteworthy that this feast of the third tablet anticipates and duplicates that of the sixth. In the hexaëmeron of the *Iliad,* to be discussed hereafter, there is a feast in the Greek camp on the evening of the third day. Cf. above, p. 320.

[5] While the entire *Epic of Creation* is related to the New Year, this is true in a special sense of the enthronement of Marduk (see Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. a. T.*[3], p. 402). The enthronement of Yahweh was an important theme at the Jewish festivals, especially at Sukkot (see Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes,* p. 14 *sq.*). The *Mishnah* (*Rosh ha-Shanah,* Chap. I) says that Nisan is the New Year for kings. From the eschatological point of view also, the Kingdom begins at the turn of the ages: the cunning cabalist Shabbathai Zebi, who proclaimed himself the destined Messiah, arranged for his enthronization on New Year's day, 1665, and was greeted with the glad acclaim, "Long live our King, our Messiah" (*J. Enc.,* XI, 221 *b*). Reference has been made above to the *epibda* (fourth day) as New Year's day (cf. also p. 408, n. 4), and also to the connection of the third, seventh, and eighth days and their

body is cleft in sunder, forming heaven and earth, as Yahweh made heaven and earth in the beginning on the first day. The fifth tablet, on this view representing the second day of creation proper, tells how the heavenly bodies, especially the moon,[1] were created, in order to fix times and seasons. Whether it told of other works of creation is uncertain. The sixth tablet, on this view representing the sixth day, and probably New Year's day proper, relates how man was created from the blood of Kingu.[2] At the close there are a few lines which suggest a joyful reception given to Marduk returning as victor.[3] From this one can hardly dissociate the return of Marduk from the *aqitu*-shrine on the 11th Nisan, the sixth day reckoned from the 6th.[4] The seventh tablet is concerned solely with the honors bestowed on Marduk by gods and men, and contains no "acts" of the god. This tablet would readily lend itself to an interpretation which should see in it a Sabbath;[5] but another valuation would make of this seventh a fourth day.

Not to dwell too long on this story of creation, we may confine ourselves to a few observations. On the fourth tablet is mentioned a miracle performed by Marduk on the occasion of his enthronement: it

associations with the coronation of kings and the kingdom. The difference in scheme is reflected in the ambiguity between the Last Days and the beginning of the new age. In the older chronology each reign constituted a new age, the era dating from New Year's day. See Al-Biruni, p. 39, and *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, III, 454, 456.

[1] Monday is the second day of the astrological week. In primitive times it was chiefly the moon that fixed times and seasons.

[2] Cf. Berosus, *fr.* 1, §§ 5–6 (*H.G.f.*, II, 497 *sq.*). In the extract of Syncellus the account of Berosus likewise implies a double creation. Langdon interprets tab. 6, 26 to mean that Ea created man from the blood of the god Kingu.

[3] Tab. 6, 53 *b sq.* The third day, as a day of return and resurrection, requires no further comment (cf. tab. 6, 26 *b* and 36).

[4] Attention was called above (p. 411, n. 4) to the probability that the sixth tablet completed the *Epic*, as the sixth day completed the works of creation. This conclusion is apparently confirmed by several facts. Not only does the seventh tablet mention no act of creation, but immediately after the creation of man, the sixth records the institution of the worship of the gods and the building of Esagila, the temple of Marduk, as well as the chapels and shrines of the other gods and the chambers of the gods' rest (the *aqitu*-tabernacles?). The gods lay the foundations of these at once and complete the building *after a year*. Thus the building of tabernacles and temples is once more dated from New Year's day, as the date of creation. That this was the sixth day cannot be doubted. Moreover the laws are fixed, and the fates of gods and men are decreed on this sixth tablet, as on the sixth (New Year's) day.

[5] The seventh New Year's name of Marduk, given to him in the *aqitu*-shrine, is "God of the House of Prayer" (Zimmern II, p. 44).

consists in destroying and restoring a garment by a magical word of command, and certainly symbolizes the destruction and recreation of the world at the turn of the year.[1] But the mantle of the heavens occurs frequently in myth as a present to the bride on the consummation of the sacred marriage.[2] Thus the act of creation occurs in duplicate, each story having its connection with the sacred marriage. The primitive scheme seems, however, to have assigned a triduum to the marriage rites; consequently the hexaëmeron duplicates the pattern. In the Hebrew scheme Yahweh rests from his labors on the seventh day, the acts of creation being ended; if the seventh tablet should represent a Sabbath of rest, the Babylonian version would duplicate this motive likewise, since the fourth tablet relates that Marduk rested after his victorious encounter with Tiâmat. On the assumption that each tablet represents a day, the fourth day would thus be parallel to the seventh.[3] This scheme can in fact be seen in a sacred story certainly not unknown to the Jews, and possibly known to the Babylonians, though we meet it only at a later date.

According to Plutarch,[4] Theopompus stated that, "as the Magi re-

[1] On this motive see R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt* (1910); cf. *Rev.* VI. 14; XXI. 1, and below, p. 424, n. 4. The synagogue-service for Rosh ha-Shanah on the mornings of both days includes the song of Eleasar Kalir, tr. Zangwill, beginning,

> "Tent-like this day the King stretched out the sky,
> His glory and His love to testify;
> This day for judgment all, both low and high,
> Must face their King."

It seems clear that Homer's *Odyssey* reflects in part the ancient triduan marriage-rite, which in Bk. ii takes the form of a three-year term, during which Penelope beguiled her suitors. Vss. 89 and 107 must have originally referred to the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth year. Hence it is worth considering whether the crafty trick of Penelope (ii. 93 *sq.*) is not a distant cousin of Marduk's feat at the New Year festival.

[2] In Pherecydes, *fr.* 2 (Diels, *Fr. der Vorsokratiker*[3], II, 202), Zas gives Chthonie on the third day of their bridals a mantle whereon is wrought a representation of the world. The shield of Achilles, on which Hephæstus had wrought an image of the world, was brought to him by his mother Thetis on the morning of the sixth day of the fighting before Troy.

[3] In the *Iliad* XXIII. 232 *sq.*, Achilles sleeps for a brief space on the seventh day (the day following the slaying of Hector), as the morning-star appears. Cf. *J. Enc.*, X, 590 *b*. For the possible coincidence of the Sabbath with the fourth day, see *Yomah*, Chap. I, p. 8 *sq.*, tr. Rodkinson.

[4] *De Iside* XLVII; cf. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 399–407, and *E.R.E.*, V, 376 *a*. The same scheme appears in Lenormant's tale of the Albanian priest (known to me only from Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 82 *sq.*), which is brought into relation with the Eleusinian Mysteries. See

late, by turns for periods of 3,000 years one of the two gods rules, while the other is overmastered, and for a further term of 3,000 years they fight and give battle, each undoing the work of the other; in the end, however, Hades will fail and men will be blessed, neither requiring food nor casting a shadow,[1] but the god who has brought about this consummation rests [2] and takes his ease for a time—no long time, to be sure, for a god, but fairly long for a man to sleep." This Zoroastrian scheme [3] is plainly that of the familiar triduum, and does not call for much comment. During the first period, the good god is supreme; during the second, the evil prevails; but in the third, in which the Parsee believed himself to be living, as in the "last days," there is in progress a desperate battle between the powers of good and evil, from which the good god will issue victorious over Death and Hell, whereupon, after a brief interval of rest, a new age will dawn for man. This new era, ushered in by the rest of the good god, one may fitly call the postlude of the trilogy. The rest of the Saviour-God is so familiar from Jewish and Christian eschatology that it requires no extended discussion here. Apart from the interval of rest, the same pattern reappears without any eschatological reference. Thus Philo,[4] descanting on the promise given to Abraham that his descendants should return in the fourth generation, interprets "generations" as terms of seven years, or "ages of man," and divides the life of man into four hebdomads, the first of which is that of innocence, the second (which he calls "the most accursed generation") that of overpowering passion and evil, the third that in which we overcome evil, having passed the acme of pas-

also Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium,* p. 52 *sq.,* and *Luke* XIII. 32.

[1] Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 894.

[2] Rutilius Namatianus (*De reditu suo* i. 391) satirically says: *"Septima quæque dies turpi damnata ueterno, | Tamquam lassati mollis imago dei."* This brief *période de marge* corresponds to the Jewish Sabbath of the world (see below, p. 425, n. 4). The Zoroastrian scheme seems to have placed it now after the third, now after the fourth age. Brahma's sleep (see Hopkins, *Religions of India,* p. 421) came at the close of the fourth age. For the eschatological bearing of the four ages of Daniel, see Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.,* p. 168. The Messiah, following his triumph over the powers of evil, was expected to die and rise again after three days or a week (see IV *Ezra* VII. 26–36 and *J. Enc.,* V, 213 *a sq.*).

[3] It is misinterpreted by W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott,* p. 102, n. 9, who thinks the "rest" is a fourth term of 3,000 years.

[4] *Quis rerum heres* CCXCIII *sq.,* referring to *Gen.* XV. 16.

sion, while in the fourth we attain perfect health and strength and, converted from evil, cleave to the good.[1] Here the fourth period might be regarded as one of rest, though it is not expressly so called. Again, Epiphanius,[2] speaking of Christ's earthly ministry, says that he preached one acceptable year with none to gainsay him, a second year everywhere gainsaid, and in the third year fulfilled his saving Passion.

Other examples might be readily adduced, but would add nothing essential. What must be clear from this discussion is that the "rest," whatever its duration, is an addendum to the term proper, and not its close. From this it follows that the Sabbath of rest was not originally conceived as the last day of an hebdomadal week. In the Hebrew Scriptures the Sabbath occurs most significantly as an addendum to the hexaëmeron of creation, which we now see to be related to the New Year festival, but also in the account of another festival, which may fitly be called the quail-manna Passover of *Exodus*.[3] In the latter it is called the holy Sabbath, as in the Christian Church the Sabbath following Passover (Good Friday), on which Christ fulfilled his saving Passion, is the Sabbath *par excellence* and is called the High or Holy Sabbath, as the day on which the Saviour rested in the grave and accomplished no work. We have before remarked how consistently the sacred story of the exodus promised Israel rest after it should have crossed over Jordan. Everything points, therefore, to the conclusion that the Sabbath was properly an appendage to a passover[4] which ended predominantly, if not exclusively, on the sixth day. Those who would find a Babylonian analogue of the Hebrew Sabbath would do well, therefore, to abandon the search for a cyclical week, which obviously did not exist in the earlier time, and examine with care what may be discovered regarding the day succeeding the New Year festival proper. When the Christian Fathers, who had adopted the cyclical week, then established in Judaism,

[1] See above, p. 277, n. 6.

[2] i. 229. 11 *sq.*, ed. Holl; cf. *Luke* XIII. 32.

[3] XVI. 13.

[4] Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Massoth* and the *Massoth*-Festival," *Am. Jour. of Theol.*, XXI (1917), 281, suggests that the ritual importance of the Sabbath derives from the combination of Pesah and Mazzot. This seems more doubtful, though this connection may have had an influence in producing a ritual term of seven (instead of six) days. That the Passover was the prototype of the Jewish, as of the Christian, ritual pattern, seems to admit of no doubt.

made the first day of the week the day of rest,[1] they were quite consistent. This arrangement has, however, the disadvantage which it shares with that of later Judaism, that the day of rest must be reckoned in a continuous series, in which it is not only the eighth but also the first. Among the Jews also one finds abundant evidence of the evaluation of the Sabbath as a first day. It is well known that the first-fruits are properly offered on first days, and consequently in the Priestly code they fall to the eighth day. In *Deuteronomy,* however, they clearly belong to the Sabbath. Even in later times there must have been those who followed the older scheme, as when in the *Targum of Palestine*[2] the Sabbath ordinance for the offering is thus paraphrased, "Be admonished to offer it from the firstlings on the Sabbath." The Torah says nothing about firstlings in this connection; but it must be assumed that the targumist represented a view current in his time. Philo likewise several times reveals the associations which the number seven had in his thought, as when[3] he calls it "the virgin among numbers, the motherless nature, most akin to the monad and the beginning." Again he says,[4] "The fourth[5] commandment relates to the holy hebdomad [Sabbath], that it may be observed in a pure and pious way. This day some States[6] celebrate once in the month, reckoning from the new moon; but the Jews observe it regularly after regular intervals of six days.[7] The account which explains this obligation is set forth in the story of creation; for it relates that the world was established in six days, but on the seventh God, rest-

[1] See the very full list of passages cited by H. Dumaine, art. *"Dimanche,"* in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* III, col. 881 *sq.*

[2] On *Num.* XXVIII, p. 442 Etheridge. The Greeks offered first-fruits at the new moon; see *Schol.* on Hom. *Od.* XX. 156 (II, 690, 15 Dindorf). Etheria's *Pilgrimage,* Chap. III, mentions *eulogiæ* offered on the Lord's day on the top of Sinai; though not strictly first-fruits, they were clearly analogous (see Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* I, 577, 597).

[3] *De decalogo* ii. 198 M.; cf. *De Post. Caini* lxiv–lxv; *Legg. alleg.* i. 15.

[4] *De decalogo* ii. 197 M.

[5] Did he regard this as significant?

[6] For the Greeks, see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 713 P. Diog. Laert. (iii. 62) attributes a book entitled Ἑβδόμη to Plato; though hardly genuine and no longer extant, one may conjecture that it was somehow connected with the observance of the 7th Thargelion in the Academy, as the birthday of Plato. Hermippus of Berytus (Beirut) wrote a book Περὶ ἑβδομάδος, which must have been of exceptional interest, had it survived.

[7] Philo (*De opificio mundi* xxx. 1, p. 21 M.) says that after God had completed the world *according to the nature of the perfect number six, he hallowed the following, seventh, day as the birthday of the world.* Cf. *De septen.* lviii–lix.

ing from his labors, began to contemplate[1] what had come into existence." The discerning reader will not fail to see that Philo interpreted God's contemplation of the created world as parallel to the *epopteia* of the Mysteries, which generally followed the third (or seventh) and last degree of initiation.[2]

But while this may be regarded with assurance as the older conception of the Sabbath, it was not destined to go unchallenged. In this form the seventh day might be an *'azeret* or Hilaria; but another scheme, as we have seen, was embodied in the festival program of Sukkot, where the *'azeret* fell on the eighth day. That Sukkot received its distinctive ritual development in exilic or post-exilic times is unquestionable; but to what influences this festival owed its form is not so clear. Of course, once the cyclical week had been adopted, it was inevitable that the chief festivals should be made somehow to conform to it; but it does not follow that it was the cyclical week that determined the length of the festival term. Of the week we shall have to speak briefly hereafter. In the chapter on the Feast of Tabernacles it was suggested that the term of Sukkot may have been influenced by the "weeks" of the old Persian month; but in considering the revaluation of the Sabbath, which is known to have supervened after the exile, other factors must be taken into the account. What they were may be suggested when we shall have examined more carefully the associations of the Sabbath in Judaism and among the early Christians.

When Plutarch[3] says, "The Jews on the Sabbath, sitting in unwashen garments while their enemies were applying ladders and seizing their walls, did not arise, but remained, caught as it were in the single net of their superstition," he is thinking of the Sabbath as a nefast day, on which the Jews sat in sackcloth and ashes, confessing their sins;[4] and, indeed, this was the view universally held by Greeks

[1] See above, p. 277, n. 6; cf. Philo *De uita contempl.* viii. 11, p. 481 M.; Euseb. *Præp. eu.* xiii. 12. 9; and Proclus *In Platon. Tim.* iii. 168.

[2] I discussed this subject briefly in my essay, "Die Bekehrung im kl. Altertum," in *Zeitschr. für Religionspsychologie,* III, *Heft* 11, 9 *sq.* Since then I have gathered much further evidence, which I may present at another time. For the scheme of seven degrees and seven heavens, see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* p. 363 *sq.* Of especial interest is Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 16, p. 810 P., which is to be compared with pp. 810–811 P., 566 P., and *Protrep.* ix. 69 P. In the Mysteries "the contemplation of the world" is the essence of the *epopteia,* which gives the beatific vision, as Dante beheld Paradise on the seventh day.

[3] *De superst.* viii. 169 C.

[4] *Ibid.* 168 D.

and Romans, and frequently by Christians. This would be strange indeed if it were true, as a Jewish writer [1] claims, that "the Sabbath was always and essentially a day of rejoicing. Hence fasting was forbidden, even for half a day. Mourning was interrupted by the Sabbath." The authority here quoted is able to cite texts in support of his contention; but they are not conclusive. It is easy to prove that the conception of the Sabbath illustrated by these data is offset by others quite as certain. Thus, when a Jew tries to prove that the seventh day is the Sabbath, by pointing out that the necromancer cannot on that day call a spirit from the river Sambation,[2] he implies that the seventh day is not the last day or the day of the general resurrection of the dead; but that is precisely the view which one meets in late Jewish eschatologies, which represent Messiah and all mankind as rising from the sleep of death at the end of a week.[3] Here is a matter of the utmost importance in regard to the Sabbath and the Hebrew ritual schemes, which might be illustrated in almost countless ways; for it is evident that even among the intelligent Jews at the beginning of our era there were two quite incompatible conceptions of the Sabbath, one of which regarded the day as the beginning, the other as the end, of a term.[4] Because of the common assumption that the cyclical week was an ancient institution of the Hebrews, it is desirable to call attention again to the fact that the conception of the Sabbath as at once the seventh day and the

[1] *J. Enc.*, x, 596 *b*.
[2] *J. Enc.*, x, 589 *a*.
[3] See Reinach, *Textes*, p. 274 and n. 2.
[4] This view appears in the pseudo-Pythagorean lines which Eusebius (*Præp. ev.* 668) quotes from Aristobulus and attributes to Linus (Mullach, *Fr. Phil. gr.*, I, 157),

> ἑβδόμη εἶν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐστὶ γενέθλη·
> ἑβδόμη ἐν πρωτοῖσι, καὶ ἑβδόμη ἐστὶ τελείη.

One naturally compares such Orphic sayings as (*fr.* 123 Abel): Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος, and Proclus *In Platon. Tim.* iii. 168 C: καὶ γὰρ ἡ μονὰς καὶ ἑπτὰς ἀριθμοὶ νοεροί τινες· ἡ μέν γε μονὰς αὐτόθεν νοῦς, ἡ δὲ ἑπτὰς τὸ κατὰ νοῦν φῶς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ περικόσμιος νοῦς μοναδικός τε καὶ ἑβδομαδικός ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Ὀρφεύς. Apollo's sacred days were the first and seventh, as Νουμήνιος and Ἑβδομαῖος (Ἑβδομαγέτης, Ἑβδομαγένης); and Yahweh, too, was Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. See below, p. 438. Seeing that the manumitter was regarded as his freedman's "saviour," it is of interest to note that in two Delphian inscriptions recording manumissions, the freedman is commanded to crown with a garland the statue of his liberator on the 1st and 7th days of the month, days especially sacred to Apollo.

first of a term is wholly incompatible with a cyclical week of seven days; whereas the known or easily ascertainable facts become quite intelligible, if we assume, what our analysis has shown to be true, that in the older time the Hebrews were thinking, not in terms of hebdomadal weeks, but of festival-terms of six days, in which the sixth day was the day of assembly *par excellence* and the day of Yahweh, and that the cyclical week was a novelty and by no means fully accepted as a sacred scheme hallowed by immemorial usage.

While one might by dint of close study and analysis of purely Jewish texts show the process of adaptation by which the older scheme was adjusted to the new, it happens that one may do so more simply and plainly by using Christian writers, who, however, unquestionably draw from Jewish sources. In connection with Sukkot and Transfiguration,[1] we had occasion to discuss an interesting passage in which Clement of Alexandria, clearly following Jewish precedent, sought to make intelligible the mystery of the relation between the numbers three and four, three and six, six and seven, and seven and eight. Here it is unnecessary to take up that text anew, though it well repays thoughtful consideration. Let us rather examine others of like character. The problems connected with the lists of antediluvian patriarchs given in *Genesis*[2] are well known to Biblical scholars, and are still unsolved in spite of much study and discussion. We mention them here, not in the hope of clearing up the numerous difficulties, but merely by way of illustration; for these lists are certainly conflate and due to the same interests which led Clement to his disquisition on numbers. One clue of considerable promise connects them with the months of the Babylonian calendar, which themselves constituted a vexatious problem to the priests. Cheyne[3] and others have drawn attention to various indications which suggest that at one time Enoch, rather than Noah, was the hero of the Flood. There is nothing more marked in the lists generally assigned to J and P than the difference regarding the position of Enoch; for in the former he

[1] P. 234, n. 7.

[2] *Gen.* IV–V. For literature on this subject see King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition*, p. 144 *sq.*

[3] See art. "Noah," *Enc. Bibl.*, III, 3425 *sq.* The newly discovered Sumerian version of the story of the Flood seems to support this view; for the Semitic Babylonian version, though it does not expressly state that immortality was granted to both Utnapishtim and his wife, certainly suggests this view, while the older version appears clearly to contemplate the granting of that grace to Ziusudu alone, who apparently is removed to an Isle of the Blest beyond the Waters of Death (see King, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

stands third, whereas in the latter he is seventh or sixth, according as one includes or disregards Adam, who obviously belongs to another tradition than that which appears in the generations of Seth. These matters clearly engaged the thought of the Jews, who must be the authorities of Augustine, when he says,[1] "For that line also, whose father is Seth, shows the name Dedication in the generation which is seventh from Adam, if one reckons Adam in; for Enoch, whose name means Dedication, is the seventh from him.[2] But he himself was translated [3] because he pleased God, and that in the striking number in the order of generations on which the Sabbath was hallowed, to wit, the seventh from Adam. However, if we reckon from Seth, who was himself the father of the generations that are distinguished from the line of Cain, he is the sixth in order—the number of the day on which man was created and God finished all his works." One cannot doubt that this statement derives from a discussion among the Jews whether the sixth or the seventh day was properly that of dedication and translation. Which represented the older view cannot be doubted; for Adam is certainly to be disregarded in this list, and the fact that Enoch is third in J must likewise be borne in mind.[4] More-

[1] *Civ. Dei* xv. 19.

[2] Cf. I *En.* lx. 8; xciii. 3; *Jude* vs. 14.

[3] In I *En.* lxx. 1–2, his translation is assimilated in form to that of Elijah; in II *En.* i. 2, 8, Enoch ascends to heaven on New Year's day. This association of ascension with New Year's day is not accidental. Elsewhere attention has been drawn to the data of the gospels which presuppose the coincidence in time of the Resurrection and the Ascension. The Church has adopted the datum of *Acts* that the Ascension followed after 40 days. A Persian legend of Solomon related by Al-Biruni (p. 199) combines the term of 40 days with the date of Naurôz (New Year's day). In the same context are related legends or myths of Jamshid and Kaikhushrau, which tell of ascensions, in order to account for the custom of swinging observed by the Persians at New Year. On this custom and the swing-festival see *E.R.E.*, v, 868 *b* and 869 *b*, and Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, pp. 171–201, esp. p. 199. Gruppe, p. 1293, points out the connection of the αἰώρα-rite with the cultus of Artemis, to whom the sixth day was sacred, and of Dionysus, whose festival, as we shall show in the next chapter, was properly a New Year celebration. The αἰώρα occurs in many Greek myths, and often (as in Greek tragedy) takes the form of hanging. The hanging of Absalom at a passover, the hanging of Haman, the Crucifixion, and the hanging of Saul's seven sons (II *Sam.* xxi) at the beginning of the barley-harvest (Passover or 'Omer) are presumably all connected.

[4] There is no good reason for assuming two persons' having the same name, as Cheyne rightly remarks. The story of the translation of Elijah seems to indicate three stages in the journey to the Jordan, which would presumably be traversed in the reverse order in the return of Elisha; moreover Elijah was sought three days (II *Kings* ii).

over, the translation of Enoch can hardly have been dissociated from that of Moses, which, as we have seen, was dated on the day of the passover of the Jordan, the fifth or sixth. Enoch is the sixth, reckoned from Seth; but one may question whether he was not likewise reckoned as the fifth. We do not know who Seth was: there are some who think he was a creator-god.[1] Certainly the lineage of Seth assumes a new form and meaning if we exclude him from the human generations; for the name of his son, Enosh, is known to be a synonym of Adam, "Man," and Kenan, the son of Enosh, is apparently identical with Cain, the son of Adam. Moreover, when Noah in the *Second Epistle of Peter*[2] is called "the eighth," it is altogether possible that regard was had to his place in the generations of Seth, reckoning from Enosh, as well as to the circumstance that he entered the ark with seven others—his wife, and his three sons, and their wives. Assuming that these speculations may be traced to Jewish sources, we obtain a very interesting scheme. As Enoch, Dedication, is displaced as the hero of the Flood by Noah, whose name was understood to mean "Rest" and was interpreted as given in allusion to the (Sabbatical) rest,[3] we may see in these speculations relative to the lists of antediluvian patriarchs an effort to adjust the older scheme of the festivals to that which appears in Sukkot and the Christian week.

Even more illuminating is a comparison of three portions of *Revelation*. Students of the Bible have long seen that some sort of relation subsists between the schemes embodied in the visions of the opening of the seven seals, the seven angels blowing their trumpets,

[1] See below, p. 460 *sq.*

[2] II. 5.

[3] "Noah" was clearly connected with *nuah,* "rest" (cf. *Deut.* III. 20; v. 14; XII. 10, etc.), as is shown by LXX, *Gen.* v. 29: καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Νῶε, λέγων Οὗτος διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λυπῶν τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἧς κατηράσατο κύριος ὁ θεός. For the question regarding the Heb. text and the etymology of the patriarch's name, see Skinner's critical note *ad loc.* How Noah came to be reckoned the tenth in the conflate list of patriarchs is not so clear. In the Babylonian calendar the month of the coming of the flood is the tenth (*E.R.E.*, III, 74 *b*); *Jubilees* v. 26 says that in the fourth (= tenth) month the fountains of the deep were restrained, the flood having reached its height. However, if we reckon from Enosh, Noah is, as II *Peter* calls him, "the eighth;" and in the Attic calendar the memorials of the flood of Deucalion fell in the eighth month, Anthesterion (Plutarch *Sulla* xiv). However, if the conjecture of Schmidt (*Geburtstag,* p. 114 *sq.*) were right, Anthesterion would have been originally the tenth month.

and the seven angels emptying the seven bowls of the wrath of God.[1] One thing they have in common—that they all relate to eschatology, and consequently to "the last days." These last days are, as commonly in Jewish eschatology at the beginning of our era, six or seven in number; and the blast of the trumpet is no doubt thought of as that with which the holy days were heralded.[2] If we were here concerned with the scheme of the festivals in all its details, we should find much to instruct us in a minute comparison of the several data in these three passages; but we must now confine our attention to the numbers six and seven. As we do so, it will become manifest that the several visions, while concerned with the same problem, are not of a common origin, and have not been brought into harmony with one another; certain differences of scheme to be noted in them will show, however, more clearly than anything else we have found, the process of adapting a term of six days to one consisting of seven.

Taking up these passages in the order of their occurrence, we observe that when the sixth seal is opened,[3] there occur those portents which in Jewish eschatology announce the end of the world. "There was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the whole moon became as blood; and the stars of the heaven fell unto the earth . . . And the heaven was removed as a scroll when it is rolled up;[4] and every mountain and island were moved out of their places." All mankind, from kings to slaves, hide themselves in caves, and invoke the mountains to hide them from the wrath of the God enthroned and of the Lamb; "for the great day of their wrath is come." There can be no doubt that this great day of the divine wrath is the sixth, when, as in Babylon,[5] the divine king

[1] See Boll, *Aus der Offenbar. Johannis*, p. 57 *sq.* Not only the blowing of trumpets (cf. Rosh ha-Shanah), but the acts of sealing and breaking the seals, as well as the motive of the wrath of God, belong to the practices and associations of the passover and the turn of the year.

[2] In Jewish accounts of Sukkot, the blasts of the trumpet regularly mark the stages of the ritual drama.

[3] VI. 12 *sq.*

[4] See above, p. 414 *sq.*; cf. *J. Enc.*, v. 216 *b sq.* "Concerning the regeneration of the world *Pirke R. El.* I. says 'Heaven and earth, as well as Israel, shall be renewed; the former shall be folded together like a book or a garment and then unfolded, and Israel, after having tasted death, shall rise again on the third day.'"

[5] On New Year's day. It is interesting to compare the Islamic traditions regarding the fateful battle of Bedr in which Mohammed, the Prophet of Allah, vanquished the Coreish army from Mecca, because it is regarded as marking an epoch. According to one version, Mohammed set forth from Medina on Sunday, and the battle occurred on Friday, the sixth day. Ap-

sits on the throne to judge the world. The picture is completed by a great assembly—on the day of assembly [1]—of those who have washed their robes white in the blood of the Lamb [2] and have been sealed on their foreheads, gathered before the throne and crying "Salvation unto our God who sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb." When the seventh seal was opened, "there followed a silence in heaven about the space of half an hour;" [3] which must indicate a *période de marge*.[4] Here there is obviously a suture; for the vision of the seven trumpets is not, as one might gather from the traditional divisions of the text, related to the opening of the seventh seal; but it is an independent vision parallel to that of opening the seven seals. This being so, it is clear that the term reflected in the latter vision is one of six days, to which is added the brief *période de marge* [5] which falls at the opening of the seventh seal; one may not really speak of a seventh day in this connection.

Passing now to the vision of the seven trumpets, we note that when the fourth angel sounds,[6] a threefold Woe is announced, these being presumably the afflictions which come when the trumpet is blown for the fifth, sixth, and seventh times. Of these we need not now speak more in detail; but one will note the coincidence of three and seven, of the triduum and the hebdomad. When the sixth angel sounds his trumpet,[7] a voice bids him, "Loose the four angels that

parently the rout of the Coreish began at noon. There were six champions, three on each side (Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 207 *sq.*). Another version, equally significant in view of the known equal regard for Monday and Friday in Islam and the rationalist criticism of traditional dates above quoted from Plutarch, is given by Al-Biruni (p. 330): "On the morning of the 17th [Ramadan] the battle of Bedr occurred; according to another report, it occurred on the 19th. But this is not correct, because there is an uninterrupted tradition saying that it occurred on a Monday in the second year of the Flight. If we compute the 1st Ramadan for this year, we find that it was a Saturday, and the Monday in question falls upon the 17th." Can these dates be connected with the tradition of the "Night of Power," which was generally supposed to be that of the 21st, 23d, 25th, or 27th Ramadan?

[1] See *J. Enc.*, v, 212*b sq.*

[2] This brings the scene into relation to Pesah and Good Friday, the Christian day of atonement.

[3] See above, p. 142, n. 1. and p. 416.

[4] Compare the "Sabbath of the world," which is of varying duration, but is distinctly a *période de marge* separating the old æon ('Olam) from the new. See Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.*, pp. 30, 60, 67, 294, 297, 347, and compare p. 177, n. 4, above, and p. 474, n. 1, below.

[5] See above, p. 102.

[6] VIII. 12 *sq.*

[7] IX. 13 *sq.*

are bound at the great river Euphrates.[1] And the four angels were loosed, that had been prepared for *the hour and day and month and year,* that they should kill the third part of men." Undoubtedly this was to be "the day." There follows here a curious and instructive interlude.[2] The seer beholds in a vision another strong angel—the seventh[3]—coming down out of heaven, arrayed with a cloud, who swears by the ever-living God, Creator of all things, and declares the end of time: "but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he is about to sound, then is finished the mystery of God, according to the good tidings which he declared to his servants the prophets." The mystery of God, declared to the prophets, can hardly be anything else than the time of the end, which is now declared by the seventh angel in the interval between his appearance and the moment when he blows the trumpet for the seventh time. One cannot doubt that the sixth is the last day, marking the end of time; but there is here an interval of uncertainty, comparable to the *période de marge* at the opening of the seventh seal. As the trumpet blows the seventh time, great voices in heaven proclaim, "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ: and he shall reign for ever and ever." With the seventh trumpet begins a new era, the kingdom of the Son of God, the Messiah. This is the Jewish Sabbath, the time when the Jews to this day remember the Kingdom in their prayers. *Jubilees,* as we have seen,[4] says, "Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day . . . a day of the holy Kingdom for all Israel in this day among their days forever;" and on the Day of Atonement, which we know was New Year's day and reckoned a Sabbath, the confession of the high priest was an-

[1] It seems clear that the references to the Euphrates here and XVI. 12 *sq.* presuppose a crossing of the Euphrates on the "last day," "the Passover to come." The angels bound and then loosed can hardly be other than Mastema, who, according to *Jubilees* (see above, p. 132 *sq.*), was bound and loosed at Pesah and at the passage over the Red Sea, both of which, as we have pointed out, occurred on the sixth day. Volz (*Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes,* p. 56, n. 56) tentatively refers *Isa.* VIII. 6 *sq.*, where the Euphrates significantly figures, to Sukkot. This *may* be right, but it is hazardous to attempt to distinguish between the various New Year's festivals in such a matter. Cf. *Rev.* XIV. 20 (below, p. 428). The Jews (see *J. Enc.*, V, 213 *a*) believed that the lost tribes would on the last day be miraculously brought back across the Euphrates. This is the counterpart of the crossing of the Jordan at death and resurrection, both passovers. The Babylonians thought of the dead as crossing the Hubur River (the passover-river?).

[2] X. 1 *sq.*

[3] X. 7.

[4] Above, p. 117.

swered by the liturgical response, "Blessed is the name of His Kingdom's glory forever." Such a scheme cannot have originated in the cyclical week.

The third example[1] is that of the seven angels having the seven plagues—the last; for in them is finished the wrath of God. In this vision "the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven" is seen opened; but none was able to enter into the temple till the seven plagues of the seven angels should be finished. It would seem quite certain that the vision of the seer is related to the opening of the temple on New Year's day, which is preceded by a week of terror,[2] such as was the week preceding the Day of Atonement, during which the high priest was secluded. The plagues, again, remind one, and are evidently intended to remind one, of those which preceded the Egyptian Passover, when Israel went forth from bondage. Since, as we have seen, this event occurred on the sixth day, we should have expected six, rather than seven, bowls of the wrath of God; hence it is of interest to observe precisely what the seer's vision discloses. "The sixth angel poured out his bowl upon the great river, the Euphrates,[3] and the water thereof was dried up, that the way might be made ready for the kings that come from the sunrising." And three spirits of demons go forth to gather the kings together for the war of the great day of Yahweh, the Almighty. Armageddon was certainly the great day of Yahweh, the sixth. Thereafter the seventh angel poured forth his bowl upon the air, and a voice issued from the temple, saying, "It is done." This announcement was attended with "lightnings and voices and thunders; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since there were men upon the earth, so great an earthquake, so mighty. And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell: and Babylon the great was remembered in the sight of God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.[4] And every island fled

[1] XV. 1 *sq.*

[2] Cf. also the week during which the Messiah is supposed to be in the tomb previous to the regeneration of the world.

[3] See above, p. 187, n. 3, p. 426, n. 1; and cf. IV *Ezra* XIII. 44 *sq.*

[4] Cf. *Isa.* XIV. 3 *sq.* From these passages one may perhaps infer that at Babylon also the New Year observances included a taunting-song or prophecy of the destruction of the city, as at Jerusalem prophets foretold the destruction of the city and temple and people mourned for them. Did these prophecies include the promise that the city and the temple should again be raised up? Cf. *John* II. 19 *sq.* Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos,* p. 198) refers to *Jer. Berakot,* fol. 5, Chap. I, for the Jewish statement that the Messiah was born on the

away,[1] and the mountains were not found." We may pass over other details; but several points in the foregoing call for remark. Assuming, as we seem bound to do, that the emptying of the seventh bowl marks the beginning of the seventh day, it will be noted that in this scheme, which really assigns a plague to the seventh day, the specific things assigned to it are those which are in the other schemes referred to the sixth, and are moreover duplicated by occurrences which are in the gospels told of Good Friday, the day of the Crucifixion, while nothing is related of Holy Saturday, which is passed over in silence, just as in the story of creation no works of God are referred to the Sabbath. To emphasize this discrepancy one may point out that in another connection *Revelation*[2] presents a series of angels, six, not seven, in number; the sixth angel[3] cast his sickle into the great winepress of the wrath of God, "and the winepress was trodden without the city, and there came out blood from the winepress, even unto the bridles of the horses, as far as a thousand and six hundred furlongs." That reference is here made to the Crucifixion, and no reference occurs to Holy Saturday, is clear and noteworthy. How are these things to be explained? That they have a bearing on the day of Yahweh and the Sabbath is certain.

Here it is well to recur to the account of the quail-manna Passover, of which we read in *Exodus,* especially because it is by some regarded as the earliest reference to the Sabbath in the Torah. In this story likewise God wrought no work on the seventh day, but, as in creation, the miracle of the sixth day is doubled, and the Sabbath is in effect a prolongation of the sixth day, no food being then given, and the people likewise rest. Taken in conjunction with the data already presented, this account of the origin of the Sabbath suggests that the Sabbath is an added day, which, like the *'azeret,* tended to be incorporated in the festival-term proper. In late Judaism one may see this process going on, as it were, before one's eyes; but it was not yet fully achieved even in the sources embodied in *Revelation.*

day of the destruction of the temple. Since the Messiah was expected on the 6th day, the coincidence in time is probably significant. The coming and the death of Christ, the second Adam, thus fall on the sixth day, as Moslem tradition dated the creation and death of Adam on Friday. We have referred above (p. 331, n. 6) to the connection of building the temple with New Year's day, which was the 6th.

[1] See below, p. 508 *sq.,* for the birth of Apollo and Artemis.

[2] XIV. 6 *sq.*

[3] XIV. 18 *sq.*

If such was really the proper character of the Sabbath, one readily understands certain statements of the Rabbis regarding it. They call it "queen" and "bride," and liken it to the signet on the ring; and they say, "Each week-day is associated with another, the first with the second, and so on; but the Sabbath stands alone." [1] It thus comes to resemble Pentecost and the Jubile year. The former, as we have seen, was likened to the appended seal, a figure familiar to Moslems, who call Mohammed, as closing a series *longo interuallo,* "the seal of the prophets." But this position of the Sabbath was bound to become ambiguous when a festival term was repeated. Was it to be reckoned twice, thus being at once the first and the last day? The association of new moons and Sabbaths is familiar to us, and even in Babylonian sources the seventh day, which marks the first quarter of the moon, is expressly taken as following a term of six days.[2] From this point of view, moreover, one may see another reason for making the first and last days of a festival its holy days, and accounting both as Sabbaths. We know that the same problem arose in connection with the Jubile year, which some would identify as both the last year of one Jubilee and the first of the next.[3] Or was the Sabbath to be reckoned once only? In that case we should indeed have an hebdomadal term followed by an *'azeret;* but either the holy days could not be Sabbaths of a week, or the seventh day of the festival could not be a Sabbath. This shows very clearly the ambiguity of its position. It seems clear that the ancient Israelites were primarily concerned with the observance of the day of Yahweh, which was the sixth, and that in consequence in various ways they construed terms of six days, to which was added a Sabbath as a seventh day. When this addendum came to be regarded as obligatory—and there is no reason to doubt that the command to "remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" was relatively ancient [4]—the term assumed a new aspect,

[1] *J. Enc.,* x, 589 *a.*

[2] *Epic of Creation,* tab. 5, 15 *sq.*; cf. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels,* p. 96, l. 18 *sq.,* where, if the rendering be quite assured, in the Babylonian version of the Deluge, after a term of six days and six nights, during which the tempest that brought the Flood raged, on the seventh day the storm *spent itself,* the sea *rested,* the storm *fell asleep,* and the flood *ceased.* The Sumerian version of the Flood (King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition,* p. 76), however, definitely has a term of "seven days and seven nights." This comparison raises the question where the hexaëmeron originated.

[3] See *J. Enc.,* x, 606 *a.* and cf. Nilsson in *A.R.,* xiv (1911), 433, n. 1.

[4] This is said, of course, not with reference to a cyclical week, but with reference to a festival term. The command to observe the Sabbath would then

though the exceptional character of the seventh day was never forgotten.

The last days, like other division-points of time, are from the nature of the case more or less ambiguous.[1] Some sense of this still lingers with us despite our clocks and minutely regulated calendars. One will recall the question, much debated a score of years ago, as to when a century ends or begins. That the end of the world will come when several cycles of time simultaneously end is a belief which one can trace among peoples as far apart as the Babylonians and the Aztecs; but just when shall this happen? No one knows "the hour and day and month and year." [2] It was expected generally on a sixth, rarely on a seventh, day. It was to be at a transition-time, a "passover-day," which was to mark the end of the old and the beginning of the new year—be it the ordinary year, or a "great year." [3] Fortunately the complexities of astronomy are such, there being an insoluble anomaly between the lunar, the solar, and the siderial or cosmical years, that there is always room for doubt as to when the dreaded time may come. The line of demarcation between days was left uncertain, whether evening, or midnight, or cockcrow, or morning. The terms for midnight indicate the uncertainty. The Christian poet says significantly of the sixth hour *utramque noctem respicit.*[4] The uncertainty regarding the day was matched by that regarding the month: its last day was called the thirtieth, but sometimes the new moon appeared on that day, and hence it was called at Athens *hena-kai-nea,* to mark its ambiguous character. It was indeed a transition, or passover, day.

Such a day of uncertain reference was the Sabbath. So considered, one readily comprehends how it should have come to be the holy day

mean that it should not be used for profane purposes, which would result in attaching the Sabbath to the term, though it was not properly a part of it. The command, "six days shalt thou do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest" (*Exod.* XXIII. 12), which critics sometimes assign to E, if it implies a secular term, is nevertheless modeled on the hexaëmeron of creation, which reflects the form of the New Year festival. The date of the secular interpretation remains to be determined. If that could be done, the history of the hebdomadal week could be written.

[1] In Jewish eschatology the failure to distinguish sharply between the close of the present cycle and the beginning of the new age has often been noted. Similarly in my study of Greek festivals I long ago observed a tendency to disregard the *epibda,* and to merge the celebration properly belonging to it with the rites of the last day.

[2] See above, p. 392, n. 6.

[3] One recalls the Stoic's expectation of the *ekpyrosis* at the close of the great year.

[4] Above, p. 125, n. 3.

par excellence of Judaism, even subordinating to itself the older passover-days. The anxiety arising from the uncertainties above mentioned may well have contributed to the establishment of the practice of "adding from the profane to the holy," as when the Karaites observed the Day of Atonement beginning half an hour before sunset, and extending the time half an hour after the next sunset. The same uncertainty may likewise be assumed to have led to the mobility of the New Year's festival, which otherwise would be difficult to comprehend, and especially to the recognition of the *période de marge,* which one meets in so many forms and localities. Primitive people often *count* a limited number of lunations only, say ten, and then regard the remainder of the year as "dead time."[1] Just before the beginning of the year there is in many places a period of varying length not reckoned "in month or year," like the Egyptian epact. This period is observed with fasting and prayer, as is our Lent.[2] The Hebrew tradition shows many such *périodes de marge,* of which we have already mentioned several, such as the hours between midnight and cockcrow, the interval between Rosh ha-Shanah and the Day of Atonement, and the half-hour at the opening of the seventh seal. The sealing and the opening of the seals is an ancient rite connected with the Jewish Day of Atonement and the Chinese New Year festival, and among both peoples includes a *période de marge.* Among the Chinese, New Year's day is the time for closing the books, so that all accounts may be settled and all debts paid: it is the great day of reckoning,[3] as the last day of the month was among the Greeks. Among the Jews such practices were not confined to a single occasion, but were apparently connected with a considerable number of fast-days and festivals. Thus we know of the 9th Ab as a fast ostensibly observed in commemoration of the destruction of the temple; but, like other Semitic festivals, it was really at least in part a commemoration of the dead. Regarding this day and the 15th Ab, which

[1] See Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning,* pp. 240, 246. His entire chapter IX should be consulted in this connection.

[2] Of this more at another time. My colleague, Professor Dutcher, has called my attention to the extremely interesting article of Professor G. L. Burr, "The Year 1000 and the Antecedents of the Crusades," *Am. Hist. Rev.,* VI (1900–1901), 429–439, which should be read in this connection. The uncertainty regarding the New Year era was no greater in the Middle Ages (see *ibid.,* 437) than in ancient times.

[3] Among the Jews the paying of vows is associated with the close of the sacral year as determined by the *haggim.* For the payment of debts at New Year by the American Indians, see Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning,* p. 269.

follows it after an interval of six days, we may quote the following from Dr. Morgenstern:[1] "Said R. Johanan, the 15th Ab was the day upon which the number of those who were doomed to die in the wilderness was completed. In explanation the following tradition is related. During the entire forty years that the Israelites were in the wilderness, on the eve of every 9th Ab,[2] Moses would cause a herald to go and call out, 'Come forth to dig.' Then every man would come forth and dig a grave for himself and would sleep therein, that he might not die without his grave being dug. And on the morrow the herald would go and call out, 'Let the living separate themselves from the dead.' Then every one in whom there was life would stand up and come forth. So they would do every year. And in the fortieth year they did so, but on the morrow they all stood up. And when they saw this they were surprised and said, 'Perhaps we have erred in reckoning the new moon [and consequently this is not the 9th of the month].' So they lay down again in their graves during the succeeding nights, until the night of the 15th. And then, when they saw that the moon was full, and that not a single one of them had died, and thus knew that they had reckoned the month correctly, and that the forty years in which it was decreed that those who had come forth from Egypt should perish in the wilderness were completed, that generation appointed that day, the 15th Ab, as a festival.[3] In addition to this the Tosafists relate that during the forty years in the wilderness deaths occurred only on the 9th Ab." We have elsewhere drawn attention to the fact that the Hebrew tradition regarding the exodus, which reflected the scheme of the *hag,* variously gave its length as six days and forty years. Both could of course be combined, if the return was effected on the sixth day of a term construed at the expiry of the longer period; and that, as we have seen, was done. The sacred story represents the entire *hag* of the exodus as a *période de marge* observed with fasting; and this legend connected with the *période de marge* between the 9th and the 15th Ab helps us to under-

[1] *Jew. Q. Rev., N.S.,* VIII (1917), 34 *sq.*

[2] Al-Biruni (p. 276) apparently knew this tradition; for he says, "On this day they were told in the desert that they should not enter Jerusalem, and were sorry in consequence."

[3] This tradition implies that the 9th Ab was the date of the exodus from Egypt and the 15th that of the return to Canaan, because many Jews held that the resurrection should take the form of a return to the Land of Promise. This *période de marge* is, therefore, still another passover-term, but one of seven days. It is obviously of late origin, and may be no more than the conceit of some Rabbi.

stand how all the Israelites were thought of as dying in the wilderness. The astonishing rising of the Israelites from their graves on the 15th Ab clearly signified their resurrection on the Sabbath or seventh day.[1] But we have noted elsewhere the same uncertainty in Christian tradition and ritual practice in regard to the hour and the day of the Resurrection.

With this we may dismiss the subject of the Sabbath in relation to the festival-term; but we must briefly touch on its connection with the week.

As we have already remarked, the antiquity of the term of seven days is not here in question. It appears to have been familiar to Hebrews, as to other peoples, from a very early time; but for the Israelites in their cultus it had, apparently, little significance, except as its familiarity may well have contributed to attach the Sabbath more firmly to the festival-term of six days. Even when this natural tendency was consummated, the character of the Sabbath was not wholly changed, though it bears even now traces of its revaluation. Among the influences which may be safely assumed to have contributed to this result we may reckon the acquaintance of the Jews with certain seventh days observed in Babylonia. These days have been much discussed, but chiefly from the point of view of the cyclical week; and since there has thus far appeared no evidence of this institution among the Babylonians, the debate has hitherto led to no satisfactory conclusion.[2] This result was perhaps inevitable, so long as the relation of the Sabbath to the day of Yahweh was not defined. Our analysis has shown that the day of Yahweh agreed in character and signature with the sixth days of the Babylonians, and that in the cultus of Yahweh the Sabbath was an *'azeret* or Hilaria appended to it. Among the Babylonians, on the other hand, there are indeed certain sixth and seventh days, which appear to have a certain similarity to one another, both being days of evil omen; but there is this notable distinction between the Hebrew and the Babylo-

[1] That the 15th Ab was regarded by the Rabbis as a Sabbath is clearly implied in the statement of R. Mathna cited by Dr. Morgenstern, *loc. cit.*, p. 35.

[2] The best discussion of this whole question known to me is that of Boll, art. *"Hebdomas"* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*, VII, 2547–2578, to which I would refer the reader for details. With these seventh days should be considered the seven gods, sometimes regarded as one, known in Babylonia from the time of the I Dynasty. They do not appear in Sumerian documents, and it has been suggested they may have come from Elam. They are evil spirits often invoked in exorcism. See Anton Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 233 *b*, *s. v.* "SIBITTUM."

nian data—a difference which seems to have passed unnoticed—that in the Babylonian calendars there appears to be no connection between these series of days. What we seem to have is rather two independent series, one of sixth days, which gives us the sixth, sixteenth, twenty-sixth (and twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth); the other of seventh days,[1] the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, and the nineteenth, which may be regarded as the forty-ninth (7×7), provided that the preceding month had thirty days.[2] If one may venture a conjecture, one may suggest that these days belong to different systems and have unrelated orbits.[3] Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that the black Babylonian seventh days cast a gloom over the Jewish Sabbath.

For the present, then, we seem to derive little instruction regarding the essential character or origin of the Jewish Sabbath from the discoveries in Babylonia. Another line of approach has been attempted, by connecting the Sabbath with the *Shabbaton* and the Baby-

[1] Attested only for the intercalary Elul II.

[2] It is possible, however, that the nineteenth day as a *dies nefastus* was independent of the series of seventh days. It will be recalled that according to *Jubilees* XLVIII. 16 Mastema was let loose on the 19th Nisan at the passage over the Red Sea to help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel; and in *Uita Adæ et Euæ* IX. 1 we read that "eighteen days passed by" while Eve stood on a stone in the Tigris River, fasting and keeping silent, whereupon (on the nineteenth day?) Satan appeared in the guise of an angel of light and tempted her. Since the temptation of Eve is in the Jewish and Christian tradition referred to the sixth day, and the 19th Nisan is in *Jubilees* clearly reckoned as the sixth counting from the 14th, the reference of the 19th to the hebdomadal series is doubtful. Compare also the Callynteria at Athens on the 19th Thargelion (Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 486 *f.* and Hesiod *O. et d.* 812 and *schol. ad loc.*). Mommsen has called attention (*op. cit.*, p. 468) to the purifications of the Plynteria, the Callynteria, and the 6th Thargelion, and noted how closely parallel they are. One may raise the question also whether the 19th may not have its nefast character because it is the eve of the 20th, as the day of Shamash, the Sun-god.

[3] Traces of a similar unrelated series of fifth days have likewise been found in Babylonian hemerologies (Boll, *loc. cit.*, col. 2556 *sq.*). There is evidence of a similar series in Egypt. The existence of these unrelated series appears to point to the conclusion that the primary data were fifth, sixth, seventh etc. days, which had certain religious associations, and that the calendar-makers felt free to construe series of these respective numbers after various fashions, now relating them to the decads of the month, and again constructing successive pentads, hexads, or hebdomads. The wealth of materials collected by the labors of Roscher and other scholars is for the time being rather confusing than enlightening, and requires more careful and critical scrutiny than it has hitherto received.

lonian *Shabbatu*.[1] This line is indeed more promising, and in time may lead to important conclusions; but at present there appears to be no good reason for connecting the *Shabbatu* with the series of seventh days. The sole point of contact thus far established with the Hebrew scheme is that the *Shabbatu* falls on the 15th of the month, the day on which the Jewish calendar dated Passover and Sukkot. This might well account for the name *Shabbaton* which is given to certain holy days in the Priestly code; but it cannot account for the cyclical week, nor for the place of the Sabbath in the ritual scheme of the Hebrews. The reference of the *haggim* to the fifteenth day of the month is otherwise motivated,[2] and is certainly not original. In view of our analysis of the Hebrew tradition, which shows for the earlier time a thoroughgoing connection of the pilgrimages with the beginning of the month and of the year, the most promising source of enlightenment regarding the ritual scheme of the Hebrews would seem to be the New Year's festivals.[3] What they may have to teach us can be known only when a competent Assyriologist devotes a penetrating study to the available documents in the light of a comparison with other related festivals, the Egyptian and Persian, as well as the Hebrew.

As for the cyclical week, our study seems to show that it cannot

[1] See Jastrow, "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," *Am. Jour. of Theol.*, II (1898), 312 *sq.*

[2] The circumstance that the Babylonians celebrated full moon as "the joy of the moon" may have made the transition easier and may have affected the character of the Hebrew *hag*. Landsberger (p. 93, n. 5, and pp. 131–136) discusses the *Shabbatu*, and notes that its etymology and its connection with *sibuti*, "seven," are uncertain, and that its characterization as *ūm nuh libbi*, "day of the pacification of the heart" (of the gods), is ambiguous. Since the full moon was associated in Babylonia with both the 14th and the 15th days of the month, this uncertainty may have combined with that regarding the turn of the year on the 5th and 6th days to leave open the question whether Pesah was to be dated on the 14th or 15th Nisan. The decisive datum, however, is that given by *Ezekiel*, that New Year's day fell on the 10th. In Egypt the celebration of the turn of the year seems to have begun, as it did at Rome, on New Year's eve; see Erman, *Ägypten*, p. 211.

[3] One may illustrate the possible gain of such a study in detail by comparing with the motives of the Hebrew festivals, which have been mentioned in our discussion, the observances which Libanius in his 9th *Oration* includes in his description of New Year's day. They include (1) casting lots or playing at dice (xi); (2) bringing joy to prisoners (xii); (3) mourners remove the marks of their squalor, bathe, and feast (xiii); (4) there is universal pardon and reconciliation (xiv); (5) cockcrow is the signal for the Emperors to arise and begin their largess. Cf. *Rosh ha-Shanah*, 16 *a*. Other parallels, more or less complete, might easily be multiplied.

have been very ancient in Israel, since, even in the period when it is known to have existed, the ritual scheme had not really adapted itself to it, though one may plainly see that the effort was being made to identify them. The problem is certainly difficult, because of the existence of the Sabbatical commands in the Torah, which in their present form suggest the weekly Sabbath, and because of the absence of independent evidence by which an even approximate date for the introduction of the institution might be fixed. Probably the change came gradually, favored by the centralization of the cultus in the temple at Jerusalem and in the synagogues, and the exclusion of other cults. Even so, there is no certain evidence of regularly recurring Sabbaths before the second century B.C. The same may be said of the astrological week, which was doubtless in existence before we meet it in the first century B.C. Of its provenience also we are quite ignorant;[1] but we may well content ourselves with our ignorance, because it may be dispelled any day by direct evidence. In a matter of this sort we must depend altogether on datable documents and the certain inferences to be drawn from them.

But if we cannot date either the cyclical week of the Jews or the astrological week, it is at any rate possible in a measure to watch the process of their consolidation into a system which has won acceptance over a great part of the earth. No doubt the way for the astrological week was long preparing in such equations and adjustments as one may note even now in the Babylonian calendar. Something of the same sort was in progress in the calendary arrangements of the Egyptians and the Greeks, where polytheism, and the need of assigning the rites offered to different gods to suitable days, inevitably led to a simplification along lines indicated by ancient ritual schemes. Syncretism had long been proceeding in all these lands, more especially in the cults fostered by the states; one wonders whether the more or less general Hellenization of the East, after Alexander, did not hasten the process by giving in the names of the Greek gods, as it were, common denominators for all the more important divinities. The Greeks were by nature especially suited to this task, not only

[1] Boll (*loc. cit.*, col. 2556 *sq.*) regards it as of Hellenistic origin. His conclusion, though not certainly right, may be provisionally accepted. Dio Cassius derived it from Egypt; certainly there is no reason to derive it from the Jews; and Babylonia, where one would be most inclined to seek its origin, has thus far produced no direct evidence of it. Dio's statements regarding the planetary week are correctly interpreted by Boll, col. 2558 *sq.* See also F. H. Colson, *The Week* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 21 *sq.* and 43 *sq.*

because they were philosophically, even rationalistically, inclined, but also because they had themselves assimilated a large number of divinities of Oriental origin; and, as we have before remarked, their identifications and equations were based, not on details of mythology, but on similarity of rites.[1] The Jews on their part were, on the contrary, neither inclined to recognize such analogies nor sufficiently receptive to welcome an adjustment.

The astrological week names its days for the "seven planets," whereas the Jews, though they too had worshiped the Queen of Heaven in their holy city, forbade all worship except that of Yahweh, and called the days of their week, excepting the Sabbath, by the ordinal numbers. For long they resented the identification of the Sabbath with Saturn's day.[2] Aside from the objection which arose from the suggestion that Saturn was identical with Yahweh, there were others which are of more interest to us. There is good evidence that in the astrological week Saturn's day was the first, and not the seventh. Such is clearly the necessary inference from the statement of Dio Cassius; and in a representation of the planetary week the dividing line is drawn after Aphrodite's day, or Friday.[3] This would, to be sure, conform to one half of the Jews' conception of the Sabbath, but it ignored the important fact that the Sabbath was by then the last day of an hebdomadal term. The fact was that the traditional view of the Sabbath would not admit of its being embodied in a cyclical week; but if the dividing line must fall somewhere, let it by all means fall after the Sabbath. Fortunately the astrological week lent itself well to this very solution. Among the Babylonians there was recognized a certain kinship between the Sun and Saturn, which was called the Sun's star.[4] Saturn's day and Sun's day, therefore, went naturally together, and between them they could well serve the

[1] An interesting discussion of the identification of foreign gods with those worshiped by a people is that of Wissowa, *"Interpretatio Romana,* römische Götter im Barbarenlande," *A.R.,* XIX, 1 *sq.* It is, however, very incomplete, and its conclusions are in part quite wrong.

[2] See Hehn, *Siebenzahl u. Sabbat,* p. 120.

[3] Boll, *loc. cit.,* col. 2577. Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus,* II, 587 *sq.*) strongly insisted on this point, that the planetary week began with Saturday, and based upon it his rejection of the proposed identification of the Sabbath with the day of Saturn; but he quite failed to note the evidence which shows that the Sabbath was not properly the last day of an hebdomadal week.

[4] [Plato], *Epin.* 987 C (reading ἡλίου with A O, on which Κρόνου, the lection of L O[2], is a gloss; cf. Diodor. Sic. ii. 30. 3; Bidez in *Revue de philol.,* XXIX [1905], 319; and "Kronos-Helios" by F. Boll, *A.R.,* XIX, 342 *sq.*)

purpose of making the holy day at once the first and the last.[1] This fact must be borne in mind, along with others, in trying to understand the transition from the Sabbath to Sunday, as the day of rest observed by the early Christians. Quite possibly it explains also the statements of *Revelation,*[2] "I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is and which was and which is to come, the Almighty." "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end." "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end." For in this connection we must obviously think, not of the series of twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, but of the seven vowels, AEHIOYΩ, which are related to the seven planets.[3] Whatever other suggestions Alpha and Omega may have had in this formula, one readily guesses that allusion is made to the Sabbath as sacred to Yahweh and at once the first day and the seventh.[4]

While this study, as has been repeatedly emphasized, does not concern itself with origins, in the sense of the ultimate source of institutions, it seems proper here to suggest an hypothesis regarding the Sabbath and the week within the limits of the Hebrew tradition. The week, it seems clear, is the outgrowth of the festival-term; and the prototype of the Hebrew festivals was Passover, which was at bottom a *rite de passage* concerned with the transition from year to year. As regards the form of the rite, it seems clear that it embodied

[1] Several inscriptions representing the planetary week make a beginning with Sunday; see Boll in Pauly-Wissowa, VII, 2577; Roscher, *Lex.,* III, ii, 2538, 12 *sq.* This fact, and the close association of Saturn with the Sun, may have contributed to the shift whereby Sunday came to replace the Sabbath in Christendom as the holy day; but the festival-term of Sukkot and (about the beginning of our era) of Passover was more influential. Perhaps the determining factor, however, was the fact that in the Church the thought of Jesus as the Bridegroom yielded more and more to the conception of him as the Son, which is so prominent from the time of the Fourth Gospel onwards.

[2] I. 8; XXI. 6, 13.

[3] See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* p. 265 *sq.*; Boll, *Aus der Offenbar. Johannis,* p. 27.

[4] See above, p. 118, n. 1. However, when God says, "I am . . . which is and which was and which is to come," it is difficult to divest oneself of the thought that reference is had to the identity of the Father with the Son, who is to come and reign in the time of the world's regeneration. From this point of view the identification of Alpha and Omega, of one and seven, may be significant, though it goes ill with "the first and the last, the beginning and the end." In the latter formula we clearly have a reference to the conception of the Eternal God which has been well sketched by Weinreich (*A.R.,* XIX, 175 *sq.*). The Christian seer, in substituting ἐρχόμενος for ἐσόμενος, was seeking to combine two heterogeneous conceptions, which positive religion elsewhere also strove to reconcile; see Weinreich, *loc. cit.,* p. 189 *sq.*

suggestions of a departure or *rite de séparation,* and of a return, or *rite d'agrégation;* but, though there are not wanting indications, it is not equally certain that anciently the departure and the return were each regarded as occupying three days, yielding a total of six days. The repeated triduum here suggested as constituting the ancient New Year term has left traces, it seems, both in the prayer of Moses to Pharaoh to permit Israel to depart three days into the wilderness to hold a *hag* to Yahweh and in the hexaëmeron of creation, which clearly falls into two terms of three days, and unquestionably is related to the term of the New Year festival. The term of six days, however, is in turn unmistakably connected with the epact and the scheme of including New Year's day in it. That the Torah recognizes the seventh day of Passover as an *'azeret* or a second *hag* conclusively shows that the term was at one time definitely one of six days plus an added day of required observance. This, it would seem, was the original Sabbath of the Hebrews. How the seventh day came to be so observed is not certain; but one may venture a guess, which seems not improbable. The prophets, as we have seen, mention the new moons and Sabbaths together in such a way that one can hardly doubt that they properly belonged together; but, on the other hand, new moon and Sabbath are distinguished, and hence cannot have coincided. Our study of the Sabbath points to its original association with Passover, and we have seen that in the older period the *mo'ed* of Passover was the new moon of the month of Abib, about the vernal equinox. Now the six days after the new moon bring us to the first quarter of the moon, when the disk is apparently divided—a fact of importance in Hebrew religion, as we have seen. The Babylonian *Epic of Creation* [1] at this very point indicates a term of six days leading up to the seventh, when one sees the half-moon; and it is a fact that the first quarter of the moon at the equinoxes is especially prominent, because it is so far removed from the position of the sun. The Sabbath, then, or at any rate the Sabbath *par excellence,* was the day of the half-moon following Passover.[2] From here

[1] See above, p. 382, n. 5. Perhaps the Greek practice of offering to Selene, the Moon-goddess, six round cakes, called *selênai,* together with a seventh (the βοῦς ἕβδομος), in the form of an ox (Pollux vi. 75), is to be connected with this same regard for the first quarter.

[2] The parallel of the cultus of Apollo is important, with its emphasis on the new moon and the 7th of the lunar month (Herod. vi. 57). If the term of seven days, as is most probable, originated in the observed phases of the moon, we thus have two of the phases recognized by the early Hebrews: with the

its observance spread, first to the seventh days of other festival terms, finally to the weekly Sabbath. Christendom has here followed Jewry: the week *par excellence* is Holy Week, where alone the gospels show an interest in ritual forms. From Holy Week Christian ritual and liturgy have progressed until they too compass the circle of the Christian Year. There is no reason for believing that a weekly Sabbath was observed before, or indeed for some time after, the exile. The Priestly account of the Flood offers a *terminus a quo,* but it cannot be definitely dated. Two influences may be assumed to have conspired to promote the observance of the hebdomadal cycle. The priests of the second temple, in ordering the cultus in minute details, would doubtless favor a regulated régime; but more especially the Jews of the Dispersion would wish to have stated times of gathering together, since the old festivals were connected with the *loca sancta* of the homeland; the weekly Sabbath seems in fact to be essentially an institution of the synagogue, rather than of the temple. The Sabbath was, as falling between terms of six days, a passover or transition day, and as such one of dubious associations. Thus it came to inherit the immemorial associations of the ancient holy days, and in time it superseded them to the extent at least of acquiring priority of obligation.

The shift of the major *haggim* to the time of the full moon, which resulted from the lapse of the solar calendar of the reformation into the observance of lunar months, seems to have had little influence on the Sabbath. The holy days all came in time to be evaluated as Sabbaths, irrespective of the dates on which they fell. It is not clear how, if at all, the *Shabbaton,* or "day of solemn rest," is related to the Babylonian *Shabbatu;* for this term was in a secondary stratum of the Priestly code applied to all the holy days irrespective of date, whereas its supposed Babylonian counterpart seems to belong solely to the full moon. If "Sabbath" and "Shabbaton," thus used, belong to the last days of hebdomads, they were not cyclical weeks but rather constructive terms having no fixed relation to the calendar.

shift of the festivals to the full moon and the insistence on terms of 7 or 8 days, two other cardinal points of the lunar cycle were marked. The synodic new moon, or dark of the moon, also was observed, as has already been pointed out. The only singularity of this showing is that the third quarter, which elsewhere receives scant attention, should be specially marked by the Jews; but this was in the nature of an accident, if we are right in regarding the shift of the major *haggim* from new to full moon as an undesigned consequence of the introduction of the calendar of the reformation.

Except where a festival actually lasted eight, rather than seven, days the first and last, which were the holy days, could not be Sabbaths of cyclical weeks. Obviously, then, even in the later period the Sabbath was not wholly bound to the recurrent hebdomadal week, though festival-terms of seven days were common. The multiplication of taboos on the Sabbaths in later Judaism may be due to the influence of certain seventh days observed by the Babylonians, but even here one may err in attributing too much influence to the captivity. It is well to admit that much still remains to be explained.

CHAPTER IX

Affiliations of the Cultus of Yahweh

It is a fact familiar to all students of Judaism that about the beginning of the Christian era the god of the Jews was identified with various pagan deities. The orthodox Jew of course resented this practice, because he would fain regard Yahweh as unique, and believed that he himself stood in a peculiarly favorable relation to the one and only God. Though it has been no part of our purpose to present an exhaustive survey of Hebrew religion in its relation with neighboring cults, the facts incidentally brought out in the course of our inquiry must have made it plain that the Hebrews had themselves from the earliest times more or less tacitly assumed or openly acknowledged the identity of their tribal or national god with other gods whom they worshiped concurrently or in conjunction with Yahweh. Even when this was not directly the case, a process of assimilation was inevitable when the Hebrews adopted or adapted to their own cultus-forms and practices from other cults; for ritual forms and practices, however innocently or ignorantly appropriated, were bound to influence the worshiper, and lead him to conceive the god in whose service they were used as so far forth like the other deities who received the same rites. This process of syncretism may have been especially marked at certain periods, as in the time of King Manasseh and during the Hellenistic age; but it must be thought of as essentially continuous, though its course cannot everywhere be traced, and may well have changed according to the vicissitudes and surroundings of the Hebrew people. The discovery in recent years of many religious texts relating to the Mesopotamian peoples has given us a vivid conception of the manner in which the local gods were subsumed under the supreme god of Assyria or Babylon, with whom, as head of the pantheon, they were either directly equated or else associated as his doublets in restricted spheres. A similar phenomenon may be seen, though perhaps less clearly, in Egypt and Greece. That the process cannot more surely be traced in the religious literature

of the Hebrews is doubtless due in part to the far-reaching revision of their documents in the interest of the centralized cultus, and to the relatively late date of the resultant texts which are available for study.

We are far indeed from being in a position to follow at all points and in detail the extremely complex development of the religions of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin; but in the Hellenistic age we have clear evidence of a process not unlike that disclosed by the Babylonian documents. The effort was made to reduce to some semblance of order the welter of local deities by identifying the individual with some type. It would seem that the Greeks were most active in promoting this movement, upon the success of which depended the degree to which the heterogeneous population of the Hellenistic kingdoms could be assimilated and Hellenized. How far this aim may have been consciously proposed, it is impossible to say.[1] Asia Minor had long been subjected to Greek influences, and naturally it responded most quickly and fully to the efforts at penetration. One may with probability assume that at first the identifications were made very much as by the Greek settlers and traders in Egypt in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; but in the Hellenistic age, anthropological studies, which had their rise in the sixth century, had attained a degree of development not surpassed until our own day. Something must be credited to those zealous students of the beliefs and practices of men; and it is rather more than likely that the Seleucid and Ptolemaic rulers, who, as we shall see, made (perhaps sporadic) efforts to enforce a certain community of worship, were inspired to adopt this hopeless course by the findings of such scholars. However that may be, the extreme syncretism which appears in certain well-known texts, such as the Orphic, is plainly a means of religious propaganda. The Apostle Paul availed himself of the same means when he promised to declare to the Athenians the unknown god, whom they ignorantly worshiped.

By whatever means, there had been brought about a marked reduction in the number of gods who were thought to constitute the pantheon: and everywhere this resulted from the identification of gods who locally bore distinctive names. The way for this result had long been preparing by that process of assimilation to which we referred above. But what was it that facilitated and encouraged the identification of one god with another? This question has received

[1] Cf. Bertholet, p. 201 *sq.*

far less consideration than it deserves. It is not enough to say that identity was predicated on the basis of recognized or supposed similarity of character; for such similarity must be sought in particular points of resemblance, since the result was not monotheism, but a series of types. No doubt the myths presented certain resemblances, which may in particular instances have led to the identification of gods; but myths, being in part the creatures of fancy, tend to multiply beyond all measure, differing widely even in regard to the deity of a single shrine. Moreover, though springing from religion, myth tends by its very nature to individualize and personalize its subject, not only giving it a local habitation and a name, but suggesting also by the actions it recounts a character more or less sharply defined; whereas the soul, worshiping in the awful presence of the *numen*, is more apt to be filled with a vague and utterly indefinable sense of surpassing power and majesty. Quite apart, therefore, from the frequently trivial nature of myth, which may induce a spirit of levity alien to religion, it is little calculated to serve as a solvent capable of reducing the manifold to unity. Such an agency we must clearly seek elsewhere.

On the other hand, religious emotion, because as such it does not lend itself to the rational process of discrimination, would most naturally lead to an attitude akin to pantheism, which goes beyond the stage of simplification generally attained by the peoples we are considering, though in certain cults and circles there did undoubtedly manifest itself such a tendency. Hence we must look to some expression of religion, which may account both for a certain unification and for a considerable differentiation. Of such sort are the rites, which may vary greatly in detail, but are nevertheless reducible to a relatively small number of types, because the ends which they serve are not many. That the rites did in fact furnish the chief, though not the sole, basis for the identification of various gods, can hardly be doubted. Not to insist on the point that myth and ritual between them fairly exhaust the classification of the different expressions of religion in ancient times, and that, since myth may be safely disregarded, ritual alone remains, we may well direct attention to the acknowledged importance of rites in all the known religions of the ancient world.

As has been abundantly shown in the preceding chapters, form is of the essence of ritual, which falls naturally into a series of acts constituting a scheme. Though a number of such schemes existed, there is ample evidence to show that efforts were made from very

early times to correlate them and to include the smaller in the larger. In this way compromise and adjustment were promoted, and differences in detail were discounted. Though the principles on which one proceeded in arranging the resultant schemes were presumably evolved by the priests, the laity must have come in time to recognize them in a measure, partly in consequence of participating in rites following different traditional forms. But while differences in ritual schemes did not preclude the identification of gods in whose service they were employed, we may be sure that when the rites were, or seemed to be, notably similar, there was created a strong presumption that it was one god, though called by different names. These considerations justify one in examining the ritual schemes of the gods with whom the ancients identified Yahweh.

I

That the Hebrews, at least at times, identified Yahweh with Baal admits of no doubt; but the extent to which this was done cannot be determined, because Baal was not the name of an individual god, but an appellative applicable to any "Lord" of a city or territory. Nevertheless there was more than a family resemblance between the numerous Baals of the Semites, which made more easy the identification of one with another, and tended finally to merge them all in a common type. Among the Mesopotamians the name assumed the form of Bel, and was appropriated to various gods, notably to Marduk at Babylon; by the Greeks Bel was identified with several gods of their own pantheon. The Hebrews were, however, in contact not only with Mesopotamia, but also with Egypt. The Hyksos, perhaps a Semitic people, who brought with them their Baal, identified him with the Egyptian Sutekh, Suti, or Set, and made the latter their patron-god.[1] On what grounds this identification was made cannot now be determined; one may well question, however, whether the evil character of Set, abundantly attested in later times, was due altogether to his adoption by the Hyksos, the foreign enemies and oppressors of Egypt.[2]

Hebrew tradition reported that the Patriarchs had sojourned long in Egypt and had there multiplied, becoming a great people. The origin of Israel as a nation was connected, as we have seen, partly

[1] See Ed. Meyer, *Set-Typhon*, p. 54 *sq.*

[2] See Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 2867, 59; 2875, 30 *sq.* Meyer likewise rejects this view.

with the Egyptian Passover of the exodus, partly with Jacob's passage over the Jabbok; and Moses, the leader and saviour of the nation, was brought into relation with the house of the Pharaohs, presumably sharing their cultus until Yahweh was revealed to him in the burning bush. Despite the Deuteronomic attempt to concentrate the cultus of Yahweh at Jerusalem, the Jews had temples to Yahweh in Egypt, at least at two periods; and to the Roman Senate in the time of Tiberius the religion of the Jews and that of the Egyptians were hardly distinguishable.[1] In view of these facts, it can occasion no surprise that Yahweh was identified variously with Osiris [2] and with Set, both gods of the dead.[3] We have no reason to assert that the stories related by pagan writers were the invention of pagan enemies of the Jews, since they may well have originated with Semitic peoples roughly classed as Jews. Thus Justin,[4] after Trogus, reports that Moses and Aaron were Egyptian priests, and that the former stole and carried off the *sacra* of the Egyptians. The motive of the theft does not prove hostile intent, because it occurs in the Biblical account of the departure of Israel in relation to the ornaments of the women.[5] Tacitus [6] names the leaders of the people Hierosolymus and Judas, who, according to Plutarch,[7] were the sons of (Set-) Tyhpon: thus the eponymous heroes of the Jews were regarded as the sons of Set. Unfortunately we are not enabled by our sources to determine upon whose authority these statements rest; but they have the appearance of being genuine legends recounted by the people, though they were probably framed into a number of narratives by rationalizing historians. It must be borne in mind that Posidonius, who was doubtless one of the secondary sources of the Roman historians,

[1] See *A.J.P.*, XLI, 38 *sq.*

[2] Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 183 *sq.*

[3] There was, however, a marked difference between them, Osiris being the kindly Lord of the Underworld, considered as a peaceful abode, while Set was a god of terrors, the Lord of Darkness, and the relentless enemy of the Light. In the *Book of the Dead*, connected with the Mysteries of Osiris, which were designed to insure the rebirth of the soul, Set, as the foe of Osiris and Horus, who were the prototypes of the soul departed but destined to return, is naturally a *persona non grata*, because he embodies the threat of the second death. Set seems to have acquired much of the character of Apophis; and it is at least interesting, if not significant, that one of the Hyksos kings, who regarded Set as their tutelary god, bore the name Apophis.

[4] XXXVI. 2.

[5] Cf. also Rachel's theft of the teraphim of Laban, *Gen.* XXXI.

[6] *Hist.* V. 2.

[7] *De Iside* XXXI.

though not a Jew, was himself of Syrian origin and more or less acquainted with local traditions, which differed at various points from the version told in the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus when Justin [1] brings Moses into connection with Damascus, we are justified in thinking that this is a Syrian tradition, no less than that which connected Abraham with the same city.[2] The latter is certainly rather ancient; from what period the former dates we have no means of determining.

The identification of the Egyptian Set with Typhon must be pretty ancient. If it was not made by the earliest Greek settlers in Egypt, it dates at latest from the Milesian historians of the sixth century; for Herodotus mentions Typhon as seeking Osiris in connection with the floating island of Chemmis, which he read about in Hecatæus.[3] But Typhon and his Egyptian counterpart, Set, were quite as certainly identified with Baal-zephon, who played a considerable rôle in Semitic thought.[4] For our purposes it is not necessary to insist on the etymological connection of Typhon and Zephon; [5] it suffices to point out that these gods were identified.

Manetho, quoted by Josephus,[6] relates that the Pharaoh who expelled the Israelites sent them from the quarries to Avaris, a deserted city of the Hyksos, from whence they made their exodus. This city, he says, was originally Typhonian, or sacred to Typhon, the god of the Asiatic Hyksos. Whether or not Goodwin [7] be right in discovering a Ba'alat-Zapuna in an Egyptian papyrus, there is no doubt that the Typhon here intended is the Baal-zephon of the Scriptures. He was in a special sense the god of the Eastern Delta,[8] and was supposed to

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Josephus *Ant.* i. 7. 2; cf. *Gen.* xiv. 15; xv. 2. Since "Hebrew" is a more inclusive name than "Israelite," the latter belonging to the sons of Jacob (Israel), it is perhaps significant that in this very context (xiv. 13) we read the name "Abram the Hebrew."

[3] See Herod. ii. 156, which certainly goes back to Hecatæus of Miletus (*fr.* 284, *H.G.f.*).

[4] For the Semitic god Zephon or Zaphan, see Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*[2], p. 94, n. 6, and *E.R.E.*, II, 288 *b* and 293 *b*.

[5] Gruppe, p. 409.

[6] *C. Apion.* i. 26.

[7] See McNeile, *Exodus*, p. xcvi, and Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 281.

[8] Ed. Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 43 *sq.*) collects the evidence regarding the local cults of Set. In Upper Egypt, Ombos and Thebes were centers of his cultus from very ancient times. In the Second Empire he seems to have been chiefly connected with Lower Egypt, having temples at Memphis (?) and especially at Avaris (Pelusium) and Tanis on the eastern border.

lie buried in Lake Serbonis after being vanquished by Horus.[1] The neighboring Mt. Casius also was sacred to him.[2] In the Scriptural account of the exodus,[3] the Israelites made a curious countermarch, encamping before Baal-zephon, obviously a shrine of Zephon-Typhon. Jewish legend [4] said that when all the gods of the Egyptians were destroyed at the Passover, Baal-zephon alone remained. In an earlier connection we suggested that the sojourn at Baal-zephon was for the purpose of paying homage to the god of the land before crossing the border, which lay, according to Herodotus, at Lake Serbonis. The Biblical account is here evidently confused, and it is possible that the confusion is due to the attempt to conceal an apparent apostasy of Israel; but that Zephon was honored in Israel even in later times is suggested by such names as Elizaphan.[5] It may be noted in this connection that Josephus [6] reports Absalom as holding his festival of sheep-shearing, to which he invited his father and brethren, at Baal-zephon, a city of Ephraim. These indications certainly suggest that Zephon was rather frequently identified or confounded with Yahweh even in Israel.[7] One recalls that *Isaiah* [8] prophesied, "In that day shall there be an altar to Yahweh in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to Yahweh." Scholars appear inclined to date this statement very late, and to bring it into relation to the temple of Onias [9] in Egypt; but surely, even in that case, a "pillar" to Yahweh on the border of Egypt must have suggested to any conscientious Jew a dangerous approximation to idol-worship. Could any on hearing it mentioned forget Baal-zephon?

Into the nature of Typhon and Zephon it is not necessary for us to go. That Typhon to the Greeks was especially the god of destructive forces of nature, such as volcanic fires [10] and vapors, or devastating winds, is sufficiently known. His home was sought under Etna, for example, where the Cyclops kept their smithy. It would be inter-

[1] Herod. iii. 7 and later Greek writers.
[2] Apollodorus *Bibl.* i. 6. 3.
[3] *Exod.* xiv. 2 *sq.* This reminds one forcibly of the *sa'y* at Mecca.
[4] *J. Enc.*, ii, 387 *a sq.*, and the Targums on *Exod.* xiv.
[5] *Num.* iii. 30–31; i *Chron.* xv. 8, ii *Chron.* xxix. 13. Why should not Elizaphan mean "El is Zephon," as Elijah means "El is Yahweh"?
[6] *Ant.* vii (174).
[7] In Phœnicia this god is well attested.
[8] xix. 19.
[9] Josephus *Ant.* xiii. 3. 1–3.
[10] For Set as a fire-god, see Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 53, 63, who makes it seem probable that Set acquired his connection with fire and the sun, which apparently began at Tanis, from his identification with the Semitic Baal.

esting to know by what intermediaries a similar conception of Baal-zephon was transmitted to modern times; for in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*[1] we read, "I made Belsephon hammer out the stuff" —referring to a head of brass produced by magic. The Greeks certainly, probably by folk-etymology, derived Typhon's name from their verb meaning "to burn, to smoke, to smoulder;" but the god is obviously of Asiatic derivation. Whether *Zephon* originally meant "North" I do not venture to say;[2] for this too may possibly be due to the sort of etymologizing of which the Semites were especially fond.[3] It is to be observed, however, that the Egyptians identified Set with the (Mediterranean) Sea into which the Nile empties, because, as Plutarch says,[4] they regarded the Nile as Osiris, and Set, who slew him, as that into which the river empties. Salt they thought the spume of Typhon. As for Set, Plutarch[5] offers a variety of interpretations of his name, which is said to mean "the overmastering" and to suggest "return" and "overleaping." As etymologies these terms signify little or nothing; but they cannot be ignored in relation to the conceptions entertained regarding the god.

The Sea, with which Typhon was identified, lies to the north of Egypt;[6] one might therefore incline to regard this fact as confirming the connection of Zephon with the North. In ancient times, however, the cardinal points were indicated by the wind-rose rather than the compass. Now Typhon, like Yahweh, was not only a god of volcanic fire, but also a god of the storm and the blasting wind. We shall do well, therefore, to consider the relation of these divinities to the winds. Among the Greeks the earliest quasi-theoretic considera-

[1] L. 226. The Latin Fathers, who interpret the name as signifying *dominus aquilonis,* came to regard Baal-zephon as Satan, *"diabolus princeps infidelium"* (Rabanus Maurus in *P.L.,* CVIII, 63; cf. Rubert in *P.L.,* CLXVII, 638).

[2] As the East and the South formed a pair, so also the West and the North. The associations of the West with death and the chthonians is well known. How extensively this was true of the North, I do not know.

[3] So, too, Gruppe, p. 834, n. 3.

[4] *De Iside* xxxii.

[5] *De Iside* xlix: *φράζει μὲν τὸ καταδυναστεῦον καὶ καταβιαζόμενον, φράζει δὲ τὴν πολλάκις ἀναστροφὴν καὶ πάλιν ὑπερπήδησιν.* One might suppose that he had in mind the Baal-zephon of the exodus.

[6] Meyer (*op. cit.,* p. 33) cites texts which show that, in the time of the Second Empire, Horus was associated in popular thought with Upper, Set with Lower, Egypt. But Set is likewise often called "the Lord of the South-land." Neither fact signifies much, perhaps, because reference is presumably made to the parts of Egypt in which the cultus of the god centered. See above p. 447, n. 8.

tion of the winds is found in Hesiod, who derives them now from Eos,[1] goddess of the Dawn, now from Typhoeus. In both passages three principal winds are mentioned, North, South, and West. The apparent omission of the East has misled scholars into the palpable error of regarding an adjective properly belonging to the West wind as the proper name of the East wind. It requires little reflection to perceive that if the winds are derived from Eos (Dawn) no special mention of the East wind is necessary. The second passage [2] reads: "And from Typhoeus springs the force of wind damp-blowing,[3] except Notos [South], Boreas [North], and clear Zephyr [West]. These latter are a god-descended brood, but the others blow blusteringly upon the sea. Some falling upon the misty sea, a great bane to mortals, rage with their evil blast; varying with the time, they blow and scatter ships and destroy sailors. For men who meet them on the sea there is no defense against destruction;[4] and again, upon the boundless flowery earth, they blast the lovely fields of earth-born men, filling them with dust and grievous turmoil." Obsessed with the idea that the poet regards the four cardinal winds as good and god-descended, but the intermediate and shifting winds as sprung from Typhoeus, scholars have quite missed his meaning; which is that the easterly winds are the destructive brood of Typhoeus. The two Hesiodic genealogies of the winds agree in deriving either all the winds, or at least the destructive winds, from the East. In Greece, however, the easterly winds are quite unimportant;[5] one readily sees, therefore, that there is no good reason for believing that the conception which connects the East winds with the fiery Titan originated in Greece.

In Asia, however, especially in Syria, and in Egypt, where Typhon held sway, it is quite otherwise: there the blasting easterly winds, blowing from the torrid desert,[6] might well be regarded as the evil

[1] *Theog.* 378 *sq.*

[2] *Theog.* 869 *sq.*

[3] This epithet obviously belongs to Greece; one may in fact see that it is quite otiose, since it does not comport with the blasting effects of the winds later described.

[4] For Typhonic winds, see *Acts* xxvii. 14.

[5] Neumann-Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland,* devotes much space to the northerly, southerly, and westerly winds in Greece, but ignores the easterly.

[6] When a truce was made between Horus and Set, Egypt fell to the former, the desert to the latter. So Chabas; but Ed. Meyer regards the expression as meaning not specifically the desert but all foreign parts—all not Egypt. See however Plutarch *De Iside* xxxviii–xxxix.

breath of an angry demon. It was an East wind that blasted Egypt, producing the famine in the days of Joseph,[1] and brought the plague of locusts, which were driven away by a kindly West wind, at the exodus.[2] Jonah and his companions were vexed and almost wrecked by an East wind from Yahweh.[3] The wind of Yahweh is in fact commonly a withering, blasting East wind, his fiery breath;[4] but when at the exodus [5] an East wind dried up the sea and permitted the Israelites to pass over dry-shod, the people must have felt that it was in league with them. Yet *Hosea*[6] could say, "Ephraim feedeth on wind, and followeth after the East-wind: he continually multiplieth lies and desolation," apparently personifying the wind as an evil demon. One need not enlarge on this theme to point out the affinity between Yahweh and Typhon. Among the people of Palestine the North wind was generally the source of blessing; for it brought rain.[7] One has good reason, therefore, for doubting the original connection of Zephon with the North. The East wind of the Scriptures is generally rather a Southeast wind[8]—the Septuagint rendering it by *Kauson* ("sirocco")—which points even more closely the analogy with Typhon; for, according to Plutarch,[9] Nephthys, the barren bride of Typhon, is the fringe-land of the Nile, irrigated only by the river at the highest stage of flood, while the reign of Typhon is the prevalence of drought, when the god dissipates the fructifying moisture of the inundation. In this, according to the Egyptian myth, Typhon was abetted by Aso, the Queen of Ethiopia, who signified the South wind. The Greeks also knew the league between the East and the South winds, which are opposed to the West and the North.

[1] *Gen.* XLI. 6 *sq.*

[2] *Exod.* X. 13 *sq.*

[3] It is not expressly called an East wind (I. 4), but that is obviously meant; cf. *Ps.* XLVIII. 7; *Ezek.* XXVII. 26. In Greek myth also, Odysseus and Menelaus were driven from their course by an East wind.

[4] *Jer.* IV. 12; XVIII. 17; LI. 1; *Ezek.* XVII. 10; XIX. 12; *Jonah* IV. 8; *Ps.* XI. 1; *Hosea* XIII. 15; *Job* XXVII. 21; *Isa.* XLIX. 10 (LXX).

[5] *Exod.* XIV. 21; cf. *Isa.* XXVII. 8 and XI. 15–16. Wünsch (*Sethianische Verfluchungstafel aus Rom*, p. 91) quotes from a magical papyrus, where (vs. 1039 *sq.*) Typhon is thus addressed: ἐγώ εἰμ' ὁ σὺν σοὶ συμμαχήσας πρὸς θεούς· ἐγώ εἰμ' ὁ κλείσας οὐρανοῦ δισσὰς πτύχας καὶ κομίσας δράκοντα τὸν † ἀθεώρητον, στήσας θάλασσαν, ῥεῖθρα ποταμῶν, νάματα † ἄχρις οὗ κυριεύσῃς τῆσδε τῆς σκηπτουχίας.

[6] XII. 1.

[7] *Prov.* XXV. 23. But when the North wind brings a black frost, it is very destructive; see Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, III, 4; cf. Jerome in *P.L.*, XXII, 702.

[8] Cf. 1 *En.* LXXVI. 5, 7.

[9] *De Iside* XXXVIII–XXXIX; cf. XIII.

In view of these general analogies existing between Yahweh and Set-Typhon, we shall not be surprised to find other points of contact in myth and cultus. Plutarch[1] says, "Those who relate that Typhon fled seven days from the battle, riding on an ass, and upon making good his escape begot sons, Hierosolymus and Judæus, clearly show that they are foisting Jewish matters into the myth." Just wherein lay to his mind the violence done to the myth about Typhon is not quite clear. Perhaps he was thinking solely of Hierosolymus and Judæus, thus made the sons of Typhon. If that were true, we might dismiss the question without further discussion, because for our present purposes it makes no difference whether their descent from the god was a matter of local legend or of quasi-historical reconstruction. There are, however, other points to be considered.

Set-Typhon is here brought into relation with the ass. The Egyptian hieroglyphs represent Set or Sutekh by an animal resembling an ass; whether or not it was originally so intended, it is beyond question that at least in later times the ass was specially sacred to him. It is the wild ass which, like Typhon, has red hair and derives his Hebrew name[2] from that fact. Plutarch[3] says that the animal was opprobriously treated because of his color and his relation to Typhon, and considered demonic and impure because he resembled the god.[4] Among many ancient peoples red is a color associated with death;[5] and in the Egyptian hemerologies a "red-letter day" is one of evil associations, while one noted with black is of good omen. As Typhon was red, so was Osiris black.[6] Plutarch[7] declares that at certain festivals red-haired men were insulted[8] and an ass was thrown over a precipice as a sacrifice to Typhon. As has been already pointed out, this rite, obviously one of propitiation, bears a marked resemblance to that of the scapegoat, which the Jews precipitated from a crag to Azazel on the Day of Atonement. One need not insist upon the truth

[1] *De Iside* xxxi.
[2] *hamōr.*
[3] *Sap. conuiu.* v.
[4] *De Iside* xxx.
[5] See Gruppe, p. 891, n. 3; Bertholet, p. 50.
[6] Plutarch *De Iside* xxii.
[7] *Ibid.* xxx. For the killing and maltreatment of Typhonian animals on days associated with the triumph of the Lord of Light over his enemies, see Brugsch, *Rel.*, p. 710 *sq.*
[8] Diodor. Sic. (i. 88. 5) says that of old red-haired men were sacrificed to Typhon, thus explaining the legends regarding Busiris; cf. Plutarch *De Iside* xxx, lxxiii.

of the story [1] of finding the image of an ass in the Jewish temple in order to justify the belief that the ass was a sacred animal among Western Semites,[2] who might in some sense be called Jews. The provisions of the Torah [3] regarding the treatment of the firstling of the ass are well known, and prove that the animal was held in peculiar regard. The story told by Tacitus [4] that, when Moses and the Israelites were succumbing to thirst in the wilderness, they were guided to water-springs by a herd of wild asses, may be supported by the reference of *Genesis* [5] to Anah (whose name means "Ass"), "who found the hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." This may be a local or tribal legend which found acceptance in the canonical account of the Hebrews. The ass, however, whatever its specific relation to Yahweh, was associated not only with Typhon, but also with other gods,[6] such as Dionysus, with whom Yahweh was identified: as a demonic animal it was likely to have relations with any local or tribal divinity.

Typhon, as we have seen, was red, and the red wild ass was offered to him; but Plutarch, in the same connection,[7] states likewise that all the cattle sacrificed to him were red, even one black or white hair rendering them unfit for the oblation. These victims were of course offered in rites of riddance or purification, and inevitably recall the Jewish rite of sacrificing the red heifer, which, as the *Mishnah* says, was unacceptable if it had even one or two hairs of another color.[8] The Targums [9] mention similar restrictions regarding other victims. While these provisions appear to be of late date in the documents and to show a tendency to increase with advancing time, there is nothing to show that the practices were borrowed from the

[1] Tacitus *Hist.* v. 4; Josephus *C. Apion.* ii. 7. Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5 and v. 9) discredits the story. See Gruppe, p. 1603, n. 4; Reinach, *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, I, 342 *sq.*

[2] See Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites* [2], pp. 463, 468.

[3] *Exod.* XIII. 13; XXXIV. 20.

[4] *Hist.* v. 3; cf. Plutarch *M.* 670 D *sq.*

[5] *Gen.* XXXVI. 24. Not only the Jews but the Christians also were charged with worshiping the ass, a charge which the Fathers indignantly refuted. But certain Gnostics said that Sabaoth had the form of an ass or of a swine (see Epiphanius i. 287. 15, ed. Holl, with Holl's note *ad loc.*). Adolf Jacoby ("Der angebliche Eselskult der Juden und Christen," *A.R.*, XXV [1927], 265–282) supplies additional references, but does not offer a satisfactory solution of the problem.

[6] Besides Dionysus, Hephæstus and Apollo.

[7] *De Iside* XXXI.

[8] See *D.B.*, IV, 207 *sq.*

[9] On *Levit.*, pp. 195, 219 Etheridge; on *Numbers*, pp. 388, 402, 443 Etheridge.

Egyptians or were of late origin; the probabilities rather favor the assumption that we are here dealing with things extremely ancient, common to the Hebrews and the Egyptians.

Plutarch [1] relates that Hermes cut out the sinews of Typhon and used them as strings, presumably for his lyre: by "sinew" he doubtless means the *neruus ischiadicus*. The operation would leave Typhon lame. Among the Hebrews also the *neruus ischiadicus* was sacred.[2] The lameness of Typhon is doubtless to be associated with his demonic nature; for we may well think of him, like the Devil, as limping and perhaps as having an ass's foot.[3] Lucian [4] says that superstitious persons avoid one who is lame of the right foot, particularly if they see him early in the morning. Perhaps Pelias, when he saw the one-sandaled Jason, was moved by the same superstition; but Jason, as we have seen,[5] lost his shoe in the passage of the Anaurus; and Set was by some, as Plutarch says,[6] supposed to owe his name to an act of "overleaping." [7] We may be sure that his worshipers in their rites followed after, or imitated, the limping Set, as did the priests of Baal on Carmel.[8] On that occasion Elijah said to Israel, "How long go ye limping on both hips? If Yahweh be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him." What is implied by limping on both hips? Did the devotees of Yahweh limp on the left, those of Baal on the right? There is good reason for connecting Pesah, the name of an ancient, perhaps the most ancient, festival of the Israelites, with the verb "to limp:" and Pesah was a *hag,* or dance. A limping dance, therefore, may be assumed to be a very early festival practice of the Hebrews in honor of Yahweh. So well understood was this fact that the prophets Micah [9] and Zephaniah [10] speak of Israel, or Judah, the people of Yahweh, as lame and limping. And was it not at the passage of the Jabbok,[11] where Jacob wrestled with the Lord for a bless-

[1] *De Iside* lv.

[2] Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*[2], p. 380, n. 1.

[3] Though Set-Typhon is nowhere expressly identified with the ass, he was, as we have seen, represented in that form.

[4] *Pseudologistes* xvii.

[5] Above, p. 189.

[6] See above, p. 449.

[7] The "overleaping" may, however, relate to the practice of skipping or passing over the day of Set, which was sometimes omitted.

[8] I *Kings* xviii. 26.

[9] iv. 6–7.

[10] iii. 19.

[11] *Gen.* xxxii. 31.

ing and came off hip-shot, limping upon his thigh, that he received the name of Israel, as the eponym of the people of Yahweh?

As we have observed, the priests of Baal danced with a limping gait about the altar of Baal. There is abundant reason for thinking that this was a common practice in Semitic lands, for a considerable number of deities known to the Greeks, but in part at least of Semitic derivation, were notoriously lame. Not to delay the reader with unprofitable details, let us refer to the lame Hephæstus, who, as presumably a god of the West Semites and a smith, like Belsephon, had close affiliations with Typhon.[1] It is interesting to find him in the Homeric Olympus serving as peacemaker between Zeus and Hera. When the Father of gods and men grows angry and threatens his queen, bidding fair to spoil the feast, Hephæstus,[2] bustling about the board with his limping gait, converts the tense moment into one of mirth and unquenchable laughter.[3] This scene may not unnaturally be taken as reflecting the Semitic *hag,* where the limping dance about the altar, which holds the sacrifices meant to be the food of the gods, converts the fast, held because the superior powers are angry, into a feast, as their mood changes and they turn to partake of the cheer set before them. But one may refer also to Lucian,[4] who represents Cronus (Saturn) as answering his priest's question, why he relinquished his sway to Zeus, by saying that he was old and gouty from age, certainly implying that he was lame. This Saturn of the Saturnalia is certainly of Asiatic, and perhaps of Semitic, derivation. In another work attributed to Lucian,[5] Syrian (Jewish) physicians are introduced, who claim to have a specific for the gout, which, however, their mystic oath and the dying injunction of their "father" forbid them to divulge. Lucian, the Syrian, may perhaps be supposed to be treating the religious observances of the West Semites with his habitual persiflage.

[1] See Gruppe, p. 1305. Cf. Philo Bybl. *fr.* 2, § 8 (*H.G.f.,* III, 566), for the Phœnician Hephæstus (or Zeus Meilichios), locally called Chrysor.

[2] The myth which explains the god's lameness as the result of his being cast out of heaven by Zeus suggests a parallel to Satan: no less, the variant that his mother Hera cast him into the sea, because she was ashamed of his lameness.

[3] Homer *Il.* i. 571 *sq.* For the "Homeric" laughter of the gods at creation and the end of the world, see below, p. 532 *sq.*

[4] *Saturnalia* vii.

[5] *Tragodopodagra* 265 *sq.* Possibly Lucian alludes to the use of lard, or fat of the swine, as a remedy for gout; cf. Pliny *N.H.* xxviii. 137. If so, the suggestion is especially interesting.

Regarding the sacred days and the ritual forms observed in the cults of this group of gods we are unfortunately not in position to speak as definitely as one could wish. The third epagomenal day of the Egyptian calendar was, as is well known, regarded as the birthday of Set-Typhon.[1] It was a *dies nefastus,* of course, and as such was often passed over. In the planetary week, Tuesday, as the third day, was considered unlucky. The day of Ares, a baneful god, was esteemed peculiarly well suited to curses, as is shown by the imprecatory tablets preserved from antiquity, in which Set-Typhon, represented as a man with the head of an ass, is invoked.[2] This day is coupled in these magical documents with Saturday, the day of Cronus-Saturn, which likewise was considered ill-omened. In modern Egypt and Greece, where the influence of the ancient superstitions regarding the planetary week persists, Tuesday is still held to be unlucky. But apparently the sixth day, Friday, was placed in the same category.[3] That Set-Typhon should be associated with Saturn is not surprising, because both were related to the Semitic Baalim, whose days, as we have seen, were preferably the sixth and occasionally the seventh. That the third day of the epact was assigned to Set[4] may be due to the frequent equation of the third day with the seventh, illustrations of which have been given earlier in our study: it is clearly implied, as has just been pointed out, in the imprecatory tablets; and the fact that Set's day was omitted, taken in conjunction with the suggested etymology of Set, mentioned by Plutarch, as meaning "overleaping," might be cited as confirming the conclusion that the third, like the seventh, day was a "passover" or transition. The myth of Set, moreover, seems to have contained at least one term of seven days.[5]

[1] Plutarch *De Iside* xii.

[2] See Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (1898). The curses are several times dated on the day of Ares; e. g., No. 16, ll. 67 and 83; No. 25, l. 24. See also *ibid.,* p. 79.

[3] See Wünsch, *op. cit.,* No. 16, l. 83: ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας Ἄρεως κ<αὶ ὥρας> ε. τε εχ . . . ε εἴτε ἑβδόμης, where the last words should probably be read εἴτε ἕχτης [i. e., ἕκτης] εἴτε ἑβδόμης. *Ibid.,* p. 79, n. 2, it is pointed out that the planet Mars was identified with the archangel Samael. Among the Babylonians it belonged to Nergal, god of the dead.

[4] As Set was the third son of Cronus and Rhea, Seth was the third son of Adam and Eve. But the third son was also the prince *par excellence* (see above, p. 309, n. 3). As Absalom was hanged on an accursed tree, so Seth also was worshiped as the crucified Saviour, and the Egyptian Set was likewise represented as a man, with the head of an ass, affixed to a cross. See below, p. 459 *sq.*

[5] Plutarch *De Iside* xxxi, quoted above, p. 452. Cf. Justin xxxvi. 2.

This cannot be thought surprising, or laid to the influence of Judaism, because of the certain relation of Set to the Semites, among whom terms of seven days are unquestionably ancient. We learn from Plutarch [1] also that the return of Isis from Phœnicia was celebrated on the 7th Tybi.[2] Nevertheless it is not quite certain that the day of Set-Typhon was originally and properly the third. While the five-day epact is very ancient in Egypt, it is not certain that it originated there; and the reasons for the assignment of the several days to particular gods remains a mystery. As we have seen, in Greece the evil day, often omitted, is not the third, but the second, and at Rome, too, the second day of the year was especially unlucky. We should have a similar scheme in Egypt if the first epagomenal day were for some reason disregarded, the count beginning with the second. Unfortunately the scheme of good and bad days presented by the Egyptian hemerologies has not yet been discovered; and in the most important document, the Sallier papyrus, the data regarding the turn of the year, from the 11th Pachon to the 18th Thoth, are wanting. We seem, therefore, to be reduced to conjecture. However, as the first epagomenal day was sacred to Osiris, the chief god of the Osirid pantheon, and we may be fairly certain that New Year's day, which immediately followed the epact, was likewise dedicated to him, it is possible that the first epagomenal day was, so to speak, an anticipated New Year's day. This is the more probable, because the epact was called a little year, or a little month, and (in the Sallier papyrus, at least) the first of every month is favorable and is generally noted as a day of rejoicing and feasting for the great gods.[3] With one exception [4]—the 2d Pharmuthi, a black day, when Set is said to prosper

[1] Plutarch *De Iside* li. In the Sallier Calendar, the 7th Tybi is a dubious day. It has the notation: "Have no commerce with a woman. Keep a light burning in the house," which suggests a sort of passover-day.

[2] As Isis was identified with Athena, to whom the numbers 3 and 7 were sacred (she was called Tritaia), this raises the question whether her day was properly the 4th (see below, n. 4).

[3] It seems certain that this day was originally that of the new moon; but in historical times the Egyptian month of thirty days was necessarily divorced from the lunations. We have then clear evidence of observances long antedating the official calendar. Cf. above, p. 379 *sq.*

[4] Ed. Meyer ("Nachträge zur ägyptischen Chronologie," *Abh. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wisseusch., phil.-hist. Kl.* [1907], p. 6, n. 1) calls attention also to a note at the end of the Papyrus Rhind which makes the 2d day of the 1st month the birthday of Set, and the 3d the birthday of Isis. He thinks this must be a mistake; but one may ask whether this is certain. If the epact was regarded, as it regularly is in later times, as a suffix to the year, and the 1st

in Tattu, and Anubis sees Rā at midday—the second is of similar character. In the epact this second day is assigned to Arueris, the elder Horus, equated by the Greeks with Apollo.[1] He was called now the son of Cronus and Rhea, now the son of Osiris and Isis;[2] and is apparently Osiris over again. From his position in the calendar one might surmise that Arueris was simply Osiris the Son. If, then, we should regard the special observances of the epagomenal days as beginning with Arueris, Set-Typhon would be the second, Isis, equated with Athena (whose day was the third) would be the third, and Nephthys (equated with the Greek Aphrodite and Nike, whose day was the fourth) would be the fourth. In this way Set-Typhon, born out of due season and out of the natural order, would belong properly to the second day.

This, it must be acknowledged, is a rather violent reconstruction; but it has this in its favor, that it enables us to align the data of the Egyptian epact with those which we have hitherto been studying. There is, moreover, another bit of evidence which calls for consideration, though it is neither conclusive nor altogether clear. In Plutarch's statement regarding the Egyptian epact[3] Set-Typhon and his bride Nephthys are called the children of Cronus; this is not specially significant, but it is well to remember that they form a pair.[4] Else-

day of the epact was felt to duplicate New Year's day, the transfer of days 2–5 of the epact to the beginning of the 1st month, as now taking the place of the dislodged epact, would become intelligible. Or, again, it is possible that the 2d day originally belonged to Set, and the displacement in the epact resulted as suggested above in the text. It is further to be observed that in the Egyptian hemerology the 1st, 3d, and 5th days of the epact are noted as nefast. If the 1st was reckoned a New Year's day, this is intelligible; and on the above-mentioned hypothesis, the 3d and 5th should be regarded properly as the 2d and 4th.

[1] Whose days, as we shall presently see, were generally the first and seventh. Ed. Meyer (*Set-Typhon,* p. 50) says that Arueris (Herūr), "the elder Horus," distinguished from Horus, the son of Osiris, was not admitted into the circle of the gods, but was later sometimes substituted for Set. With this complex one may compare the substitution of Seth for Abel, the second son of Adam. That there are really but two pairs of god + goddess—Osiris + Isis, Set + Nephthys—seems to favor the above suggestion that the special days of the epact are really four in number. Horus, the son of Osiris, and his bride Hathor, are omitted, unless the former is intended to be represented by Arueris.

[2] Plutarch *De Iside* xii.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] On Nephthys, the bride of Set, see Ed. Meyer, *Set-Typhon,* p. 50 *sq.* He remarks that she is never regarded as hostile or evil, and is clearly given to Set as his wife merely to complete the scheme. What exigencies called for her inclusion, and what determined the scheme, he does not suggest.

where Plutarch[1] states that the Pythagoreans, who notoriously regarded the even numbers as evil and the odd as good, appear to have thought Typhon a demonic power, because they say that he was born "in the even fifty-sixth measure," whatever that may mean. Eudoxus also, according to the same authority, identified Typhon with a fifty-eight (or fifty-six) sided polygon. In either case we should be dealing with a regular figure having an even number of sides, in which perhaps the six is significant; for Plutarch speaks[2] also of a magical potion compounded in Egypt of sixteen ingredients, obviously counting the number significant. These data may of course be subjected to Greek influences, as when we learn from Apollodorus[3] that Zeus fought six times with Typhon, who may here be assumed to be accounted one of the Giants,[4] who were overthrown on the sixth day.[5] Yet it is worth noting that in the lists of Panodorus and Manetho[6] Typhon is the sixth divine king who ruled in Egypt. In view of these data, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, at least among the Greeks, Set was associated with even numbers, and particularly with two, the first even number, and with six.

In an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the motive of disguise and transfiguration is generally connected with the second and sixth days, this being illustrated by the Christian tradition regarding the Transfiguration. Bearing this in mind, one notes with interest that, according to a long line of Greek tradition,[7] the Egyptian gods masked themselves as animals out of fear of Set-Typhon. Lucian[8] says that one may hear this tale from the Egyptian priests, and adds that the gods feared an uprising of their enemies, the Giants. If this statement seems to confound Egyptian and West Semitic beliefs, there is apparently good reason for doing so; for on the one hand it has been shown that the belief was in fact held in ancient Egypt;[9]

[1] *De Iside* xxx.

[2] *De Iside* lxxx. It is the κῦφι. See Brugsch, *Æg.*, p. 411.

[3] *Bibl.* i. 6. 3.

[4] Cf. Plutarch *Pelopidas* xxi; Diodor. Sic. i. 26. 7.

[5] See above, p. 368 *sq.* When, as certainly was the case in later times, Set took the place of Apophis, the Satan overthrown by Rā on New Year's day and cast into the sea, as the defeated adversary of the Sun-god (Horus), he was of course connected with the sixth day.

[6] See *H.G.f.*, II, 530, 531. One may note also that the sixth month of the Egyptian year, Mechir, has sometimes the symbolical representation of the ass (jackal?) and the hippopotamus, which suggest a relation to Set.

[7] Beginning with Pindar, *fr.* 91 Bergk; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, I, 675.

[8] *De sacrificiis* xiv.

[9] See Wilcken in *Archiv f. Papyrusf.*, II (1903), 258.

and, on the other, the motive recurs in a Syrian version.[1] Hellanicus[2] also reports that the gods in Egypt laid aside their crowns of thorns when they learned that Babys, that is to say Typhon, was king. There can be no doubt that these reports relate to observances on the days of Set-Typhon; and if that be granted, we find in them an additional ground for connecting Set with second and sixth days, whose sanctity among the ancient Semites has been abundantly shown. Hence it should occasion no surprise when one discovers evidence that Hebrews as well as Gentiles identified Yahweh with Typhon.

Everything, as we have seen, points to the conclusion that the Set of the Egyptians was a god of the Semites.[3] In Egypt he bore a variety of names, Set, Suti, and Sutekh. In Greek the name is written Seth, a form well known to us in the name of the Hebrew patriarch, as given in the Septuagint and the New Testament. This may, of course, be mere coincidence; but before deciding this question, it will be well to consider the Hebrew tradition. It is not necessary here to discuss at length the two genealogical tables of the antediluvian patriarchs contained in *Genesis,*[4] because all Biblical scholars are sufficiently acquainted with them; besides, they present many problems which we are neither able nor for the moment concerned to solve. It is Seth who specially claims our attention; but once more we must refrain from discussing questions relating to ultimate origins and to details of text criticism. Thus limiting our inquiry, it seems fairly certain that the genealogical tables as we find them in the Biblical text are conflate. As to the date when the combination, or series of combinations, was made, we are in no position to dogmatize; but it is fairly clear that it cannot have been just before the Christian era. Now in this conflate list, Seth occupies a singular and not very consistent position. On the one hand, he is made a son of Adam and Eve, given instead of Abel; or it is said that Adam begat him in his own likeness, after his image.[5] From this point of view, Seth appears as a man, in the second generation, along with Cain. The Priestly

[1] See Cook, *Zeus,* I, 370, n. 1; 445, n. 4; 584.

[2] *Fr.* 150 (*H.G.f.,* I, 66). This tradition may stand in some relation to the crown of thorns pressed on the Saviour's brow at the Crucifixion. If so, we have another reference to a sixth day.

[3] Ed. Meyer disputes this, claiming that Set was *"ein uralter und ächt ägyptischer Gott"* (*Set-Typhon,* p. 4), and consequently rejects all suggestions which would connect the name of the god with any Semitic word.

[4] IV–V.

[5] Compare *Gen.* v. 3 with I. 27.

code, using materials of unknown origin, while making Seth a son of Adam, represents him as the father of Enosh and the grandfather of Kenan. Since Kenan cannot well be dissociated from Cain, the names being almost certainly identical, and "Enosh," like "Adam," is acknowledged to be etymologically "Man," [1] Seth comes to stand in the table in the place which we should expect to be occupied by the Creator, Enosh being the son of Seth as Adam in *Luke* is called the son of God.[2] This fact has led certain scholars to conjecture that Seth was properly the name of a Babylonian god.[3] If that were true, or if Seth were an appellative of some god of whatever provenience, we should be in a better position to understand why it is said in the Scriptures, speaking of the time of Enosh, the son of Seth, "Then began men to call upon the name of Yahweh." [4] Leaving aside the question whether in this text "Yahweh" has, or has not, displaced "Elohim," one readily comprehends the desire of the scribe to represent the worship of God as coëval with the existence of man.[5] On that assumption, moreover, even the Hebrew scribe cannot have failed altogether to perceive that in drawing up this table he was

[1] Al-Biruni (p. 314) says of the Sabians (whom he regards as descendants of the Israelites who were taken captive in Babylonia and did not return to Canaan, but adopted a religion composed of Magian and Jewish elements): "Genealogically, they trace themselves back to Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam." In view of the striking similarity of the complex of notions which Judeo-Christian tradition connects with Seth and Enosh to the conceptions of the Mandæans and Manicheans developed by Reitzenstein in *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium,* it may be worth considering whether these traditions may not have a common source, not necessarily Persian.

[2] *Luke* III. 38.

[3] Hommel (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.,* XV, 244 *sq.*) proposed the Babylonian god Shitti, whose name, like Seth, is connected with the numeral six. Professor George A. Barton, replying to my question, writes: "I believe the name of the god Shitti, in Babylonian, to be a by-name of the god Adad. As you have noted, Shitti means 'six,' and the numeral 6 was one of the ideograms by which the god Adad was designated." Elsewhere we have observed that Adad claimed the sixth day. If, as is commonly held, Adad was properly an Amoritish god, he may, in the character of Shitti, be the original of Seth, and "the sons of Seth" (*Num.* XXIV. 17) may be the Amorites.

[4] In the Jewish view (cf. *J. Enc.,* V, 213 *a*) the Messiah is the chosen one, who causes the people to seek the Lord, and as the son of God causes the nations to worship him. In the Mandæan and Manichean religions Man (Ἄνθρωπος), who in Manicheism is Mani, the "third Saviour," enters the darkness of the material world to recall Soul to the Light. This raises the question whether Enosh was not the first Saviour, and Seth, in the scheme they adopted, the Father of Light. Others, as the Sethians, made Seth himself the Saviour. The genealogy of Seth clearly calls for careful study.

[5] See below, p. 463 n. 3.

making of Seth a divine, or quasi-divine, personage. In this connection attention should be called to the prophecy of Balaam:[1]

> "There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,
> And a scepter shall rise out of Israel,
> And shall smite through the corners of Moab,
> And break down all the sons of Seth."

Here the RV reads "tumult"[2] instead of Seth or Sheth; but there is good reason for holding that we have here a proper name, the expression being comparable to "the children [sons] of Israel," where "Israel" is the name of the tribal god or hero. That Israel is the son of Yahweh is the constant assumption of the people. But of what people Seth was the father is not certainly known; it may have been the Amorites, the Moabites, or perhaps the nomadic Bedouins.[3] In any case, his practical identification with Yahweh can occasion little surprise. The "sons of God" were sometimes understood to be the sons of Seth.[4]

In the thought of the Jews, at least in the centuries just preceding the Christian era, Seth held a place of high honor. That this position was not acquired very late is clear from the Sethite genealogy; but for us, at any rate, it becomes more manifest in the scant traces of

[1] *Num.* XXIV. 17.

[2] If *shēth* here means "tumult," it is the tumult of war.

[3] Sayce, in *Expos. Times,* XIII, 69, suggests that "all the sons of Seth" refers to the Bedouins, whom the Egyptians and Babylonians called "Sutu." If that were true, there would be here another possible link between Seth and Set. On the other hand "all the sons of Seth" might mean "all mankind;" for, as we have seen, Seth was at times obviously regarded as the Creator. The Sethites (cf. Irenæus *Elench.* i. 30. 9) called Seth and his wife Norea the parents of the human race; see above, p. 461, n. 1. "In the Amarna letters Baal appears in some compound names . . . It interchanges with Addu (i.e., Adad, or the later Hadad) . . . But strangely enough, Addu is not among the foreign gods accepted by Egypt, although he belongs to a widespread type of god with various specific names (Hadad, Ramman, Teshub, etc.). It is possible, therefore, that the god Sutekh (Set), who took firm root in Egypt from the time of the Hyksos, strictly corresponded to Addu."—S. A. Cook, in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.,* II, 348 *sq.* Since Set-Typhon was, like Adad and Yahweh of Sinai, a god of fire and storm (Meyer, *Set-Typhon,* p. 41), one may ask whether the twofold genealogies of *Gen.* do not combine two traditions. The early Hebrews were greatly influenced by the Moabites in the North and the Edomites in the South (*Cambr. Anc. Hist.,* II, 366–369). Can it be that Adam = Edom = Aramæans, while Set = Sutu = Moah?

[4] For this interpretation of "the sons of God" (*Gen.* VI. 1–4) as "the sons of Seth" see Charles, *The Book of Jubilees,* p. 33 *sq.,* note. With the conduct of these "sons of Elohim" compare that of the "sons of Eli" (I *Sam.* II. 22).

the doctrines of heretical sects, Jewish and Christian. If even in the Biblical account he is, as it were, a second Adam, as well as a divine being, we find later evidence that he was thought to be the Messiah promised to Eve in Eden, or the Messiah was expected to be an avatar of Seth.[1] The Sethites, or Sethians, of the early Christian centuries, of whom the Fathers tell, believed that it was not Jesus, but Seth, who was crucified on Good Friday, the Christian day of atonement. Such a complex of beliefs, traceable for centuries, certainly calls for careful consideration, especially as there is unmistakable evidence that the Seth of the Sethian Gnostics was identified with the Egyptian Set.[2] Whether their identity was original or resulted from a gradual combination we are not in a position to say with assurance.

Seth, it is clear, possessed for the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin a special significance either as the Creator, or as the semi-divine first-born of god. A being of such dual or dubious nature we meet in fact in the Man of the Valentinian ogdoad;[3] and one can readily understand how the Sethites should have regarded Seth, as partaking of this twofold nature, as the expected Mediator or Messiah. Regarding the rites held in honor of the Egyptian Set we are insufficiently informed; and as for a possible Babylonian pro-

[1] Jewish tradition (*J. Enc.*, v, 214 *b*) said that the Messiah should come from Zaphon, which has been variously interpreted as "North" or "concealment." May it be a variant of the tradition that he should spring from Seth?

[2] It is now certain that the well-known figure of a being in human form, though having the head of an ass, represented as crucified and worshiped, which belongs to the Kircher collection in Florence, is intended for Seth-Set.

[3] Cf. Philo Bybl., *fr.* 2, 5 (*H.G.f.*, III, 565): "Of the wind Colpia and his wife Baau were born Aion and Protogonos, mortal men . . . Those born of them were called Genos and Genea, and inhabited Phœnicia. When drought came they lifted their hands heavenward to the Sun; for they regarded this god as the sole lord of heaven, Belsamen." Here, too, we find semi-divine (albeit mortal) or heroic beings, called "men," intermediate between the human race, represented by Genos and Genea (cf. the generations of Seth), and the Creator, one of whom is Protogonos, the First-Born. The human generations (cf. Enosh) begin to worship the gods. In the Babylonian *Epic of Creation* also, men begin immediately after their creation to worship the gods, that being in fact the reason for their being created. In Greece, Argive legend attributed to Phoroneus, the first man, the institution of the cultus of Hera, the chief local goddess, and of the worship of the gods in general. Since the Flood destroyed the first race of men, it is of interest to learn that Deucalion was said to have built the temples of the Twelve Gods and the altar of Olympian Zeus at Athens, as Noah, after the Flood, built an altar to Yahweh and offered sacrifices thereon (*Gen.* VIII. 20), and in the Gilgamesh-epic Ut-Napishtim, descending from his ark, offered a sacrifice to the gods.

totype of the Hebrew Seth, it were idle in the present state of our knowledge to venture even a guess. But we have already seen that in the Persian and Babylonian rites, as well as in those of the Hebrews, Creation, and particularly that of man, is brought into connection with the New Year and especially with New Year's day, considered as the sixth, following a scheme which seems to imply a five-day epact. Either the Creator or his crowning creation, man, might therefore be brought into relation with the sixth day, which witnessed, according to Jewish and Christian tradition, not only the Creation, but the Fall, and was to witness the Redemption.

Now there is at least a possibility that Seth owes his name to the number six and the sixth day. *Genesis,*[1] to be sure, suggests a different etymology, but on the obvious assumption that the name is of Hebrew origin. This assumption, however, is more than doubtful; and the suggested etymology cannot be taken seriously. The Hebrew word for "six" is *shēsh,* but the numeral in Aramaic has the same form as the name of Seth (*shēth*). The Babylonian god Shitti, who has been proposed as a possible prototype of Seth,[2] may likewise be connected with the numeral six; and it is known that the Egyptian word for "six" is cognate with the Hebrew. As for the Egyptian name for Set, the consonants of his name are said to be s-y-s, the first and last being certain, the "y" more or less conjectural.[3] Whether this showing admits of a strict etymological connection with *shēsh* must be left to the judgment of those more competent than the writer in such matters; but popular etymology may not be ignored in any case, and the fact that "Seth" and "Set" were written in Greek with identical characters should not be forgotten, thought it cannot of course be pressed. That certain deities, particularly among the Babylonians, had determinate relations to numbers or series of numbers is well known, the idiograms of the names and the numerals being used interchangeably. Moreover instances are not unknown in which the name of the god is directly derived from a numeral, as that of Eshmun from "eight:"[4] we shall presently point out a similar instance among the Greeks.

[1] *Gen.* IV. 25.

[2] See above, p. 461, n. 3.

[3] So Professor Breasted informs me. Gesenius cites Aramaic forms *shīth* and *shēth* for "six," written *plene. Gen.* IV. 25 derives the name of Seth from the verb *shīth,* in which the *yod* may be regarded as one of the three radicals.

[4] See Gruppe, p. 1544, n. 2. This etymology has been denied, e.g., by Baudissin, but it is almost certainly correct. It must be remembered that

II

The identification of the Sabbath with Saturday, of which we have already spoken,[1] itself implies the identification of Yahweh with Cronus-Saturn. From Tacitus [2] we learn that some Euhemeristic account represented the Jews as originally Idæans, who fled from Crete with Saturn, when he was expelled by Jupiter;[3] the seventh day, or Sabbath, they devoted accordingly to Saturn. That Yahweh and Saturn were identical was a belief widely accepted in antiquity, as is shown among other things by references of the Emperor Julian and the magical texts.[4] However erroneous this view may be, it is not difficult to understand. That the Israelites long worshiped the Baalim and offered to Yahweh the sacrifices proper to Melek is known to all; *Hosea* [5] even speaks of Yahweh as the Baal of Israel. The Baalim of Canaan were presumably not markedly different from those of their next neighbors, the Phœnicians, whose gods were by the Phœnician Philo of Byblus [6] identified with Cronus. Cronus was in fact identified with a considerable number of Oriental gods;[7] and it is not impossible that the planet Saturn was actually worshiped in Israel.[8]

It is obvious that we are here dealing with another complex not unlike that of Set-Typhon. The Baalim were many, not one; and the Cronus known to us from Greek sources is, like the Saturn of Latin writers, an extremely composite figure. The most comprehensive

Heracles, whose day in Greece was the fourth, or, when he was identified with Theseus, the eighth, was identified with various gods of the West Semites, whose rites fell into the hebdomadal form, as did those of Theseus. In Egypt, too, "the Eight" were worshiped at Hermopolis, and connected with Hermes, whose day in Greece was the fourth, almost certainly because of the common ritual equation of four and eight. See Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ægyptern* (1916), p. 33. At Hermopolis, Thoth (= Hermes) was called *Lord of Eshmun* (the Eight).

[1] Above, p. 437 *sq.*

[2] *Hist.* v. 2, 4.

[3] This refers, of course, to the defeat of Cronus in the Battle of the Giants. See below, p. 471 *sq.*, and compare Plutarch *De Iside* xxxi (above, p. 452).

[4] Cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres,* pp. 112, 184 *sq.*; Hehn, *Siebenzahl u. Sabbat,* p. 120.

[5] II. 16.

[6] See *H.G.f.,* III, 563 *sq.*

[7] See Roscher, *Lex.,* I, 1498 *sq.*; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States,* I, 33.

[8] See *Amos* v. 26 and Harper's commentary, pp. 139–141. The Jews called the planet Saturn *Shabtai,* the "Sabbath-star" (Schürer, *Zeitschr. f. n. T. Wiss.,* VI. 19).

syncretism has produced these resultant gods, and it is not possible for us to disengage the original characters. Yet the mere fact of the apparently irresistible tendency to identify the Baalim with one another and with Cronus argues strongly for an essential similarity of nature. The Baalim were, as we have seen, the Lords of particular territories, peoples, and local shrines. They had, accordingly, their local associations as founders of cities or temples and were the consorts of various goddesses, on whom they begot the peoples who were their worshipers. Though their myths are known to us in but few instances, we may be sure that they were generally worshiped as the creators and lawgivers of their respective peoples. Thus considered, the Baalim present a certain degree of similarity to the Yahweh of the Israelites.[1]

If this were all, however, we should be sorely at a loss to understand how so many of these local gods came to be merged in the single complex of Cronus-Saturn; for certainly other local divinities, identified with Zeus or some other Greek god, possessed these same characteristics. So far as the Semites are concerned, we cannot be greatly surprised to discover a tendency to reduce their gods to a few types, chief among them being that of Cronus; but Cronus-Saturn possessed so great powers of assimilation that it could be said of him that he ruled the whole Western world, the gods of the Celts also being identified with him. In good part it appears to have been the practice of human sacrifice that led to Greco-Roman world to identify the gods, to whom such offerings were made, as Cronus-Saturn, who had already absorbed the Semitic Baalim. Such complexes, however, are not solely the result of rationalistic simplification; though we may no longer follow the process in detail, it is clear that there existed an antecedent basis of comparison, which invited men to make the equation for the most part quite unconsciously.

Human sacrifice, however widely practised, is not commonly resorted to as the ordinary daily offering. It is rather a special means of propitiating the wrath of the gods on particular occasions, when fear and superstition are raised to the pitch of desperation. Whether or not the daily sacrifice antedated the occasional, it seems generally to have been the latter which preserved

[1] There are many other points of agreement. Philo of Byblus (*fr.* 2, § 8) speaks of pillars erected to Wind and Fire and worshiped by the Phœnicians at annual festivals. How closely this conception of the West Semitic Baalim approximates that of Yahweh and Typhon is at once apparent.

the more primitive rites. In an earlier chapter [1] attention was drawn to the prayer of Solomon, purporting to have been made at the dedication of his temple. In it the references to the Sabbaths and the daily offering are a quite late addition, the prayer proper, whatever its date, contemplating services at the temple in circumstances only of exceptional stress. It was in just such circumstances, when pestilence and destruction were abroad, that, according to Philo of Byblus,[2] Cronus in Phœnicia offered his only-begotten son as a whole burnt-offering to his father Uranus. Indeed every pilgrimage festival of the Semites, and generally also of the Greeks, was regarded as such an exceptional period of stress, calling for sacrifices—fortunately not always human.

Now Cronus is for us of exceptional interest because, on the one hand, the conception of him which appears even in quite ancient times in Greek theogonies bears unmistakable evidence of kinship with Semitic and Egyptian conceptions; and, on the other, is quite as certainly related to cult-rites and, in particular, to festivals held at the turn of the year. Fortunately there is no need of considering in detail the complicated questions relating to the Greek theogonies; [3] but it is worth noting that Herodotus,[4] who merely repeated the statement of an Ionian of the sixth century, says that the Orphic Mysteries were derived from Egypt. By Orpheus, in this connection, is meant above all the ancient "Orphic" *Theogony,* which in its essentials may even antedate Homer. Apollonius of Rhodes [5] in his brief summary of the Orphic *Theogony* says that Orpheus "sang how first of all Ophion and Eurynome, daughter of Ocean, held the sway of snowy Olympus, and how through strength of arm one yielded his prerogative to Cronus and the other to Rhea, and how they fell into the waves of Ocean; but the other two meanwhile ruled over the blessed Titan gods." From Origen *Against Celsus* we learn that Pherecydes of Syrus [6] told of a great battle waged between the forces of Cronus and Ophioneus: the vanquished should be cast into Ogenos (Oceanus), the victors should hold heaven. In this battle Cronus and his companions gained the victory. Even if Celsus had

[1] Above, p. 362 *sq.*
[2] *Fr.* 2, § 24; cf. *fr.* 3. 4–5.
[3] See Gruppe, pp. 419 *sq.*, 1112.
[4] ii. 81; cf. ii. 49 about Melampus. With the latter passage cf. Diodor. Sic. i. 97. 4.
[5] *Arg.* i. 503 *sq.*, tr. Seaton.
[6] *Fr.* 4 Diels.

not pointed out the parallel between this myth and those of the battles of the heavenly gods against the Titans and the Giants, of Horus and Osiris against Typhon, we should easily recognize the kinship with them and especially with their oldest Egyptian prototype, which told of the battle between the hosts of Ptah or Rā and Apophis. Apophis, the great serpent, the Satan before Set, sought to stay the course of the Sun-god, Rā; a desperate fight ensued, and at the moment of the New Year the arch-enemy of light was hurled into the sea.[1] Rā held his course in heaven, though still beset at every turn by Apophis and his minions. It is not for naught that Pherecydes identified Cronus with Chronos[2] (Time), whose cycle is defined by the year. The cardinal points of the year, and especially the year's end, are, as we have seen, the times of special stress observed with various rites, originally of a dark and dreadful nature, calculated to maintain the on-going of Time at the "passover," or, more realistically conceived, to insure the life or the resurrection of the threatened or dying Lord of Light.

The myths and festivals of Cronus-Saturn prove beyond a doubt that he was associated with the turn of the year, more particularly with the series of *dies non* at its close. It is not necessary to search far for evidence of this fact. The Roman Saturnalia found their natural place at the winter solstice[3] and the days immediately preceding. This was, to be sure, a relatively late arrangement, but it was obviously made with a full realization of its fitness. If other Cronia[4] and

[1] See above, p. 369, n. 2. Another version is given by Plutarch (*De Iside* xxxvi) more nearly parallel to that of Hesiod (*Theog.* 837 *sq.*), which tells of the battle between Zeus and Typhoeus. Porphyry (*Uit. Pyth.* xli) says Pythagoras called the sea "the tear of Cronus," as Plutarch (*De Iside* xxxii) says the Egyptians called it Set-Typhon or "the spume of Set."

[2] *Fr.* 1 Diels. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States,* I, 24) is not justified in ignoring this datum; for Time is here not viewed at all abstractly. Norden (*Die Geburt des Kindes,* p. 72, n. 3) says that Αἰών-Χρόνος-Κρόνος (Saturn) can hardly be other than Iranian in origin (Zervan). But this also is questionable.

[3] Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 21.

[4] See above, p. 303, n. 1. In Greece we know of Cronia (Athens) on the 12th Hecatombæon (Mommsen, *Feste,* p. 32), and possibly on the 12th Anthesterion (*ibid.*, p. 402). At Rhodes, Cronia were celebrated on the 6th Metageitnion (cf. Porphyry *De abstin.* ii. 54). At Athens a cake was offered to Cronus on the 15th Elaphebolion (v. Prott, pp. 8 and 12). Dionysius Hal. (*Ant.* i. 38. 2 *sq.*) mentions a rite held at Rome on the Ides (15th) of May. The month is probably wrong; presumably it was March: hence the superstitious fear of the Ides of March, when Cæsar was slain—perhaps as a "Saturnalian King." It will be recalled that Cæsar had refused the crown and title of King just one month earlier, on the 15th February. See v. Prott,

Saturnalia appear to show no such relation, we may be sure that it is our ignorance of the calendars by which the festivals were fixed that obscures the fact; for the myth of the Golden Age, which coincided with the beginnings of mankind [1] and was expected to return and renew the age of innocence of the race, is connected with the reign of Cronus-Saturn, who ruled in the brief interregnum of the Saturnalia. Any consideration of the myth must show that it relates to a period, such as the Egyptian epact, consisting of a series of *dies non,* and coinciding with the end of the year and of longer cycles, which in turn consist of a number of years. In keeping with this fact is the recognized association of Saturn with Janus.[2] In an earlier chapter [3] attention was drawn to the circumstance that the rites of the scapegoat, including those of the Saturnalian King, who ruled during a brief interregnum of varying length, are regularly connected with the turn of the year; and again it was pointed out that the human sacrifices, which the Hebrews described as "passing over" to Melek, were certainly passover or New Year rites.[4] In view of what we have elsewhere in this treatise brought out, it seems idle to press this matter further.

We have now to ask regarding the day of Cronus-Saturn and the numbers sacred in his cultus. As we should expect, seeing the conflate character of this strange complex, the indications are not uniform. In Rome, under the Empire, the festival of the Saturnalia grew to a considerable length. Macrobius [5] says that anciently the Romans observed the Saturnalia for but a single day, the 17th December, the date, with a different designation, being kept even after Julius Cæsar added two days to the month. He adds that some through ignorance (?) kept the festival on one of the days inserted [6] by Cæsar, while others held to the old date, so that several days came to be observed.

p. 12. As to the rites of the Cronia, see Macrob. *Sat.* i. 7; i. 10. They were very like those of the Hebrew pilgrimages.

[1] See Abel, *Orphica, fr.* 243; in *fr.* 244, however, Cronus is said to have ruled over the Silvern Race. When Cronus received the surname Prometheus (Gruppe, p. 449, n. 5; p. 1491, n. 4), we may presume that it was because he was regarded as the creator of man.

[2] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 7 *sq.,* esp. 9. Cf. Philo Bybl., *fr.* 2, § 16 (III, 569) for the eyes of Cronus, two in front and two behind. Lydus (*De mens.* vi. 1) identifies Janus with Αἰών, and dates the festival of Αἰών on the 5th January.

[3] Above, p. 315 *sq.*

[4] See above, p. 92, n. 3.

[5] *Sat.* i. 10.

[6] These may temporarily have been regarded as epagomenal. We do not know where they were inserted, but it must have been near the end of the month.

He mentions terms of three[1] and seven days, the latter on ancient authority. As the Jews added an *'azeret* to their hebdomadal festivals, Suetonius[2] reports that Caligula added an eighth day to the Saturnalia. It will be seen that these data conform quite fully to those which are disclosed by the later Hebrew tradition about the pilgrimage festivals of the Israelites. When one remembers that the seventh day of the astrological week was assigned to Cronus-Saturn and identified with the Jewish Sabbath as the seventh day, which was likewise reckoned as the third, one recognizes the reason for the triduan and hebdomadal festivals to Cronus-Saturn. The same ritual schemes were followed in both cases, though the inadequacy of our sources makes it impossible for us to explain the agreement.

This showing, however, is not complete. It will be recalled that in discussing the human sacrifices of the Saturnalian King we had occasion to note the frequent recurrence of sixth days, just as our reconstruction of the older Israelitish festival calendar brought out the sacredness of the sixth day among the Hebrews and its equation with the second. It is not difficult to show that the sixth day in the cultus of Cronus must have had the same associations as the days of the Baalim and the day of Yahweh, revealed by the Hebrew prophets. We mentioned above the tale of Pherecydes about the battle between Cronus and Ophioneus. That particular version makes of Cronus a representative of the powers of light, rather than a foe of the heavenly gods. This trait goes far toward showing that we are here dealing with a Phœnician myth, because we find a similar situation in the theogony of the Phœnicians given by Philo of Byblus.[3] Difficult as this apparent confusion is, it can readily be matched by parallel phenomena among the Semites and in Egypt, where one and the same divinity is both a Sun-god and lord of the underworld.[4]

[1] See above, p. 405 *sq.* The Secular Festival at Rome, for which Horace wrote the *Carmen sæculare*, lasted three days. It was clearly felt as marking the *Saturnia regna*. Saturnalia of five days are likewise reported, and one thinks at once of the five-day Sacæa.

[2] *Caligula* xvii.

[3] Cronus drives Uranus from the throne. Cronus is called El by the Phœnicians, and has a son likewise called Cronus; the allies of El are called Elohim.

[4] One may illustrate this point in various ways. The planet Saturn (Cronus), which belonged to Nergal, god of the dead, is called by the Babylonians "the star of Helius:" as such it is of course connected with the sun and its career. The *natalis Solis* was celebrated at New Year, a sixth day, as was the γενέθλια Αἰῶνος; but New Year's day is the birthday of Time. Al-Biruni,

Cronus even in Greek mythology presents the same character; for he is both the good god of the Golden Age and the enemy of Zeus, cast into the underworld. It would lead us too far afield to enter into this extremely complicated problem, which it will here suffice merely to mention. Of more importance is the fact that Greek myths and theogonies make Cronus the son of Uranus and Ge, and thus a brother to the Giants and Titans. The battles of the Olympian gods with the Giants and Titans are the contests of Zeus with the brethren and associates of Cronus.[1] Though this is not clearly brought out in the Hesiodic *Theogony*, there can be no doubt that other theogonies made it perfectly clear, and represented Cronus as engaged in combat with Zeus. Hesiod does indeed say that Cronus was the leader[2] of his brethren against Uranos, and that Zeus overcame by might[3] his father Cronus; but we must look elsewhere for light on the latter event. The brief Orphic theogony of Apollonius of Rhodes[4] calls Cronus King of the Titans; and the battle between him and Zeus was clearly that of the Titans or the Giants, which are variants of the same motive, though presumably of different origin. All these tales of the war in heaven are related, whether they refer to Rā and Apophis, to Osiris or Horus and Set, to Cronus and Ophioneus, or Cronus and Ophion, or to Zeus and the Titans or Giants. The battles are those between the powers of darkness and the Lord of Light at the cardinal points of the latter's course. One may show this even more plainly by reference to local myths of which we happen to have knowledge. On the Hill of Cronus at Olympia, as we learn from Pausanias,[5] the so-called Basilæ offered a sacrifice to Cronus at the vernal equinox; there can be no doubt that this offering was connected with the event to which some traced the origin of the Olympic games,

p. 201, says: "On this [Naurôz, the Persian New Year] God created Saturn, therefore its most lucky hours are those of Saturn." But New Year's day was the birthday of Osiris also, who was both Sun-god and god of the underworld. As Osiris was judge of the dead, sitting in the region of the 6th hour of the night, so Cronus also was judge of the dead and lord of the Isle of the Blest. See Pindar *O.* ii. 70, and Rohde, *Psyche*, 1, 105. With this I should connect Solon, *fr.* 24. 3, ed. Diehl, where, if χρόνου (rather than Κρόνου) is to be read, it should be capitalized and taken as = Κρόνου. Cronus is equivalent to Zervan, and the Judgment comes at the passover of the times, at New Year (cf. the Day of Atonement, etc.).

[1] Apollonius Rh. *Arg.* i. 506.

[2] *Theog.* 167 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 73.

[4] *Arg.* i. 507.

[5] vi. 20. 1; cf. Cornford, in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, p. 252 *sq.*

which are continually spoken of as held at the Hill of Cronus; for Pausanias [1] says that on that hill Cronus and Zeus wrestled. From this account one might infer that it was a friendly bout; but the time when the offering was made disproves this suggestion. If we consider other myths regarding the Hill of Cronus, all doubt about the true reference disappears. Two such are preserved in the treatise *About Rivers* falsely attributed to Plutarch. The first [2] reports that "after the Battle of the Giants Cronus, seeking to avoid the threats of Zeus, fled to the crest of Boreas' Bed, and was metamorphosed into a crocodile and so escaped detection. Prometheus, cutting open a shepherd of the country,[3] Caucasus by name, and noting the condition of his vitals, said that their enemies were not far off; and Zeus, appearing on the scene, bound his father with plaited wool and cast him into Tartarus. The mountain was renamed Caucasus in honor of the shepherd." Our authority here apparently omits one christening of the mountain with the name of Cronus; for in another passage of the same treatise [4] we read: "Near by [the Alpheus] stands a mountain, called the Cronium [Mount Cronius] for the following reason. After the Battle of the Giants Cronus, seeking to avoid the threats of Zeus, came to Mount Cturus, whose name he changed to Cronius after his own; there escaping detection for a little while, and seizing his opportunity, he crossed over to Caucasus in Scythia." The two tales obviously belong together. In the first, the Cronus who changed into a crocodile is apparently the Egyptian Set,[5] to whom that animal was sacred; in the second it is clearly the Cronus who wrestled with Zeus, according to the myth told by Pausanias, on that very Hill of Cronus at Olympia beside the Alpheus. Cronus evidently was thought to have made good his escape after his wrestling-bout with Zeus, unless we have here a quite different version. In any case, the battle between these gods, whether by the banks of the Alpheus or on the Caucasus, is a part and sequel of the Battle of the Giants.

This battle, as we have seen, was thought at Olympia to have been

[1] viii. 2. 2.

[2] v. 3.

[3] Note the human sacrifice. It is noteworthy that the Titan Prometheus is here represented as associated with Cronus, not—as in Æschylus—as siding with Zeus.

[4] xix. 3.

[5] The story has details, such as the binding of Cronus with woolen cords, which suggest a local myth connected with rites.

fought at the vernal equinox, one of the turning points of the year and frequently the beginning of the calendar year. In earlier chapters we drew attention to the general observance of great battles on the sixth days [1] and brought out the fact that the Battle of the Giants ended on the sixth day.[2] This was true not only of the traditions regarding the Day of Yahweh and Armageddon,[3] but also of the Greek, more particularly Athenian, commemorations. To the evidence elsewhere adduced we may now add another. Athenian legend [4] accounted for the presence of Mount Lycabettus by saying that Athena, bringing it to fortify the Acropolis, dropped it when she learned from a crow that the daughters of Cecrops had peered into the *cista mystica* which contained the infant Erichthonius. Athena had been abroad, and came from Pallene or Pellene. This locality was later sought in various places, it being identified as the Pallene of Attica, the Pellene of Achæa, and the Pallene or Pellene of Thrace; but regarding the original intention there can be no doubt. The Pallene to which Athena had withdrawn was of course that in Thrace,[5] where the Battle of the Giants was fought; [6] for the day of her return, that on which the battle was ended, was the nefast day of the Athenian Plynteria, which was, as we have elsewhere pointed out,[7] the sixth (or second) from the end of Thargelion. One surmises that the great rock was one of those hurled in the battle, perhaps by the Titan or Giant Pallas; for Athena was thought to derive her name Pallenis, and probably her name Pallas, from her connection with Pallene and Pallas, who would have forced her, but was flayed by her. Thus the Battle of the Giants, whose chief was Cronus, is securely linked with the sixth day. That this was a New Year's day, following a five-day epact, is as certain as may be. In Greece, however, the New Year's day played a very inconspicuous part, and the epagomenal days were quite ignored; we are therefore referred for the origin of this strange complex to other lands, but will do well to ignore the ques-

[1] Above, p. 368 *sq.*
[2] P. 368, n. 2.
[3] P. 427.
[4] See Mommsen, *Feste,* p. 498, n. 1 where the references are collected and discussed. He does not see the connection with the Battle of the Giants.
[5] Unless each Pallene or Pellene had its legendary association with the same event, in which not only Pallas Athena but also the Giant Pallas took part (Apollodorus *Bibl.* i. 6. 2).
[6] See Gruppe, p. 437.
[7] P. 289 *sq.*; p. 306 *sq.*

tion, which inevitably arises, regarding the proximate or ultimate sources of these myths.[1]

If Cronus is thus associated with the number six, we cannot be at all surprised: this is rather just what we should have expected. That the throne of Yahweh was guarded by the Seraphim, which had six wings,[2] we know; in Greece such figures surrounding the chief *sacrum* are generally known as "attributes," and are often the relics of older forms of the god. It is therefore of especial interest to read in Philo of Byblus[3] that the Phœnician Cronus had six wings, two on his head, and four on the shoulders. Of the so-called "hundred"-handed associates of Cronus, and the "hundred"-headed Typhoeus, we shall speak presently in discussing Apollo and Hecate. Attention was directed above to the fact that Set, who appears in many ways to be identified with Cronus, was the sixth divine king in certain versions of the Egyptian myths, as Cronus was the second in the succession of Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus. Alongside the six-winged Cronus stands the related figure of the two-headed Janus, to whom, as to Yahweh, "the going-out and the coming-in" of all dwellings were sacred. One and all are passover-gods, and have the associations of the passovers.[4] Among the Phœnicians there was of course not wanting the reference to the sacred number seven;[5] but it was apparently not important.

[1] One detail of the stories about Cronus in the treatise *About Rivers* (above, p. 472 *sq.*) deserves special notice, because it seems to prove that they are true myths and connected with a definite scheme. Both on Caucasus and on the Hill of Cronus the god enjoys a brief respite before he is overcome and cast into Tartarus. One cannot help thinking of the "Sabbath of the world" and "the silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." See above, pp. 416 *sq.*, 425 *sq.*

[2] *Isa.* VI. 2; *Rev.* IV. 8. See below, p. 525 *sq.*

[3] *Fr.* 2, § 26.

[4] One may here recall the fact that Cronus-Saturn, generally shackled, had (like prisoners) his fetters loosed at his festival (see Roscher, *Lex., s. v. "Kronus,"* col. 1467, and Macrob. *Sat.* i. 8. 5). So, too, Set was released by Isis when he was worsted by Horus, and Satan also shall be released for a little while (*Rev.* XX, 3), as Mastema was released at the Egyptian passovers.

[5] Philo Bybl. *fr.* 2, § 20. Cronus had by Astarte seven daughters, Titanesses or Artemises, and by Rhea seven sons, the youngest of whom was hallowed at birth. In *fr.* 2, § 27, Sedek the Just (cf. Melchisedek) had seven sons, the Cabiri, and Asclepius (related to Eshmun) was the eighth. Asclepius, as the son of Apollo, would likewise be naturally regarded as born on the eighth day. In other rites he was the fourth, and the fourth day was sacred to him. As for Astarte, with whom Cronus was certainly worshiped by the Phœnicians, her connection with the second and sixth days is too clearly proved by the rites

III

Dionysus, though comparatively a newcomer in Greece, enjoyed there in fact a triumphal progress not unlike that which according to legend he made through Asia to India. In Hellenistic times especially he was held in high honor as—along with Heracles—the reputed ancestor and patron of several important dynasties. He was invoked particularly by the Ptolemies and had long before [1] been identified with Osiris, who like him had conquered the Eastern world. To our knowledge he was identified with a score of deities; and in order to appreciate the significance of his cultus it will suffice to mention some of the more important—Zeus, Adonis, Attis, Tammuz, Ares, Eros, Harpocrates, Apollo, Priapus, Sabazius, and the gods of the Arabians, Dusares and Orotalt (Obotal). Another indication of his associations lies in the long list of gods and goddesses in conjunction with whom he was worshiped. Gruppe mentions a dozen names, but his list might be considerably enlarged. It is obvious that Dionysus found his way into a large number of Mystery-cults, displacing and absorbing many local gods and Heroes; but it is significant that he was received in the company of the Cabiri, Demeter, and Hermes, no less than of Apollo, Helius, Asclepius, Aphrodite, and Artemis. Many of these gods and goddesses were of Oriental origin or had at least from early times established connections with the Orient.

One is apt to think of Dionysus solely as the god of the vine and the giver of the enthusiasm and exaltation of spirit which the use of wine imparts; but even a superficial survey of his functions and of the acts imputed to him in myths reflecting his cultus must show that he was in fact a god for all needs and for all occasions. Whatever his origin, he came to be fitted to be all in all to his worshipers. In this respect he did not differ from the Baalim. A coin of Tarsus [2] shows the Baal of Tarsus figured not unlike Zeus, holding in his right hand a scepter on which perches an eagle, and in his left a head of wheat and a cluster of grapes. He was not only, like Zeus, the supreme ruler of his people, but also the giver of corn and wine; and to him, as to Yahweh, the first-fruits of their increase were doubtless offered. However unfathomable may be the depths from

of Artemis, Hecate, and Asiatic Aphrodite to require more discussion. For Cronus and the number three, see Gruppe, p. 428, n. 4.

[1] Herod. ii. 42.

[2] See Roscher, *Lex.*, 1, 2867 *sq.*

which religion issues, the elementary needs of man which it endeavors to answer are relatively few and simple and are everywhere the same. This fact more than any other explains the growing tendency, as the eye surveys a larger number of cult-groups, to recognize at most a limited number of gods. As for Dionysus, once his Mysteries found acceptance in numberless communities, it was inevitable that he should be identified with the local gods, though we may well believe that in the process he gave as much as he received.

It is well known that in the Greco-Roman world Dionysus was frequently identified with Yahweh, the god of the Jews.[1] The most explicit and detailed statement on this head we owe to Plutarch.[2] After discussing the reasons for the taboo on swine among the Jews[3] and asserting that their god is identical with Adonis, he refers to the fact that the latter was slain by a boar, and adds that many ritual acts performed at their festivals confirm the view that Adonis and Dionysus are the same. The question being thus raised, who is the god of the Jews, Symmachus, one of the interlocutors, asks Lamprias, who has recited the foregoing account, whether he would father Dionysus, the god of the bacchanalian rout, upon the Mysteries of the Hebrews. Is there, he asks, really good reason for identifying Yahweh-Adonis with Dionysus? At this point Mœragenes interposes, volunteering as an Athenian, if it be desired, to show that there is. The greater part of the evidence, he says, may be told to those only who have been initiated in the trieteric Mysteries at Athens; but so much as one may divulge among friends, especially over their cups, the gift of the god, he is willing to relate to the company. At their urgent request he continues: "In the first place, both the time[4] and the character of the greatest and most mystic festival of the Jews are alike proper to Dionysus; for when they celebrate their so-called Fast at the height of the vintage, they set

[1] Some of the references are given by Gruppe, p. 1603, n. 4; more completely by Reinach who says (*Textes*, p. 147, n. 1) that one could not have thought of a more unhappy comparison. See also, *J. Enc.*, IV, 608 *sq.*

[2] *Qu. conuiu.* iv. 5–6.

[3] If the Jews controlled Palestine, as is generally supposed, and the taboo on swine was absolute, how is one to account for the incident in the life of Jesus (*Mark* v. 1 *sq.* and parallels)?

[4] The time of a festival is always important, as we have seen; but Plutarch, like Frazer and many other modern students of religious observances, is apparently thinking only of the relation to the seasons, here of the vintage.

out tables furnished with all sorts of fruits under booths [1] and arbors woven especially of vines and ivy, and the day before the feast they call the Booth-day. A few days later also they celebrate another festival, not obscurely, but expressly, called a festival of Bacchus. They have moreover a festival observed with carrying fig-branches [or wine-bowls?] and thyrsi, when they enter the temple with thyrsi in their hands. What they do after entering we do not know; but it is to be presumed that it is a bacchanalian revel.[2] This is borne out by the fact that in calling up [3] their god they use little trumpets, as the Argives do at their Dionysia. Others, whom they call Levites—whether they derive their name from Lysius or Euius—approach playing the cithara. And I fancy that their festival of the Sabbath is not altogether unrelated to Dionysus; for even now many call the Bacchi by the name of Sabboi, and that is the cry they utter when they perform their orgies to the god. Confirmation of this may be had also from Demosthenes and Menander: one may say that the name is not inappropriate in view of the excitement [4] which seizes the bacchants. The Jews themselves confirm this view when they 'honor the Sabbath,' [5] exhorting each other chiefly to drink [wine] and become intoxicated, and if there be any major obstacle, at least tasting unmixed wine as a ritual act.[6] This one would say was to be expected. Those who controvert this view are refuted to the best of his ability

[1] Booths were used in many rites. Here we may refer to the fact that booths were used by the Phœnicians in certain festivals (cf. Philo Bybl., *fr.* 2, § 8), and that in the various myths (later taken up seriously by philosophers) booths were regarded as the first shelters of man.

[2] Was there not something of this sort at every Canaanitish pilgrimage? The Jews regarded the introduction of such practices into the temple as a terrible desecration (II *Macc.* VI. 1–8).

[3] The expression ἀνακαλούμενοι here means (not invoking, but) calling the god up from the underworld; cf. Plutarch *De Iside* XXXV: ἀνακαλοῦνται αὐτὸν (Dionysus at Argos) ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὕδατος, and *ibid.*, 365 A, for the evoking of Liknites at Delphi, and Pausan. i. 43. 2, for the rock *Anaclethra* at Megara, where Demeter recalled Persephone from the underworld. This shows how an intelligent Greek regarded the Hebrew festivals: to Plutarch they resembled the rite of the women weeping for Tammuz (*Ezek.* XIII. 14).

[4] σόβησις.

[5] A technical term which occurs many times in the Talmud.

[6] He refers to the *Kiddush,* which is accompanied with the benediction, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, King of the world, the Creator of the fruit of the vine." The Talmud prescribes the drinking of wine even at a great sacrifice, though it provides for the use of substitutes in case of necessity. American prohibition officers are well aware of the Jews' insistence on sacramental wine.

by the high priest, who goes forth at their festivals wearing the miter and clothed in a fawn-skin [1] wrought with gold and in a chiton flowing to his feet, his feet being shod with cothurni. From his robe hang many bells which strike as he walks, as with us. At their vigils they make noises, and the nurses of the god they call 'Brass-Rattlers'; wherefore there are displayed opposite the doors of the temple a sculptured thyrsus and tambours; for these attributes belong to no other god but Dionysus. Moreover they do not offer honey [2] in their rites, because it is thought to spoil wine when mixed with it, and because this and mead were the libations offered before the vine was discovered. Even now those of the Barbarians who do not make wine drink honey-mead, tempering its sweetness with vinous and bitter roots; Greeks too make offerings of the same in wineless oblations and honey-libations, supposing honey to have a nature contrary to wine. That this is their belief there is good evidence in the fact that, though they [the Jews] impose many penalties, one is held in greatest disrepute among them—that which prohibits the use of wine to those who are doing penance for so long a time as the authorities who impose it may direct. Those who are thus punished . . ."

Whatever one may think of Plutarch's suggestion, the Greek cannot be charged with gross ignorance: even where his statements seem inconsistent with what we learn from other sources, he may be quite right in a way. We are prone to forget that there were Jews and Jews—not only the orthodox, who are chiefly represented by the Talmud. Plutarch had evidently not attended a service in the synagogue, and the temple at Jerusalem no longer existed; but he (or his authority) was certainly quite intimately acquainted with Jews, some of whom may have been forcibly converted Idumæans. We are not, however, concerned either to justify or to refute Plutarch, because we know that identification of gods was then the fashion and signified much or little according as the points of resemblance were many or few. How much similarity there was between the rites of Yahweh and those of Dionysus we may be better able to judge when we shall have completed our survey; but we cannot help regretting that the convivial occasion and the obligation of secrecy regarding the Mys-

[1] What this suggested to Plutarch may be inferred from *De Iside* xxxv, where the rites of Dionysus are compared with those of Osiris and Apis.

[2] Among the Hebrews, honey was a food of the fast; see above, p. 155 *sq.*

teries of Dionysus kept Plutarch from entering into more, and more significant, details.

Plutarch, as we see, decided in favor of identifying Yahweh and Dionysus: Tacitus, however, though aware that many shared this view, rejected it, yet in a manner which can hardly have given the Jews much comfort. "Because their priests," he says,[1] "performed in concert on pipe and tambours, garlanded themselves with ivy, and a golden vine[2] was found in their temple, some have thought that they worship Liber Pater [Bacchus], the conqueror of the Orient, though the rites are not at all alike. Bacchus instituted festive and happy rites, whereas the ritual practice of the Jews is stupid and mean." But there was much in the cultus of Dionysus that was neither festive and happy nor concerned with the drinking of wine, and not all the ritual practice of the Jews was stupidly superstitious and mean.

Those who have criticized the statements of Plutarch have addressed themselves chiefly to his reference to the drinking of wine on the Sabbath and to his description of the great Fast of the Jews. We may dismiss the latter point without further comment, referring to our discussion in an earlier chapter.[3] As regards the use of wine, Plutarch's remarks seem to be quite true, but they are unfortunately neither discriminating nor exhaustive. He can hardly be blamed, however, for failing to bring out distinctions which he either did not recognize or believed to hold only for Dionysus. It requires knowledge not always obtainable to justify the making of a comparison which may seem quite plausible even at the first view. Whether wine was anciently used in the cultus of Yahweh is uncertain, but that it was received from the time of the exile is beyond question. The evidence of the Old Testament is susceptible of different interpretations. It is sometimes said that wine was admitted only after the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, since the nomads of the desert would not possess it. The mention of water-libations to Yahweh is then pointed to as a relic of very ancient heritage. The intro-

[1] *Hist.* v. 5.

[2] Cf. Josephus *Ant.* xv. 11. 3; *B.I.* v. 5. 4; *Mishnah, Middoth,* III, 8. Cf. the golden vine presented by Aristobulus to Pompey (Josephus *Ant.* xiv. 3. 1; Pliny *N.H.,* XXXVII. 12) and dedicated at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, who likewise was identified with Yahweh. His triumph over the Giants was celebrated on New Year's day.

[3] Above, p. 236 *sq.*

duction of wine-libations and the ritual drinking of wine might therefore be due to the influence of a cult not unlike that of Dionysus. But there are grave objections to this view. First of all, Dionysus, as we have already remarked, was identified with Dusares[1] and Obotal, gods of the Arabians. Though some Arabians led an agricultural life, the Arabians in question were at least in part nomads; and though Dionysus was not exclusively a god of wine, it is hardly conceivable that he would have been identified with gods who did not admit the use of wine in their cultus. Trade is very ancient, and wine may be obtained for ritual purposes by purchase. From comparatively early times the Israelities were a trading rather than an agricultural people. These considerations suggest that we look rather to the requirements of the cults than to the mode of life of the worshipers for light on the presence or absence of wine in the service of the gods.[2] It is known that even Dionysus, the god of wine, received wineless offerings.[3]

We pointed out in an earlier chapter that the tradition of Israel's life in the wilderness reflected the usages of the pilgrimage fasts. "I have led you forty years in the wilderness . . . Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink; that ye may know that I am Yahweh your God."[4] The Rechabites dwelling in tents, like Israel during the pilgrimage-fasts, of course abstained from wine: they are cited as models of ascetic devotion. The typical prophets, who like the Nazirites from the womb were "raised up" by Yahweh, drank neither wine nor strong drink, their fare being the pure food of the fast; for, like John the Baptist, the last of the prophets, they were forerunners preparing the way for the coming of Messiah, wherefore they were in the later times associated with the sixth days, the parasceves of the Sabbath. They denounced the false prophets who bade Israel drink wine, as if the Messiah had already come. Wine is proper, not to the fast and the parasceve, but

[1] Epiphanius (*Panar.* li. 22) dates the celebration of the birth of Dusares on Epiphany (5th/6th January). Pliny (*N.H.* ii. 231) dates the festival of Dionysus on Andros the same day. There is a wine-miracle, as there was at the marriage of Cana, which is commemorated in the Church at Epiphany. The date was a New Year's day, as Boll has shown.

[2] From *Levit.* x. 9, where Aaron and his sons (i.e., the priests) are forbidden on pain of death to drink wine or strong drink when they enter the tent of meeting, Lydus (*De mens.* iv. 53, p. 111. 7 *sq.* Wünsch) infers that Yahweh cannot be Dionysus.

[3] Plutarch *De sanitate* 132 F; *Schol.* on Soph. *Œ. C.* 100.

[4] *Deut.* xxix. 5–6.

to the last day and the post-festal Hilaria. When the bridegroom is taken away, then shall the sons of the bride-chamber fast; when the Lord returns, he finds his servants eating and drinking in a vigil.[1] Hence the parasceve is a fast-day; the Sabbath, when Messiah is expected, is for the drinking of wine.[2] It will presently be seen how closely parallel the ritual schemes of Dionysus are to those of Yahweh.

We cannot, of course, in the brief space which may here be given to this subject, discuss at length the various data regarding the rites of Dionysus; but it is desirable to present the pertinent facts. In order to estimate their significance one must bear in mind that, despite the number of data, they are quite inadequate to give a picture in all respects clear; for many consist merely of notes in lists of sacrifices, giving at most a date without any hint of the associations. In view of the large number of gods and rites that admitted Dionysus to participate in their honors,[3] we cannot be surprised to find that Dionysus received sacrifices on days almost as numerous as Zeus. We will mention first the days of the month which occur but rarely:—the 9th,[4]

[1] Cf. *Luke* xii. 37.

[2] In the cultus of Dionysus also, the drinking of wine is chiefly connected with the god's epiphany.

[3] A good illustration of such associated cults is to be found in an inscription from Epidaurus (Ziehen, No. 54) where mention is made of sacrifices to Apollo and Asclepius together with the gods and goddesses who shared their temples.

[4] v. Prott, No. 5, l. 58, a pig and a kid. In Ziehen, No. 46, we have the constitution of a society of Iobacchi, who meet regularly for a sacral meal on the 9th of every month and on New Year's days (see below, p. 489, n. 7). It is not improbable that this rite of the 9th days is to be connected with the ἔνατα (Rohde, *Psyche,* i, 232); for the society was largely concerned with assuring proper burial rites for its members. The 9th day in turn is connected with birth in the 9th month; for birth is the resurrection or return of the soul. Cf. Demeter seeking her daughter 9 days, etc. Schmidt (*Geburtstag im Altertum,* p. 105 *sq.*) emphasizes the importance of the 9th day in the cultus of Dionysus. Whether the procession from Eleutheræ to Athens at the beginning of the City Dionysia was held on that day, as has been inferred, is uncertain. As the 9th day was sacred also to Helius (Schmidt, *op. cit.,* p. 105), we cannot tell, because of the identification of Dionysus and Helius, to whom it originally belonged. One must recall the prominence of the *ennaeteris* in the cultus of Apollo, and the fact that at Delphi 9 months were supposed to belong to Apollo, the remaining three to Dionysus. During the former the glad pæan was sung, during the latter the doleful dithyramb (Plutarch *De E ap. Delph.* ix). The three winter months were devoted, apparently, to the dead Dionysus, who was buried there. Theocritus (xxvi. 5 *sq.*) tells of 12 altars

10th,[1] 16th,[2] 18th,[3] 19th,[4] 22d,[5] 25th,[6] and 30th,[7] to which we may add the 11th [8] as one on which an offering was made to Semele.

More significant are the data regarding the great Dionysiac festivals. At Athens the most ancient of these was the Anthesteria,[9] which fell on the 11th, 12th, and 13th Anthesterion. There are several vexed questions regarding the Anthesteria, which we may discuss more at length at another time, but will now pass over. The important fact—and about this there is no doubt—is that the 12th was the fast-day, as we should have expected;[10] whether its specific name

erected by the daughters of Cadmus—9 to Dionysus, 3 to Semele, doubtless as a dead Heroine.

[1] v. Prott, No. 4, l. 26: a sacrifice at Myconus to Dionysus Baccheus on the 10th Bacchion (= Attic Elaphebolion?). Contemporaneously the City Dionysia were in progress at Athens. Ziehen, No. 46, l. 120: the Iobacchi at Athens offer a sacrifice on the 10th Elaphebolion. See below, p. 489, n. 7.

[2] Ziehen, No. 133, l. 7 *sq.*: sale of the office of priestess of Dionysus Thyllophorus at Cos on the 16th Batromius. She is obviously a virgin and serves for life. See below, p. 487 *sq.*

[3] v. Prott, No. 3, l. 7 *sq.*: a vintage-offering to Dionysus and the other gods on the 18th Boëdromion at Athens. The date falls within the term of the Eleusinia, but before the great ceremonies of initiation.

[4] v. Prott, No. 3, l. 21: the images of Dionysus are crowned with ivy on the 19th Gamelion at Athens. Why this was done is not known.

[5] v. Prott, No. 24, a Rhodian inscription of the third century B.C. appoints the sacrifice of a kid.

[6] On Cos, v. Prott, No. 5, l. 62 *sq.*: a pig (and a kid?) to Dionysus Scyllites on the 6th from the end of the month Batromius (in the Spring?). See Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 305 *sq.*

[7] v. Prott, No. 25: a festival to the god (Dionysus?) on the 30th Lous.

[8] v. Prott, No. 4, l. 22 *sq.*: an inscription of Myconus.

[9] For the data regarding the Anthesteria, the City Dionysia, and the Lenæa, see Mommsen, *Feste,* pp. 384 *sq.*, 428 *sq.*, 372 *sq.*

[10] See above, p. 302, n. 1. The prominence of the 12th is very marked. At Myconus on the 12th Lenæon, there were sacrifices, beside those to Dionysus, to Zeus Chthonius and Gē Chthonia. In the Lenæa the day of Dionysus *par excellence* was the 12th, a *dies nefastus.* Whether it was specifically a festival of the wine-press and wine-vat, or of the λῆναι, is uncertain: probably it was regarded as both. Heraclitus (*fr.* 15 Diels) had this day especially in mind when he identified Dionysus with Hades. Is it possible that it was the Semitic "Dionysus" who "trod the wine-press alone" (*Isa.* LXIII. 3)? If so, one can understand the prophet's train of thought and why it was supposed to have a Messianic reference (see *Rev.* XIX. 13–16), suggesting the day of the wrath of God, to be followed by the day of salvation. It is worth noting that Philonides (cf. Athenæus 675 B) identified Dionysus with Agathos Daimon, to whom (as to the Heroes and the Chthonians) the second cup of (unmixed) wine was offered at the Greek symposium; cf. also Diodor. Sic. iv. 3, 4. Rohde (*Psyche,* I, 254 *sq.*) rightly emphasizes the chthonian character of Agathos Daimon, to whom, except when identified with the *Genius* of the Romans (see Rohde, *op. cit.,* II, 317), the only days to our knowledge held sacred were

was Choës or Chytroi, we may at present leave an open question. Here we have a typical triduum (the second day of which is nefast) occupying the first, second, and third days of the middle decad of the month. Furthermore it cannot be doubted that the other two Dionysiac festivals occupied the same days; the City Dionysia in Elaphebolion, the Lenæa in Gamelion, though it is possible that in course of time the program for the presentation of dithyrambs and dramas on these latter occasions required a somewhat longer term. If this was the case, however, we have no certain evidence of it. The 12th was regularly a fast-day. Elsewhere than at Athens we find sacrifices to Dionysus: at Cos, on the 12th Artemisius; at Myconus, on the 12th Lenæon; in Messenia on the 12th Mnaster and the 12th Agrianius; and there appears to be no doubt that the 12th was in each case a nefast day.[1] From this circumstance we may with practical certainty conclude that the festivals to which these rites belonged were triduan, at least originally. Such triduan rites, in which the second day was nefast, are not difficult to explain, when we recall that Dionysus was a Mystery-god, who, like all others known to us, experienced the saving passion of death and resurrection.

In Greece, as we have before remarked, triduan Mystery-rites were the rule; but there are instances also of hebdomadal Mystery-rites,[2] in which the sixth day was nefast. In the present state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, it were vain to venture an opinion regarding the provenience of the latter form, beyond suggesting the probability that it came from the East. It is a matter of no little interest, in view of the ancient identification of Yahweh with Dionysus, to note that the latter god also had his associations with the seventh day. We should have guessed this from the fact of Dionysus being identified with Apollo,[3] to whom, as everyone knows, the

the 6th Prostaterius (= Attic Anthesterion) in Bœotia (Plutarch *Qu. symp.* 655 E), and the 2d of the month (Suidas and Hesychius, *s. vv.*). Suidas says he had a heroön at Thebes. These facts, as well as the evidence that the festival was anciently devoted to Cronus (see Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 402), lead one to question whether Plutarch (*loc. cit.*) was right in dating the Pithœgia on the 11th Anthesterion. This may have been true of the later time, but it seems not improbable that the day was originally identical with the Choës (12th). The Orphics, who identified Phanes with Dionysus, made Phanes the 1st and Dionysus the 6th ruler of the world, and emphasized the importance of the number 12; cf. Rohde, *op. cit.*, II, 120, n. 1.

[1] For the data see Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 258 *sq.*, and *A.R.*, XIV, 441.

[2] Cf. below, p. 487, n. 3.

[3] That is, with Apollo as Helius (cf. Gruppe, p. 1240, n. 3); furthermore

seventh days were sacred; but we have the direct evidence of an inscription that, as Apollo bore the names of Hebdomeios and Hebdomagetes, so Dionysus was called Hebdomeus,[1] "Dionysus of the Seventh Day." Dionysus was in particular identified with Apollo Smintheus,[2] the god of the field-mouse, who can hardly be dissociated from the Yahweh of the ark of the covenant.[3] When the ark was returned by the Philistines, the cows which drew the cart went straight to Beth-Shemesh,[4] where there must have been a shrine of Shamash, god of the Sun. Both Apollo and Dionysus were identified with Helius; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Israelites who worshiped the Queen of Heaven associated her with Yahweh as god of the Sun. We shall presently discover also that Canaanites, including Jews, were supposed to identify Yahweh directly with Apollo. But this is not all. It is known that Dionysus was identified with Sabazius or Sabad(d)ius,[5] whose name was in the Greco-Roman world understood to be connected both with the Sabbath and with Sabaoth;[6] and Sabazius in turn was identified with Yahweh.[7] Well might Plutarch say that the Sabbath was not alien to Dionysus. When we recall that Dionysus was assimilated to Melkart, the Baal of Tyre, and identified with Obotal, the god of the Arabians, there

the ivy was sacred not only to Dionysus, but also to Apollo, and the laurel not only to Apollo, but also to Dionysus. See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 79 *sq.*

[1] *C.i.G.*, XII [2], 123, from Mitylene. See Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, LVIII, 349.

[2] *C.i.G.*, XII [2], 124, from Mitylene.

[3] I *Sam.* VI. cf. *Isa.* LXVI. 17 and Marti's note *ad loc.*

[4] I *Sam.* VI. 9, 12. It is to be remembered that, as early as the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* (8 *sq.*), Nysa, the birthplace of Dionysus, was located in Phœnicia; later it was said that Scythopolis, in Northern Samaria, was formerly called Nysa, because Nysa, the nurse of Dionysus, lay buried there. Pliny *N.H.* v. 74.

[5] See Gruppe, p. 1532, n. 4; Reinach, *Textes*, p. 259, n. 2.

[6] See Reinach, *loc. cit.*, and Cumont, *Oriental Rel. in Rom. Paganism*, p. 64. Cf. Lydus *De mens.* iv. 33, p. 111. 3 Wünsch, where (Iao = Yahweh) Sabaoth is interpreted *οἷον ὁ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑπτὰ πολούς, τουτέστιν ὁ δημιουργός*; cf. Gruppe, p. 1600, n. 1, and Lydus *op. cit.*, p. 183. 18. The seventh sphere is, of course, that of Saturn; but II *En.* XX. 1 *sq.* represents the patriarch as seeing Yahweh on his throne in the seventh heaven. Assuming that "Sabaoth" is really Hebrew, this is of course absurd; but is it certain that it is not a loan-word adopted and then interpreted as Hebrew? The Thracian *origin* of Sabazius-Sabad(d)ius is uncertain. The fact that Dionysus Hebdomeus had a cult at Mitylene must not be overlooked. Scientific etymologies are here not at all in question; association of ideas based on ritual forms and folk-etymology are more important. See Hicks, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XII (1891), 233, n. 16 *sq.*, for a *θεὸς Σαββατιστής*.

[7] Gruppe, p. 1603, n. 4 *sq.*

is sufficient reason for regarding these things as more than superficial indications of a certain kinship between Yahweh and Dionysus.

But we have seen that in the cultus of Yahweh the seventh day, or the Sabbath, did not stand alone, the second and sixth days, as well as New Year's day, being likewise sacred to him. We have now to inquire whether there are indications of the same conceptions in the cultus of Dionysus. As for the second day,[1] there is no need of much argument after what has already been set forth regarding the triduan festivals and the character of the twelfth days of several months; we may add, however, that we meet with a college of twelve priestesses in the service of Dionysus. In his description of Sparta, Pausanias says:[2] "Opposite is the place called Colona and a temple of Dionysus Colonatas. Beside the temple is the precinct of a Hero, who is said to have guided Dionysus on his way to Sparta; to this Hero the women who are called Dionysiades and Leucippides sacrifice before they sacrifice to the god[3] . . . but the other eleven women, whom they also name Dionysiades, are set to run a race. The practice was derived from Delphi."[4] We know that the day of the Hero was the parasceve of the high-day of the god, and may be sure that the day when these Dionysiades functioned was a second or sixth day, very probably the 12th.[5] They were the brides (nuns) of the departed god,

[1] See above, p. 482, n. 10.

[2] iii. 13. 7.

[3] Hitzig is clearly right in indicating a lacuna here.

[4] Assuming that the Dionysiades or Leucippides were twelve in number, one may recall that the tragic chorus of the Greeks originally had the same number. Toward the close of the fifth century the comic chorus numbered 24. When we recall the frequent division of the chorus into two parts and the importance of this division for the choric *agōn,* this becomes intelligible. Colleges of twelve priestesses, as the Vestal Virgins, were not uncommon; they were generally nuns or brides of the departed god (Plutarch speaks of the "banishment" of Dionysus on nefast days in *De Iside* xxv; for the death and resurrection of Dionysus, see Farnell, *Cults,* v, 285 *sq.*). What is meant by the practice coming from Delphi is not clear; it may mean that the rites were suggested by the Delphic oracle, but the chorus of Euripides' *Phœnicians* (consisting of virgins taken captive and serving Apollo as hierodules, probably 12 in number) may suggest that a similar college existed at Delphi, where Dionysus was buried. We shall presently find a college of 16 nuns in the service of Dionysus. This raises the question whether the number 15, to which Sophocles is said to have raised the tragic chorus, may not be exclusive of the coryphæus.

[5] At Athens there was a college of Gerærae who officiated at the shrine of Dionysus at Limnæ, which was opened only on one day, the 12th Anthesterion, when (apparently) the marriage of the Basilinna to Dionysus occurred. They are said by Hesychius to have numbered 14, and Mommsen (*Feste,* p. 399),

represented in this rite by the Hero Leucippus, whom Dionysus presumably supplanted. Unfortunately a lacuna in the text of Pausanias leaves us in the dark regarding the part played in the rite by the twelfth priestess. Did she perform a mystic marriage-rite with the Hero or departed god, as the Basilinna did with Dionysus at Athens? Not unlike this rite is that presupposed by another tale told by Pausanias.[1] The women of Tanagra, he says, went down to the sea to perform their ritual ablutions preparatory to the orgies of Dionysus, and were attacked by Triton (who was obviously bent on performing the pre-nuptial rite); but Dionysus (who here plays the part of Hymenæus in the myth of that god) saved them. This is a myth reflecting the Mysteries of Dionysus and refers specifically to the parasceve. The analogy of the Halade Mystai of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which fell on the 16th Boëdromion, suggests that it was a sixth, or possibly a second, day; for Dionysus was admitted, among many other Mystery-rites, to the Eleusinian and those of the Cabiri, both of which are known to have been nuptial or pre-nuptial in character.[2] These days were nefast, as were all those which called for virgin sacrifices. On such days libations of wine were not offered. Plutarch says[3] that the Greeks frequently make wineless offerings (*nephalia*) to Dionysus. He does not state on what occasions this was done; but we learn from the Scholiast on Sophocles[4] that according to Philochorus such a libation was made to Dionysus and the daughters of Erechtheus. Now we know that the latter were supposed to have died when they peered into the *cista mystica* containing Erichthonius, which was thought to have occurred during Athena's absence and was commemorated at the Plynteria, on the sixth day

combining this datum with another, which states that they equaled the number of altars of Dionysus, infers that the body of the god, like that of Osiris (Plutarch *De Iside* xviii), was divided into 14 parts. Philo Bybl. (*fr.* 2, § 19, *H.G.f.*, III, 568) mentions 7 Titanides according to Phœnician myth; if there were 7 Titanes to match them, each would have got his portion; however, other myths said Dionysus was divided into 6 or 7 parts (Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 47, n. 4). One wonders, nevertheless, whether there were not 12, rather than 14, Geræræ; for 12 altars to Dionysus and Semele are known to have existed near Thebes (above, p. 481, n. 4), and sacrifices at the altars of the Twelve Gods occurred in rites of Dionysus (Xenophon *Hipparch.* iii. 2). Cf. the 6 Titans and 6 Titanides (*Orphica, fr.* 38 Abel).

[1] ix. 20. 4.

[2] This is so well known in regard to the Eleusinia that there is no need of citing evidence; for Samothrace, see Plutarch *Alex.* ii.

[3] *De sanitate* xix.

[4] *Œ. C.* 100.

from the close of Thargelion. On that black day, therefore, we may suppose this offering to have been made.[1] The sale of the office of priestess of Dionysus at Cos, on the 16th Batromius [2] may likewise be mentioned in this connection; for the rite of consecrating the priestess, which was obviously equivalent to taking the veil, was presumably at once performed on the middle sixth, as Hesiod would call the day; and we have before remarked that the days for the *uelatio* in the early Church were almost without exception sixth days. Furthermore "the sixteen women" in the service of Dionysus at Elis were well known,[3] and their number was certainly significant.

A consideration of these data suffices to prove that the numbers two and six had the same suggestions in the cultus of Dionysus as in that of Yahweh. It remains to show that the New Year's day had the same prominence in both cults. At first sight this seems difficult, because our sources for the rites of Dionysus are almost entirely Greek and among the Greeks New Year's day received, as we have seen, no special emphasis. This latter remark, however, applies only to the civil calendar, into which indeed the sacral calendars of the several cults were merged because of the Greek tendency to secularize everything, even the cultus, which became in the religion of the states a concern of civil officers. Yet when cults were adopted by the states, they did not in the calendary arrangements for their festivals wholly lose their intrinsic characters. So we learn that the festivals of Dionysus were either annual,[4] trieteric [5] (recurring every other year), or penteteric [6] (recurring every four years). Regarding the

[1] A 6th day in the cultus of Dionysus is rarely attested; cf. above, p. 480, n. 1. However, we know that the Orphic tale represented Zeus as slaying the Titans when they divided Dionysus among themselves, and that the (Titans or) Giants were slain on the 6th day. Moreover, Dionysus was slain when he ruled in the absence of his father Zeus, and the Orphics called him the 6th king. See Abel, *Orphica, fr.* 85, 200.

[2] See above, p. 482, n. 2.

[3] See the data collected by Nilsson in *Feste,* p. 291 *sq.* Dionysus was invoked at the Thyia as "Hero" and as Bull; as has been recognized, the latter harks back to the Orphic conception that Dionysus, appearing as a bull, was dismembered. This rite fell on a nefast day, preceding that on which the wine-miracle occurred; whether the latter was a third or seventh day is not certain, but the former is perhaps more likely. At Andros it was on the seventh (Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 277, n. 3). Cf. *John* II. 1: "The third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee." Whether the Thyiades at Delphi were likewise sixteen in number I do not know; but it is probable. For the thirty-two (2×16) hierodules in the temple of Yahweh, see *A.J.P.,* XLI (1920), 44, n. 2.

[4] See Cook, *Zeus,* I, 662 *sq.*

[5] *Ibid.,* 690 *sq.*; Gruppe, p. 956.

[6] Gruppe, *loc. cit.*

trieteric and penteteric festivals of the god there has been much discussion, into which it is not necessary for our present purposes to enter; but it requires little reflection to show that the rites of Dionysus, at whatever intervals recurring, were really concerned with the turn of the year. Even if we did not have the clear analogies of the Saturnalia and the Canaanitish festivals, there could be no doubt about this fact. Here one need refer only to the Attic Anthesteria, at which, as at the New Year, ghosts walked abroad and were entertained, while mummers danced with them the tragicomic *danse macabre* on the brink of time and eternity. How closely parallel to the suggestions of the Hebrew festivals those of the Dionysia were, though the matter seems to have been generally ignored, it is not difficult to show. The former, as we have seen, were in the thought of the Hebrews associated with the exodus of Yahweh and his people from the bondage of Egypt and their nostos to the Holy Land. Yahweh was the Saviour [1] of his people, and his prophet [2] was anointed to preach good tidings to the oppressed, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; [3] to proclaim the year of Yahweh's favor, and the day of vengeance of Yahweh. No one can fail to see the allusion to the day of Yahweh in the year of release,[4] the time of Yahweh's festival. Compare with these thoughts the passage of Diodorus [5] regarding Dionysus: "Proceeding over almost the entire habitable earth he civilized a good part of it; wherefore he received the highest honors among all men . . . And he led with him an army not only of men, but also of women,[6] and punished the unjust and the impious; and in Bœotia, repaying his debt of gratitude to his native land, he liberated all its cities, and built a city named for freedom, which he called Eleutheræ.[7] Setting forth on his expedition to India, he effected his return in the third year . . . and the Bœotians and other Greeks, as well as the Thracians, commemorating his expedition to India, hold trieteric sacrifices to Dionysus, and believe

[1] Dionysus also bore such names as Eleuthereus, Lyæus, Lysius, Lysiponus, Saotes, Soter, on the suggestions of which consult Gruppe.

[2] Cf. *Isa.* LXI. 1 *sq.*

[3] See above, p. 389 *sq.*; cf. the Orphic *fr.* 208 Abel.

[4] This may have been the seventh, or possibly the Jubilee; but it may originally have been the third.

[5] iv. 2. 5–3. 2.

[6] Cf. *Exod.* XII. 37–38. The "mixed multitude" that accompanied Israel may have an analogue in the mixed company of Dionysus.

[7] The Saviour is the liberator.

that the god at this time makes his appearance [epiphany] among men."[1] Can Eusebius, who epitomizes this statement,[2] have failed to see the close parallel to Hebrew thought? When Yahweh and his people set forth from Egypt, as when Dionysus appeared at Thebes, Nature, as we have seen,[3] held a Bacchic revel. Pentheus and Lycurgus exemplify the vengeance of Dionysus in the year of his favor. It is not surprising that the carrying of the lulab at the Jewish New Year's festival, which in later times chiefly commemorated the exodus of Yahweh and his faithful devotees, should be called by Plutarch a Cradephoria and Thyrsophoria.[4]

These data sufficiently suggest that the trieteric rites fell on New Year's day. If one wishes further indications regarding the parallel between Greek and Semitic rites, one has only to recall that the trieteric rites of Zagreus in Crete commemorated the slaying of Dionysus by the Titans at the instance of Hera during the temporary absence of Zeus.[5] Both the rending of Zagreus and the absence of Zeus indicate that the day was nefast; and the fact that the passion of Dionysus was reënacted at his Mysteries and led to his being regarded as a god, because of his resurrection,[6] again points the parallel to similar rites already considered in connection with the Saturnalian King. Reflection on these circumstances should enable us to see that the names Amphietes and Amphieterus,[7] which Dio-

[1] The festivals of Dionysus thus commemorate both the nostos and the exodus, which in Israel were alike associated with the passover of New Year. For the καταγώγια, or Feasts of Return, of Dionysus, see Nilsson in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. "Katagogia"* and in *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXXI (1916), 315 *sq.* 323 *sq.* Persephone also had her καταγωγή in Sicily (Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 356 *sq.*) and Aphrodite her καταγώγια at Eryx nine days after her Departure (ἀναγωγή) (Nilsson, *ibid.*, p. 374). For the καταγώγιον of Artemis at Ephesus, see Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 323, n. 3, and 688. It was the counterpart of the exodus of the divinity, but interpreted as an epiphany after death or absence.

[2] *Præp. ev.* ii. 2. 4–5.

[3] Pp. 169, n. 5; 170, n. 1.

[4] See above, p. 477.

[5] Firmicus Maternus. *De errore prof in. relig.* vi (Abel, *Orphica, fr.* 200).

[6] This occurred of course at the close of the festival, therefore on the third or seventh day. In some rites, though not in all, the ascension of Dionysus to Olympus also was celebrated. Analogy suggests that this was done at the Hilaria, succeeding the day of his resurrection. It seems probable that the rites mentioned by Farnell (*Cults*, v, 321, R. 127 *h*) relate to this occasion.

[7] These names have been discussed by Usener in *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIV, 424; but it seems to me that his conclusion is not quite satisfactory. A number of words here call for consideration. We have first of all ἀμφιήμερος, ἀμφημερινός, denoting that (e. g., a fever) which recurs the following day. Next ἀμφιδεκάτη, ἀμφιδεκατία, and ἀμφ(ι)εικάς. Here we have the lemmata in Hesychius (1)

nysus received in his cultus, designated him not only as the annually reappearing god, but also as the god of New Year's day.[1]

The rites and usages practised in the cultus of Dionysus, like those of Yahweh, were doubtless of very various provenience, the result of much combination and assimilation. How peculiar they were in part may be seen by the example of the practice of seething a kid in its mother's milk. This custom, apparently adopted by the Orphics, was thought to be peculiar to the rites of Dionysus,[2] but the prohibition of it in the Torah[3] shows that it was practised in Canaan, and at

ἀμφεικάς· ἡ περὶ εἰκάδα, (2) ἀμφικάς· ὑστέρα, (3) ἀμφιδεκάτη· ἡ μετὰ εἰκάδα ἡμέρα παρὰ Ἀρκάσι. An inscription gives the form ἀμφιδεκατίᾳ (*I.G.*, I, 363), another (*I.G.*, XIII, iii, 330) shows that ἀμφιεικάς is the 21st day (that which follows the 20th). In view of this showing it is plain that the datum regarding both ἀμφιδεκάτη and ἀμφιεικάς is corrupt in Hesychius. I suspect that the former read ἀμφιδεκάτη· <ἡ μετὰ δεκάδα, ὥσπερ ἀμφ(ι)εικάς,> ἡ μετὰ εἰκάδα ἡμέρα, παρὰ Ἀρκάσι, because it is difficult to believe that ἀμφιδεκάτη ever meant the 21st day. Thus ἀμφί in composition technically denoted the day following the term indicated by the noun with which it was compounded: ἀμφιήμερος referring to the next day, and therefore characterizing a fever as intermittent but recurring daily, ἀμφιδεκάτη referring to the 11th, ἀμφιεικάς to the 21st day, and ἀμφιέτης, ἀμφιέτηρος (like the German *"über Jahr"*) referring to the anniversary, which (from the Greek point of view, which reckons in the day beginning the count) is the day following the year. Dionysus, therefore, who reappears (as the Orphic *fr.* 208 Abel says) ἐν ὥραις ἀμφιέτεσσιν, returns, in the language of folk-tales, "after a year and a day." (Callimachus [*H.* iv. 278] mentions ἀμφιετεῖς ἀπαρχαί sent to Delos for Apollo. That the New Year was the proper time for the offering of first-fruits is well known.) One readily sees an analogy between such compounds and ἐπίτριτος, ἐπιτέταρτος etc., which suggest ἐπίβδα (the μεθέορτος ἡμέρα, but also New Year's day). Practically, of course, ἀμφιέτης and ἀμφιέτηρος came to mean "annual." The Athenian Iobacchi celebrated the 9th day of every month and the ἀμφιετηρίδες, "the New Year's days" (Ziehen, No. 46, ll. 44 and 154). See above, p. 481, n. 4); but neither day was peculiar to them.

[1] Whether New Year's day was regarded as a sixth day in the cult of Dionysus we cannot say. In the Orphic fragments the number six plays a considerable rôle. See above p. 375, n. 1. In *fr.* 34 Abel, six is supernumerary, since Plato (*Phileb.* 66 C) indicates five divisions only, and Plutarch (*De E ap. Delph.* 391 D) is speaking of E = 5; in *fr.* 189 mention is made of the sixth year; *fr.* 146 and 147 magnify the number six; for *fr.* 283, see below, p. 517, n. 5. For the epiphany of Dionysus, celebrated on the island of Andros, beginning the night of the 5th/6th January, see Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 277, n. 3, and Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, p. 34. The festival, however, lasted seven days, probably taking the 6th January as New Year's day. In this festival, as well as the others considered by Bousset (*Kyrios Christos*[2], p. 270 *sq.*), Dionysus is obviously equated with Aion, who was not only born at midnight or cockcrow of the 5th/6th, but also at the intersection of years, marking the beginning of the new "world" or age. See *A.J.P.*, XLV, 218 *sq.*

[2] See Cook, *Zeus*, I, 675 *sq.*

[3] *Exod.* XXIII. 19; XXXIV. 26; *Deut.* XIV. 21.

times by those who could be regarded as Jews. Such things are not really significant, but they serve to explain the feeling of thoughtful and unprejudiced observers that Dionysus was the god of the Jews. To us this identification is naturally repugnant, because we judge by other tokens, thinking rather of spiritual suggestions which come to us both from the Hebrew Scriptures and a long tradition that is partly Christian. Yet even so, fairness bids us reflect that chance has given us far better means of entering into the thought-life of the Jew than of the Greek in the sphere of religion, because the literatures of the two peoples differ fundamentally, in that the former is predominantly sacral, the later secular. Nevertheless, be the deliberate judgment what it may regarding the ultimate justification of those who identified Yahweh with Dionysus, the facts which we have adduced enable us to understand, if not to justify, the attitude of the Hellenistic kings of Syria and Egypt toward the Jews.[1] It is not necessary here to set down the details. When Antiochus Epiphanes [2] and Ptolemy Philometor, who regarded themselves as reincarnations of Dionysus, and worshiped him, sought to compel the Jews to join in his worship and be initiated in his Mysteries, they had grounds, to themselves and the Greek world generally sufficient, for believing that the god whom the Jews worshiped was Dionysus; and as the Jews refused to do so, their consciences were doubtless quite clear when they set their refusal down to sheer obstinacy and rebellion against reasonable authority. The history of Christianity has shown how futile are such efforts at securing conformity: the nonconformists, who persist in their faith and refuse to bow down to the "abomination of desolation" in whatever guise, win our sympathy for their sincerity and fidelity, even though our intellects may remain unconvinced.

IV

We come now to a complex of the first importance to our study, though at first sight it may seem difficult to justify its inclusion. No ancient author of prominence, it seems, suggested that Yahweh might be identified with Apollo. Even if some obscure writer should have done so, it is noteworthy that nothing was made of the fact, well

[1] A great deal has been written about this subject. See esp. Reitzenstein, "Zur Religionspolitik der Ptolemäer," *A.R.*, XIX, 191 *sq.*

[2] What especially stirred the Jews was the institution of the cult of Antiochus as Zeus Olympius (Baal Shamayim); see W. E. M. Aitken, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXI (1912), 49.

known to every Greek as to every modern student of ancient religions, that Apollo, like Yahweh, claimed the seventh day, although great stress was frequently laid on the circumstance that Greeks as well as Jews held that day in peculiar reverence. As we proceed with our study, our surprise at this showing will increase: duly considered, it constitutes a problem for the history of religion second to none in interest and importance. But this problem relates chiefly to the question of origins, with which we have at present no concern. Not only was there manifested no tendency to identify Yahweh and Apollo, but the latter god was either almost ignored or regarded as alien and hostile by the Semites. Philo of Byblus [1] does, indeed, introduce the name of Apollo into his list of Phœnician deities, and Philo the Jew [2] quotes from Apion a tale told on the authority of Mnaseas, according to which the Jews were interested in having an "Apollo" of the Idumæan city of Dora brought into their temple; but neither statement appears to be significant: the former, because it apparently rests on an artificial genealogical scheme; the latter, because the Apollo in question might perhaps with equal propriety have been called Helius or Cronus. On the other hand, the tale of the Apollo [3] (taken at the sack of Gela and transported by the Carthaginians to Tyre) who was regarded as hostile by the Tyrians and bound [4] to the image of Heracles to prevent his desertion to the Greeks, perhaps implies that the god was not considered a friend of the Semites. When Arrian [5] says that Borsippa near Babylon

[1] *Fr.* 2, § 21 (*H.G.f.*, III, 568): In Peræa Cronus had three sons—Cronus (named after his father), Zeus Belus, and Apollo.

[2] *C. Apion.* ii. 9. Philo's persiflage may be justified; but his statement that the doors of the temple were closed every day is not true: they were open at Passover, and Apion may have had such an occasion in mind. For the "lantern" device, which Zabidus is said to have used, cf. *Amos* v. 26. Cf. also Homeric *H. to Apollo* 441, and Apollo's relation to Asteria (Gruppe, p. 242).

[3] Diodor. Sic. xiii. 108; Plutarch *Alex.* xxiv; Curtius iv. 10. Timæus said that Tyre was sacked the same day and hour that the statue of Apollo was stolen from Gela. One might have expected to find that this occurred on a sixth day; but the only date mentioned is the 30th. I have not been able to get at the discussion of this Tyrian Apollo by Georges Radet in *Notes critiques sur l'histoire d'Alexandre, 1^e sér.* (1925), p. 51 *sq.*

[4] It is possible that this Apollo was regularly bound, even at Gela, like Artemis (Strophæa) at Erythræ (*Schol.* on Pindar *O.* vii. 95) and other gods. See Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 230, n. 3. For Cronus fettered, see Macrob. *Sat.* i. 8. 5 and the texts cited in Roscher, *Lex., s. v.* "Kronos," col. 1467. The release of Cronus, like his binding, occurs at the New Year.

[5] *Fr.* 20, *H.G.f.*, III, 590. For Nebo (who was of course a "prophet") and his connection with the sixth day, see above, p. 408 *sq.*

was sacred to Apollo and Artemis, he is presumably identifying these divinities with Nebo and his consort; and one may conjecture that he does so chiefly because Nebo was regarded as the son of Zeus Belus (Marduk), as Apollo and Artemis were fathered on Zeus the son of Cronus.

It requires no elaborate argument to show that Apollo, whatever his origin, possessed a character that little commended him to the Semites; but we shall presently see that he nevertheless had very much in common with gods worshiped in Semitic lands. How this fact is to be explained is not our present concern: it may be, indeed, that the explanation, if ever found, will solve a great many other problems of which we are at present but dimly aware. One cannot, however, dissociate Apollo from Artemis, whom Greek myth generally represented as his twin sister, the pair being regarded as the children of Zeus and Leto. If Apollo lent himself but sparingly to identification with Oriental, including Semitic, deities, Artemis on the contrary showed herself extraordinarily hospitable; and when one draws Hecate into this circle, one has a complex so comprehensive that one may almost say one has found the common denominator for most of the Oriental cults known to the ancient Greeks. This fact certainly calls for an explanation, even if one is compelled by the limits of our knowledge to forego the attempt to get at the origins of these divinities and their cults. Such an attempt is doomed to failure, at least until the extraordinary complexity of these cults is realized and the several components are considered separately. One may be sure, however, that the identifications with which we are here confronted do not in general rest on artificial genealogies and similarities between myths; for these are in fact rarely found, the differences being in these respects far more conspicuous than the points of agreement. But if these grounds are excluded, we are clearly referred to the cultus and its ritual forms. To these, then, we must first direct our attention; afterward we may consider other matters which may lend significance to certain ideas common to Greek and Hebrew. Apollo, Artemis, and Hecate cannot without much repetition be considered altogether separately, but we shall endeavor to avoid confusion by specific references to the sources.

The first fact that arrests our attention is the intimate association of Apollo and Artemis in myth and cultus. In myth, as has been said, they are represented as twins, brother and sister: in the cultus, their temples are from the earliest historical times closely connected. What-

ever the reason, their association goes back to prehistoric times. This fact is the more surprising because the accepted myth represents Apollo as born on the seventh day, while Artemis was believed to have been born on the sixth. Why under the circumstances their days should not have been the same has hardly been asked, much less explained. The reason assigned by myth in the case of Heracles and Iphicles cannot here be offered; but before one may venture even a guess on this head, the ascertainable facts regarding their sacred days must be reviewed.

That the seventh day was sacred to Apollo is so well known [1] and attested by so many rites that there is no reason why one should dwell long on the fact. It is of more consequence to observe the character of the seventh day in his cultus; but of this we can speak more intelligently after we shall have noted the other days on which rites were performed in his honor. First of all, as Numenius,[2] Apollo was worshiped at new moon, the first day of the month.[3] The student will at once recognize this as parallel to the Hebrew regard for the new moons and Sabbaths; but Artemis likewise was worshiped at new moon,[4] though the rites of Apollo, on the seventh day, were not like those of Artemis on the sixth. Whatever relation these days may have had to the phases of the moon,[5] we may be sure that it does not account for all the facts. Once we hear of a rite to Apollo at the full moon; [6] but there is no reason to think that this was a common practice. Again Apollo Eicadius [7] received worship on the

[1] A convenient, though incomplete, statement is given by Schmidt in *Geburtstag im Altertum*, p. 88 *sq.* Apollo is called Hebdomeios (Hebdomaios), "of the 7th day." Schmidt sees the evidence for the 1st, 7th, and 20th days only. For the 7th year, cf. Herod. iv. 17, and Roscher, *Philologus*, LX (1901), 360 *sq.*

[2] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[3] Apollo's temple at Delos was cleansed on the 1st of every month (Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 149). The important fact is that Apollo received sacrifices, e. g., from the Spartan kings (Herod. vi. 57), on the new moon and 7th day of every month.

[4] With Apollo at Delos on the 1st Lenæon (New Year). See Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 149; Ginzel, II, 335.

[5] Offerings were made on the 7th to the Phrygian Moon-god, Men (*C.i.G.*, II, 374, 16).

[6] Plutarch *Dio* XXIII.

[7] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, 416, R. 240. In the Odyssey the number 20 is prominent. Odysseus is destined to return in the 20th year (ii. 175); he reaches Scheria, the land of the Phæacians, on the 20th day (v. 34 *sq.*). There were colleges or clubs of εἰκαδεῖς, and in the school of Epicurus the 20th day was observed. On the combination of Shamash (whose

twentieth, which is almost certainly due to his identification with Helius, since in Babylonia the Sun-god Shamash claimed the twentieth day for his own. Besides, at the dark of the moon, on the thirtieth, there were festivals for Apollo from early times: it was on such an occasion that Odysseus returned home to Ithaca after his absence of twenty years.[1] As Apollo sponsored the nine-year cycle (*enneaeris*),[2] he might likewise claim the ninth day.[3]

We have previously had occasion to remark on the fact that the triduan term was very common in Greece. It would therefore be strange if there were no evidence of it in the cultus of Apollo, especially in view of the frequent equation of the third with the seventh day. Such a term is in fact presupposed in the account of Strabo[4] regarding an offering sent to Delphi from the Attic deme of Harma, just as we find a triduum in the rites of Artemis. Pythagoras is said[5] to have connected Apollo's tripod and his preference for three libations with the significance of the number three. By this scheme we are doubtless to explain the sacrifice of a ram—as a propitiary offering—to Apollo of Telmessus in Caria in company with Zeus Patrous and the Fates on the 2d Hermæon. The Mother of the Gods (doubtless identified with Artemis) at the same time received a goat.[6] At Delphi[7] we find three full-grown kine offered to Apollo, Leto, and Artemis on the 13th of some unnamed month, at a *pompê* called

day was the 20th) and Addu, Hadad (whose day was the 6th), see S. A. Cook in *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, II, 351.

[1] *Od.* xiv. 162; xix. 397; xx. 162, 276 *sq.* Philochorus (*fr.* XII Tresp) apparently understood this as referring to the 1st of the month, but this view does not seem consistent with the text. Cf. above, p. 482, n. 7.

[2] See Gruppe, p. 956 *sq.*

[3] See above, p. 481, n. 4. for Dionysus, Apollo, and Helius.

[4] ix. 2, 11. For Artemis, see *C.i.G.*, 2656. Proclus in Photius *Bibl.*, p. 321 *b* Bekker, says that Polematas before Bœotian Thebes attacked the Pelasgians after three days, and having won the victory himself celebrated the Daphnephoria, a custom retained from that time onwards; but we know that the Daphnephoria at Delphi was celebrated on the seventh day. Again, an inscription of Myconus (v. Prott, p. 14, l. 29 *sq.*) mentions a rite to Apollo on the 7th Hecatombæon, in which the bridegrooms sacrificed, just as they did on the third day of the Apaturia at Athens. The same equation occurs in the myth regarding the death of Agamedes and Trophonius, dated by Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apollon.* 109 A *sq.*) on the 7th, by Cicero (*Tusc. disp.* i. 114) on the 3d day: both authors see the connection with the "death" of Cleobis and Biton at Argos. Both myths doubtless refer to rites of initiation, which commonly had the triduan, less often the hebdomadal, form.

[5] Iambl. *U. Pyth.* clii.

[6] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States,* iv. 407, R 202.

[7] Ziehen, No. 77. l. 6 *sq.*

Attaleia in honor of King Attalus Philadelphus. On the 12th (which is thereby marked as the parasceve) the victims are to be got ready. Here we may with certainty assume an initial rite on the 11th, thus completing a triduum of the form well known to us in the festivals of Dionysus.[1] At Sparta also we learn of an offering to Phœbus (Apollo) on the *amphidekatia*,[2] which, as has been indicated before,[3] we interpret as the 11th,[4] not the 21st.

As for Artemis, the days sacred to her were not so numerous. Besides the new moon, she claimed the 6th and the "middle sixth," or 16th.[5] To these we must add the rites paid to her in common with Apollo. That such rites should have existed was natural because of the close association of these deities, not only as brother and sister, but also as husband and wife.[6] Sometimes their days, the 6th and 7th, are grouped carelessly together;[7] but more often they are kept distinct, and the observances intended for both are put on the 7th,[8] partly no doubt because Apollo, who is generally named first in the official documents, had come to be regarded as the more important.[9] In like manner Leto was associated with her children and received offerings together with them on the 7th, although as a Magna Mater, or Mother of the Gods, her proper day must have been the 6th.[10] Artemis is another Leto, as Persephone is another Demeter.

While it is thus easy enough to account for rites of Artemis on the 7th, it is at first sight difficult to comprehend how Apollo should have

[1] See above, p. 482 *sq.*

[2] v. Prott, p. 35, No. 14, l. 6.

[3] Above, p. 489, n. 7.

[4] Cf. above, p. 482, n. 8, for the 11th in the cult of Dionysus.

[5] See Schmidt, *Geburtstag im Altertum*, p. 94, and above, p. 368 *sq.* As Artemis was identified with the Moon, she naturally was associated with the second day of the week (Monday) and with the number two: for the latter, see Gruppe, p. 939. It is perhaps worth noting, because of the obvious connection of Artemis with Oriental goddesses, that in the Babylonian sacral calendar the 2d of the month is regularly dedicated to the (two?) goddesses. Is the Attic use of τὼ θεώ of Demeter and Cora in any way related to this scheme?

[6] This relation, often implied, is expressly stated by Eustathius on Hom. *Il.* xx. 70, p. 1097. 40.

[7] E. g., Dionysius Hal. *Ars Rhet.* iii. 1, p. 15. 3 Usener.

[8] v. Prott, No. 3, l. 9 (Attic); Libanius i, p. 236 R. (Meroe, Antioch).

[9] But as Apollo and Artemis were expressly or tacitly regarded as husband and wife, one may recall also that among Semites the 7th day, on which Marduk and Sarpanit rested in the *bit-aqitu*, was often that of the consummation of marriage.

[10] From Plutarch (Euseb. *Præp. ev.* iii. 84 C) we learn that in Bœotia Leto Mychia was associated with the cult of Hera and received a πρόθυμα.

had a far-reaching connection with the 6th day. That this is the case has been almost entirely overlooked or ignored. The preposterous suggestion has even been made [1] that the 6th, as the birthday of Artemis, was subsequent to the choice of the 7th as the day of Apollo, because Artemis, as Eileithyia, assisted at her brother's birth. Nothing could more clearly show the need of studying ritual schemes: for the 6th was sacred to practically all the goddesses with whom Artemis was identified, and in the cultus of Artemis and Apollo corresponds exactly to the character we have elsewhere found associated with the day. In regard to Artemis this has already in part been shown in the discussion of the *apophras* and the day of Yahweh,[2] as our consideration of the scapegoat necessitated a reference to the Athenian and other rites concerned with the Pharmakos.[3] But, while these facts would suffice to prove the importance and far-reaching associations of the 6th day in the cultus of the children of Leto, there are others hitherto disregarded that call for special consideration. It has long been known that Apollo was not all brightness and cheer, but possessed a character of very different sort from that which in later times received most attention. Thus, alongside the ever-youthful Apollo, there was at Delphi Apollo dead, whose grave was shown marked by the tripod.[4] This Apollo was certainly mourned, though Callimachus [5] says that no mourning was permitted when the hymn to the god was sung. This hymn, presumably originally celebrating the return or epiphany of the god after his death or absence, was of course sung on the 7th day [6] at the Daphnephoria and

[1] By Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* "Artemis," 1, 1347, and accepted by Schmidt, *Geburtstag im Altertum,* p. 94.

[2] Above, p. 367 *sq.*

[3] Above, p. 294 *sq.* The Pharmakos-rites, which belong to New Year, were devoted to Apollo not only at Athens (with Artemis), but also at Leucas (Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 111, n. 1) and Cyprus (*ibid.,* n. 2).

[4] Porphyry *Uit. Pyth.* xvi. Apollo shall be ἀτάσθαλος, says the Homeric *Hymn,* 67.

[5] *H.* ii. 17 *sq.*

[6] See 1st Hypothesis to Pindar's *Pyth.* Apollo engaged in the Pythian *agōn* after slaying Python: this is of course the lyric *agōn.* In the legend regarding the institution of the Pythian Games, as told in the 2d Hypothesis to Pindar's *Pyth.,* the lyric *agōn* also preceded, the athletic contests following the victory of Eurylochus after six years. The statement follows the usual scheme, by which the athletic contests are associated with the 2d and 6th days, and generally with the numbers 2 and 6. In Soph. *Electra,* Orestes is slain in the Pythian chariot-race on the 2d day (698) as he passes the goal from the 6th to the 7th round (726). Censorinus (*De die nat.* xviii) says the Pythian Games were of old celebrated *post annum octauum,* i. e., every seven

the lyrical *agōn;* but we know that the Daphnephorus, who personated the returning god, observed a fast before his arrival at Delphi, just as we hear of a fast on the part of the prophet of Clarian Apollo before he drank the water from which he derived his inspiration for the oracles.[1] In both cases, therefore, we must assume a fast preceding the 7th day: that this fast belonged especially to the 6th, and that it is to be connected with the death of the god on that day,[2] will presently become apparent.

Among the festivals of Apollo none is more typical than the Thargelia, which was obviously observed in many places.[3] In the earliest period of Greek religion the rites of purification, such as the expulsion of the Pharmakoi and the leap from the white cliff, are directly connected with the cultus of Apollo,[4] and are regularly referred to (2d or) 6th days. We have seen that they are ancient New Year rites; and there is good reason for holding that the Thargelia was, in its origin at least, a New Year festival. At Athens, and presumably wherever the Thargelia was held, the Pharmakos was driven out on the 6th (Thargelion). Strangely, when Apollo himself was purified from blood-guiltiness or purified others of the same pollution, this act seems later to have been referred to the 7th day.[5] Of this point we shall have to speak later on. The rites of the 7th Thargelion are of a gladsome nature.

As the oracular god *par excellence* of Greece, Apollo presents something of an anomaly. In later times the tradition is fixed that his oracular activity is specially connected with the 7th day;[6] but one cannot help asking whether it was always so, though one here confronts a complex and difficult problem. The myth which represents the Delphic oracle as having earlier belonged to Night, to Earth, or to Python, as well as the analogy of such oracular shrines as that of Trophonius, suggest that the 7th day was ill suited to that function.[7]

years. On Rhodes (see Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, xxxiv, 424) games were held for Helius ἑβδόμῃ φθίνοντος; at Amarynthus, in Eubœa, a musical *agōn* for Artemis began on the τετρὰς φθίνοντος (i. e., the 27th) of Anthesterion (Ziehen, No. 88, l. 5 *sq.*; Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 238 *sq.*).

[1] Iambl. *De myster.* iii. 11.

[2] See below, p. 533 *sq.*

[3] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States,* iv, 416 *sq.*

[4] Gruppe, p. 1236 *sq.*

[5] One must not forget, however, that the trial of men who pleaded justifiable homicide was held at the Delphinion.

[6] See above, p. 145.

[7] Callimachus (*H.* iv. 86 *sq.*) knows of oracles uttered by Apollo in his mother's womb, apparently the day of her delivery of Artemis (the 6th).

Besides there was an ancient lot-oracle at Delphi, and the only day we know on which the Delphic priests cast lots was a sixth.[1] In Babylonia the oracular gods *par excellence* were Shamash, who claimed the 20th, and Adad, who claimed the 6th, day.[2] Adad at least was at a very late date received at Delos,[3] where there was an oracle of Apollo, of which we unfortunately know little:[4] especially are we ignorant of its nature and the days on which it gave responses. On the other hand, we have seen that Apollo, like Yahweh, did not give answer when he was abroad. Apollo's epiphany, on the 7th Byzius, was also the sole occasion, we are told, on which he anciently gave oracles.

Another important function of Apollo is that which he exercised as leader and founder of colonies.[5] Here, if anywhere, we should expect to find a point of agreement with the cultus of Yahweh, whom Philo regarded as the colonizer of Canaan, because he led the Israelites in the exodus. We must not forget how closely our analysis of the Hebrew record has shown that event connected with New Year's day, considered as a 6th day,[6] and on the other hand with the exodus or *diabasis* of the god conceived as going abroad and leaving his temple.

[1] Plutarch *De E ap. Delph.* 391 D.

[2] Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum, s. vv.* There is some reason for connecting the 6th and 20th. For Addu (Hadad) and Shamash, see above, p. 494, n. 7. Eicadius, the priest of Apollo, borne on the back of a dolphin (Servius on Verg. *Æn.* iii. 332) is connected both with Apollo Eicadius and A. Delphinius. The halved disk of the moon at the first and third quarters seems to have filled early man with superstitious awe (see above, p. 382, n. 5). In a month when the first quarter fell on the 6th, the third would fall on the 20th. This may, or may not, be significant. If the first quarter was assigned to the 7th, we should expect to find the 7th and 20th (or 21st) coupled. This is done by Herondas (*Mim.* iii. 53). Cleomenes (*Meteor.* ii. 5. 111) says that the ancients recognized three aspects of the moon—the crescent, the halved (*διχότομον*) moon, and the full moon—and thus explains the triform Artemis (or Hecate).

[3] Gruppe, p. 1585, n. 1 (Adad with Atargatis). See above, p. 376, n. 5. Deimel (*op. cit.*, p. xiv) thinks Adad is probably to be identified with the Melek of the Canaanites.

[4] Homeric *H. to Apollo*, 81. It is said to have been consulted by the Emperor Julian (Theodoret *H.E.* iii. 21. 1).

[5] Gruppe, p. 1230 *sq.*; *ibid.*, p. 1295, n. 1, for Artemis.

[6] It is at least interesting to find that Fulgentius (*De æt. mundi et hominis*, p. 146 *sq.*, ed. Helm) assigns the exodus to the sixth age. No less interesting is the group of observances held at Athens on the 16th Hecatombæon (Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 35 *sq.*). They commemorated a change of residence (Metageitnia) as well as the peaceful settlement of a new home in common (Synœcia). Associated with Theseus, the founder of the Attic state, they were devoted in later times to Athena; but it is not unlikely that in early times they belonged to Apollo or Artemis.

We shall presently find ample reasons for maintaining that the same ritual scheme occurs in the cultus of Apollo and Artemis as in that of Yahweh.

We may begin with Pausanias's account [1] of an interesting rite at Sicyon. "On entering the market-place we come to a sanctuary of Persuasion . . . Their worship of Persuasion is explained by the following legend. Apollo and Artemis, after slaying the Python, came to Ægialea to be purified. But fear seized them on the spot, which is still called Terror, and they betook themselves to Carmanor in Crete. At the same time sickness attacked the people of Ægialea, and the seers bade them propitiate Apollo and Artemis. So they sent seven boys and seven maidens to the river Sythas to offer supplication, and they say that, persuaded by the children, the deities came to what was then the acropolis, and the place where they came to first is the sanctuary of Persuasion. A similar ceremony is still observed: on the festival of Apollo the children go to the Sythas, and after bringing (as it is thought) the deities to the sanctuary of Persuasion, they convey them back, they say, to the temple of Apollo. The temple is in the present market-place." Unfortunately we do not learn the day or days on which this rite was performed. Various points suggest a close parallel to such rites, for example, as we meet in Egypt and Babylonia. The exodus and the nostos of the gods, their displeasure (attended with pestilence) and propitiation, suggest respectively the 6th and 7th days. The supplication at the river Sythas strongly suggests a passover, perhaps rather of the sort known from India [2] than that of the Hebrews, and the sanctuary of Persuasion [3] in turn suggests the *bit-aqitu* of Babylon. That the connection with the slaying of the Python serves to refer the departure of the deities to the 6th day we shall presently see: on the other hand, the number (7) of the boys and maidens shows the customary regard for that number in the cultus of Apollo; and it is possible that in Pausanias's time "the festival of Apollo" meant merely the 7th of

[1] ii. 7, 7–8, tr. Frazer.

[2] For the *tirthas* of India, cf. Hopkins, *E.R.E.*, v, 868 *b sq.*, and *Religions of India*, pp. 254, 370, 372. Were the cult-images of Apollo and Artemis, who required purification, bathed in the Sythas? If so, it may be regarded as certain that it was done on a 6th day. See below, p. 503, n. 6.

[3] Peitho may here, as elsewhere (Roscher, *Lex.*, i, 574, 30 *sq.*), be only another name for Artemis in her character as goddess of marriage (= Aphrodite). See the marriage of Marduk and Sarpanit on the third and seventh days, above, p. 33, n. 7.

some month unnamed. As for the observance as a whole, its resemblance, even in details, to the New Year festivals known from Semitic lands is too plain to leave one for a moment in doubt regarding its primitive meaning and associations. As so often happens, we know nothing regarding the provenience or age of this rite. It is important, however, to observe that in it Artemis is subordinate to Apollo, and one surmises that she is properly only his consort, as Sarpanit is of Marduk. In such matters the names, always subject to change, are relatively unimportant: it is the rite and the day, inherited from the distant past, that really count. For these we have the most striking parallels in the rites of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia on the Mæander, of which we have elsewhere [1] spoken, and of Artemis of Ephesus. The former is known to us only from the third century B.C., but that signifies nothing; whoever Leucophryene may have been originally, she would not have been identified with Artemis unless her sacred day and rites had been fundamentally the same. The same is true of Ephesia, though her cult is known to have been very ancient. Her rites have been lately so fully discussed by Picard [2] that it is not necessary to go into details. The day of her great *panegyris* is the 6th Thargelion, marked by her exodus in solemn procession to the theater, accompanied with games and dances, and followed by a feast at night. The 5th was a day of preparation, and the following night, obviously marking the transition from year to year, was apparently observed with a vigil. Corresponding to the exodus of the great *panegyris* was the festival of the Return [3] (*katagogion*) of the goddess, when she was regarded as returning from abroad. Picard sees the connection of the rites with the vernal equinox,[4] which was the New Year epoch most commonly observed in Asia Minor,[5] as among the Hebrews and Babylonians; but in Greek lands, where the New Year had generally become purely secular and divorced from the sacral calendar, festivals of Artemis and Apollo might be held on any 6th and 7th day.

One of the most important groups of rites performed in honor of

[1] See above, p. 190 *sq.*

[2] *Éphèse et Claros,* pp. 294 *sq.*, 327 *sq.*

[3] Picard, *op. cit.*, pp. 313, 323, 688, 729.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 294 *sq.*, where he points out the parallel with the rites of Dionysus. At Delphi and Delos the epiphany of Apollo, who was thought to go abroad during the winter, occurred on the 7th Byzius, the first month of spring. Diodor. Sic. (ii. 47. 7 [Hecatæus of Abdera]) dates the epiphany of Apollo among the Hyperboreans at the vernal equinox.

[5] See Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle,* p. 116 *sq.*

the children of Leto is that devoted to Apollo Delphinius and Ecbasius (Embasius, Epibaterius) and Artemis Delphinia and Ecbateria.[1] These cults are among the most primitive known in Greek lands and their distribution shows that they belong to the pre-Hellenic population, since it reveals an intimate connection with Crete, Thessaly, and Asia Minor. It would carry us too far afield to discuss these cults in detail; but certain points regarding them are essential for our purpose. Two things in particular call for notice. The rites, whether devoted to Apollo or to Artemis, are of the darkest, associated with going abroad (sometimes to a colony,[2] sometimes to the land of the departed dead) and with purification from blood-guilt, and were regularly observed on a 6th day. When Neleus set out for Miletus from Crete, Artemis was his guide[3]—we know not what sacrifices were offered on this occasion; when Agamemnon, detained by adverse winds, set out for Troy from Aulis, he propitiated Artemis—of course on a 6th day—by the passover-sacrifice of Iphigenia;[4] when Theseus embarked for Cnossus with the offering of seven—originally, one suspects, there were six[5]—youths and maidens chosen by lot for the Minotaur, he dedicated to Apollo Delphinius a suppliant bough from the sacred olive-tree and went down to the sea, taking his departure on the 6th Munychion, the day on which even in Plutarch's time the Athenians sent their maidens to the Delphinion to propitiate the god. An oracle obtained at Delphi was said to have commanded him to make Aphrodite his guide and

[1] For the Apollo having these and other appellatives, see Roscher, *Lex., s. v.* "Apollo," cols. 429–430, 440; Farnell, *Cults,* IV, 145 *sq.*; Gruppe, pp. 1225 *sq.*, 1230 *sq.*, 1295, n. 1. Of especial interest is the story of the colonization of Massalia (Marseilles) told by Strabo (iv. 4. 1). The Ephesian Artemis, who was by an oracle (of Apollo?) appointed as guide, was there associated in the cultus with Apollo Delphinius. Aristarche of Ephesus, taking *sacra* from her native city, became the first priestess of the goddess. She was bidden by a dream to accompany the emigrants.

[2] Artemidorus (*Oneirocr.* ii. 35) says that dreaming of Apollo Delphinius portends going abroad. The same is true of Selene and Hecate (*ibid.*, and ii. 37).

[3] Callimachus *H.* iii. 225 *sq.*

[4] Cf. Verg. *Æn.* ii. 116 *sq.*, and Herod. ii. 119.

[5] Cf. the six sons and six daughters of Niobe slain by Apollo and Artemis. The expedition of Theseus was certainly as closely associated with Delos as with Crete. The rite began at the Delphinion and closed with the return of the ship from Delos. If, as is probable, this was an ancient passover-rite, the number six was most natural. Ptolemæus Chennus (Photius *Bibl.*, p. 152 *a.* 1 *sq.*) related that Thetis passed the *six* sons of Peleus through the fire, but Achilles (the seventh) was saved, his father seizing him by his right heel. This story clearly relates to a passover-rite of six or seven days.

invite her to accompany him on his voyage: he sacrificed the usual she-goat to her by the seashore, and as he did so it all at once became a he-goat, wherefore the goddess was surnamed Epitragia.[1] One need not be told that this Aphrodite of the 6th day,[2] who received the changeling offering of a goat and became his guide, might with equal propriety have been called Artemis. She is none other than the Astarte of the Semites. The motive of the transformation of the goat, as of Iphigenia into a deer, is one which, as we have had occasion to show in connection with Transfiguration,[3] is peculiarly associated with the 2d, and especially the 6th, days, and occurs most frequently in myths belonging to Artemis.[4] In this connection one may recall that the "human sacrifice" of Orestes and Pylades was to have occurred at the rites of the Tauric Artemis; but instead, Iphigenia (who impersonates the goddess) and her brother Orestes depart, by way of pretext bathing the cult-statue of Artemis.[5] That all these motives belong to the 6th day we already know from our study of the Athenian Plynteria; but they recur with even greater clearness in the cultus of the Ephesian Artemis.[6]

[1] Plutarch *Theseus* xviii.

[2] She is to be distinguished from the Aphrodite who, with Eros, claimed the 4th day. She it was to whom, in the planetary week, Friday was dedicated. Quite possibly she was anciently called Ariadne.

[3] Above, p. 227 *sq.* For a list of metamorphoses, see Gruppe, p. 1920, *s. v. "Verwandlung."* The relation of this motive to the 6th day is well illustrated by Pausan. i. 19. 1. Theseus came to the Delphinion with his hair neatly plaited and a garment that reached to his feet; the men working on the roof of the Delphinion "asked him jeeringly why a marriageable maiden like him was rambling alone. Theseus answered them nothing, but unyoking, so it is said, the oxen [cf. Plutarch *Theseus* xiv] from the cart which stood by, he tossed them up higher than the roof which the men were making for the temple." I suspect that this legend was invented to explain why the Delphinion was hypethral, having either no roof, or—more probably—being only partially covered. There seems to be no direct testimony on this point; but that the judges who adjudged cases of blood-guilt there did not sit under the roof with the guilty seems certain. Of course, it is possible that the court sat outside in the precinct.

[4] See Gruppe, p. 1281 and n. 2.

[5] Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1039 *sq.*

[6] Picard (*op. cit.*, p. 246, n. 5) enumerates the known occasions on which the cult-statue of the Ephesian Artemis was bathed; they include practically all the sacred days of the goddess; among others, the (first) new moon of the sacral year. Cf. the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan at Epiphany. Weidner (p. 85 *sq.*) publishes a menology (he calls it *"die Hemerologie des Astrolabs B"*) in which, under the month Elul, occurs the note: *"Die Mutter der Ishtarāti wäscht sich im göttlichen Flusse, alljährlich macht sie sich glänzend (die semitische Rezension bietet: die Ishtarati waschen sich im göttlichen*

For this aspect of the cultus of Apollo and Artemis no complex of myths is more significant than that which gathered round the expedition of the Argonauts and was woven together in the epic of Apollonius. The necessities of the narrative required, of course, that a certain progress should be shown, and therefore details which were not originally conceived as successive must needs take that form; but even the most superficial reading suffices to prove that behind the tale of adventure there are rites, practised in Thessaly and along the Hellespont, and the sacred stories connected therewith, which were well known to the Alexandrian poet. It is not our intention to rehearse the account of the expedition, but only to direct attention to a few relevant points. We observed before[1] that Pindar represents Jason as confronting his uncle on the 6th day and receiving his command to seek the golden fleece. This is, of course, part of the myth, according to which—for one must distinguish between the myth proper and its literary elaboration—Jason must have been thought of as setting out forthwith on his perilous quest, presumably to die. Now in Apollonius there is at the departure a little delay,[2] not very well motivated, which brings the actual sailing of the Argo to the 2d day—a clear equation of the 2d with the 6th: before embarking the heroes build an altar on the beach to Apollo Embasius and hold a feast with offerings to propitiate the god.[3] In this connection the casting of lots plays a prominent part in determining the places of the heroes at the oars, all but Heracles being thus assigned; and

Flusse, alljährlich machen sie sich glänzend)." Ibid., p. 96, he explains: *"Ishtar kehrt aus der Unterwelt zurück. Und vor ihrer Heimkehr in die himmlische Wohnung badet sie sich im göttlichen Flusse." Ibid.*, p. 146, he adds: *"Der Liebenswürdigkeit von Geheimrat Assmann verdanke ich noch eine wichtige römische Parallele. Der letzte Tag des Festes der Kybele, das in Rom vom 22. bis 27. März gefeiert wurde, galt als* dies lauationis [This was the 6th day of the festival, a New Year's festival at the vernal equinox!]. *Die Göttermutter wurde dann in feierlicher Prozession zum Flusse Almo geleitet, wo sie zur Reinigung von Totenklage (um ihren Sohn Attis) und Witwentum das heilige Sühnebad nahm* (Statius, *Silv.*, v. 1. 222; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.*, viii, 239; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3, 8)." Attis, however, was not only her son, but her bridegroom, and he too was resurrected. Her bath doubtless served also as preliminary to their conjugal reunion.

[1] Above, p. 189 *sq.* Apollonius omits the earlier part of the story, and begins with the departure of the Argo. As Jason departs he is likened to Apollo (*Arg.* i. 307) and is sped on his way by Iphias, the aged priestess of Artemis (*ibid.* i. 311).

[2] *Arg.* i. 519 *sq.*; cf. Orphic *Argon.* 303 *sq.*

[3] *Arg.* i. 352 *sq.* In Pindar's *Fourth Pythian* 194, the prayer is addressed to Zeus.

there is talk also of choosing the leader of the expedition in that way, but Heracles refuses himself to be designated and insists that Jason alone can be considered.[1] This motive of casting lots is, as we know, one especially connected with the 6th day and New Year. One cannot doubt that the rite of Apollo Embasius accompanied with the casting of lots is that of the opening of navigation in the spring and, as Pindar enables us to see, falls on a 6th day, as did the rites of Apollo Delphinius and Artemis Delphinia. If the connection with the New Year is somewhat obscured in the accounts which relate to the rite at Pegasæ, it is unmistakable in a later passage where we find the Argonauts at Cyzicus on the Propontis.[2] The heroes arrive by night, apparently during a vigil and toward morning. On landing they erect an altar on the beach to Apollo Ecbasius and offer sacrifices. At dawn Jason and some of his comrades climb Mt. Dindymus, and on their return find that Heracles, who with the younger heroes had been left behind, had repulsed and slain the Earth-born men, who fought using crags and great rocks as missiles. There is no doubt that this is a genuine local myth of the battle of the Giants; and that they were slain on this day serves again to show that the day of Apollo Ecbasius was the 6th.[3] Although the ascent of Mt. Dindymus by Jason and his followers is motivated in the epic by their desire to get a view of their further course, one has reason to believe that the incident reflects the connection between the rites of Apollo Ecbasius and those of Dindymenê. The Argonauts, though hospitably received, depart that day; but in the night by an error return and, not being recognized, are set upon by the Doliones of Cyzicus. In the mêlée that follows, many, including the eponym of Cyzicus, are slain. We are told that it was a terrible day for the Doliones, and was thereafter annually observed as a fast with libations for the dead. Such food as was eaten had not been touched by fire, and the grain for the sacrificial cakes was ground at the public mill. Following this day is a term of twelve days, during which there were storms, and on the night of the twelfth—clearly Twelfth-night—there comes

[1] *Arg.* i. 394 *sq.* In Pindar *Pyth.* iv. 190 also the motive of casting lots occurs, when Mopsus sends the Argonauts on board after taking the auspices by casting lots.

[2] *Arg.* i. 961 *sq.*

[3] See above, p. 368, n. 7. This victory was of course interpreted as that of Helius over the powers of darkness. As such it was celebrated in the ceremonies of the "ovation" at Rome on New Year's day (1st January). See Lydus *De mens.* iv. 3.

an omen to Jason, which is interpreted by the seer Mopsus as a command to offer a sacrifice to the Great Mother Dindymenê. This is done by the heroes during the night, and at dawn, the adverse winds having ceased, the heroes again set sail.[1] Of course Dindymenê is only another Artemis, whether conceived of as Delphinia or Embasia, and once more the departure is set for a 6th day. That this complex of rites and myths, the latter dressed up as quasi-historical legends, relates to the transition from year to year, is so plain that its meaning cannot be mistaken. Following this group of events there is another. On the day after their departure from Cyzicus, the Argonauts land among the Mysians at the mouth of the Cius River, and are again hospitably received. After nightfall they offer sacrifices to Apollo Ecbasius, and during their stay Hylas is lost.[2] The desire to maintain the thread of the story probably accounts for the date: it is perhaps more probable that the quest for Hylas, who may be only another Attis, coincided in time with the rites to Dindymenê.

The rites we have been considering are readily understood when we recall certain aspects of these deities. Apollo, like Artemis and Hecate, had his connection with the ways, and presided over the entrance and exit of houses,[3] as he was connected most intimately with the calendar and the transition points of time.[4] Some of these points of time are related to the moon, others to the sun. This fact, emphasized by his association with Artemis-Hecate as well as with Helius, shows at once the complexity and the age of his cultus, whether we conceive it as properly belonging to him or appropriated from others. Here the group of rites of Cyzicus, revealed by Apollonius, is of the first importance. Norden, in his recent book, *Die Geburt des Kindes,* has discussed a strange complex connected with the end of one Æon and the beginning of another. Though he did not penetrate to the heart of the matter, one sees even in his account that the scheme by which the birthday of the Sun falls on the 25th December and the birthday of the Æon after an interval

[1] *Arg.* i. 1078 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.* i. 1172 *sq.* Pausan. ii. 32. 2 mentions a temple of Apollo Epibaterius at Trœzen, said to have been dedicated by Diomed because he had escaped the storm that burst on the Greeks returning from Troy. Apparently on the same occasion, he was thought to have first celebrated the Pythian Games in honor of Apollo. This may perhaps be taken to imply a nostos, as well as games, on a 6th day.

[3] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 9.

[4] See Gruppe, p. 1242 *sq.,* and Nilsson, *Die Entstehung des gr. Kalenders* (Lund, 1918).

of eleven days on the 6th January, antedates the Christian era. Whence it comes we do not know; but that we find it at Cyzicus [1] not later than the third century B.C. is both evident and of the greatest importance. These rites certainly concern the transition from year to year; but there is no reason for thinking that they were observed at the time of year in which Christmas and Twelfth-night fall. Rather, everything points to a date about the vernal equinox. Even if this be so, it should not surprise us, because nothing is more common than the transfer of even the most elaborate scheme of arrangements from one New Year's epoch to another.

Through his relation to the sun and the moon—both symbols of time and, conjoined, among the Egyptians the symbol of eternity or of the Æon [2]—Apollo would seem peculiarly adapted for association with creation, or the beginning of time. By the same token we should expect to find him present and active at the end of time, in the "last days." Here, if anywhere, we should look for points in common between Greek and Semitic beliefs. Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue* represents the new Æon as beginning in the reign of Apollo. One must not take this in too restricted a sense, as referring solely to the identification of Apollo with Helius. In the myths regarding the birth of the children of Leto, as well as in those regarding the slaying of Typhon and Python, Apollo has indeed a certain solar character, but shares it with many other gods who were hardly suspected of having it. It is obvious that we are here concerned with a myth not only very widely disseminated but also of an age so ancient that it long antedates history. Even the conscious equation of Apollo with

[1] In the *Iliad* (i. 421 *sq.*), Thetis tells her son Achilles that the gods have gone to a feast among the Æthiopians and will return (an Epiphany?) on the 12th day. Immediately on their return she implores Zeus to honor Achilles and afflict the Greeks, and he consents, sending that night a deceitful dream to Agamemnon which beguiles him with the vain hope that he will capture Troy that day. For the scheme of the main action of the *Iliad*, see below, p. 527 *sq.* For the term of twelve days, cf. also *Il.* xxi. 46 *sq.*, and *Od.* ii. 353 and 374. It is, no doubt, the "lunar epact" plus New Year's day.

[2] Apollo and Diana (Artemis) jointly share the first honors of the Secular Festival for which Horace wrote the *Carmen sæculare*. There Phœbus is identified with Sol, and Diana with Lucina (the Moon) and Genitalis Eileithyia). (Since 6 was "the most generative number," Genitalis is naturally connected with the 6th day.) See Corssen, *Philologus*, LXXXI (1925), 36. This was natural, and the fitness of the poet's procedure is so evident that it is not necessary to think of special instructions from Ateius Capito. For the relation of the Egyptian Sun-god Rā to creation, see Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 323, and above, p. 380 *sq.*

Helius is obviously older, however, than is commonly admitted.[1] On the other hand, the association of Apollo with the 6th day (which has no apparent connection with the sun) and with Artemis and Hecate can hardly be explained except by some relation to the moon, the earliest timepiece for longer periods.

Regarding the circumstances attending the birth of Leto's children we have few but sufficient details, which enable us to see their relation to the beginning and end of the year and æon. Theognis[2] says that when Apollo was born, all Delos was filled with ambrosial fragrance[3] and Giant Earth laughed and the deep sea gave way to mirth.[4] On this occasion Delos is represented as either rising out of the sea[5] or as becoming fixed after having before floated[6] free on the face of the deep. Here we have unquestionably ancient traits of myths relating to the creation of the earth or dry land, as one sees on comparing other myths about floating islands, which are local versions of the story of creation. In Callimachus's *Hymn to*

[1] Gruppe (p. 1240 *sq.*) cites Æschylus and Euripides; but the identification is clearly implied in the Homeric *H. to Apollo* 371 *sq.*

[2] 5 *sq.*

[3] Cf. Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 231 *sq.* The fragrance merely betrays the presence of the god; *Hymn to Dionysus* 36 *sq.*

[4] Cf. *Sib. Or.* VIII. 474 *sq.* (referring to the birth of Jesus), τικτόμενον δὲ βρέφος ποτὶ δ' ἔπτατο γηθοσύνη χθών, οὐράνιος δ' ἐγέλασσε θρόνος καὶ ἀγάλλετο κόσμος. In *A.J.P.*, XLV (1924), 227, it was pointed out that the Christian Church dates the Nativity, whether at Epiphany or at Christmas, on a 6th day.

[5] Pindar (*O.* vii. 54 *sq.*) tells how, when the gods divided the earth among them, Helius, being absent, received no portion, but with the consent of Zeus had Rhodes, then just emerging from the sea, allotted to him. This was thought, no doubt, to have occurred when, on the 6th day, Zeus and his confederates, having overcome the Giants, divided the spoils of victory by lot.

[6] The floating Delos is of course one of the islands moved out of their places at creation and on the last day. The myth is certainly connected with that of Chemmis (Herod. ii. 156), which floated when Typhon was seeking Osiris, and with that of Sicily, which, having previously floated free, was given to Cora by Zeus as a present on the occasion of her marriage to Pluto. The birth of Horus (Apollo) and Bubastis (Artemis) is certainly related to the epact and New Year, and Cora's marriage to Pluto occurred on a 6th day. See below p. 517. The oath of Hera regarding the delivery of Leto (Lucian *Dial. marin.* x. 1) is clearly parallel to Helius's regarding that of Isis (Plutarch *De Iside* xii). Of a piece with this is the statement of Hecatæus of Abdera (*fr.* 2, in Diodor. Sic. ii. 47) that Leto came to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans in 12 days. Several motives of the myth of Apollo's birth significantly recur in the legend of the birth of Buddha, which likewise fell at the vernal equinox. The Buddhist calendar of China dates Buddha's birth on New Year's day, and Bodhisatva's on the 1st of the 7th month. The birth of Buddha was decreed 12 years in advance.

Delos[1] we have, in the Alexandrian manner, various local myths fused into a connected story. When Leto's time arrives, because of the dire threats of the jealous Hera, the mountains flee and the rivers are stayed in their courses. One has only to recall the behavior of the mountains and rivers when Israel went forth out of Egypt: "The sea saw it and fled; the Jordan was driven back. The mountains skipped like rams, the little hills like lambs."[2] Or, if one turns to *Revelation*[3] one finds the same picture of the last days: at the opening of the sixth seal "every mountain and island were moved out of their places," and when the seventh angel poured out his vial, "every island fled away and the mountains were not found."[4] It will be seen at once that we have in the Jewish document the same variation of six and seven as in the rites of Apollo and Artemis. In the Hebrew tradition, the motive of the rivers stayed in their courses is associated especially with the passovers: it should therefore not surprise us if we discovered something of this kind also in the Greek tradition of the birth of Artemis and Apollo. In an earlier connection[5] we found reason for suggesting that in the legend of Jason, who lost his sandal in crossing the Thessalian Anaurus, there was possibly a hint of a passover-rite at that stream; now in the account of Callimachus,[6] this and other rivers, especially the Peneius, of Thessaly figure prominently as streams that fled before Leto; but the Peneius alone stayed his stream to permit Leto to be delivered.[7] The story certainly suggests a local legend in which the Anaurus and the Peneius were somehow connected with the birth of Leto's children in a way that would be quite parallel to the Hebrew story of the Passover. But in the Greek story the motive of passing over is associated rather with Delos, who, seeing the goddess in the pangs of childbirth, cried out:[8] "Hera, do unto me what you please; I regard not your threats. Leto, pass over, pass over to me." It may not be fantastic to detect the same motive in Lucian,[9] who on this occasion

[1] *H.* iv. 70 *sq.*
[2] *Ps.* xciv. 1 *sq.*
[3] vi. 14.
[4] xvi. 20.
[5] Above, p. 189 *sq.*
[6] *H.* iv. 103.
[7] *Ibid.* 134–152.
[8] *Ibid.* 203 *sq.*
[9] *Dial. marin.* x. 2.

represents Poseidon as bidding the Tritons transport Leto to Delos.

The birth of Apollo and Artemis is thus shown to present a clear parallel both to the Jewish Passover, which we know as a New Year's day rated preferably as a 6th, but in the later period also as a Sabbath or 7th day, and to the beginning and end of the æon. As for the end of the 'Olam, we know that in Judaism it is familiarly known as "the Passover to come," and it is obvious that the ritual scheme embodied in the Hebrew story of creation is that of the New Year festivals, of which Passover was one. This being so, we are prepared to find Apollo connected with another group of myths associated with the same occasions. Lucian says[1] that the children of Leto, immediately after their birth, will forthwith[2] attack the dragon that maddens and affrights her, and will avenge their mother. The dragon in question is Typhon, whom Apollo and Artemis assail in the Battle of the Giants. Of this myth, already familiar to us, that of Python, also slain by the children of Leto, is only a replica.[3] In these myths Apollo is the principal and Artemis for the most part merely his female counterpart. As Apollo plays the rôle of Zeus, or Marduk, or Rā, or Horus, so Typhon merely duplicates Tiâmat, or Apophis, or Set; and as Apollo, the slayer of Python, was identified with Horus,[4] he was likewise identified with Christ,[5] who at the end of

[1] *Dial. marin.* x. 2.

[2] This implies that the battle between Apollo and Typhon occurred on the birthday of Apollo. Clearchus of Soli, a disciple of Aristotle, and others told how Apollo, when still a babe in arms, slew Python (*fr.* 46, *H.G.f.*, II, 318). The gods commonly perform their greatest feats on their birthdays: see Cornford, *Origin of Attic Comedy*, p. 87, n. 1. But since Typhon was certainly regarded as slain on New Year's day—the 6th—it is clear that either Apollo had, according to one group of myths, a birthday on the 6th, rather than the 7th, or he inherited rites and myths from a god to whom the 6th was sacred. In Soph. *Ichneut.* 273, οὔπω γ]ὰρ ἕκτον ἦμαρ ἐκφεφασμένος, the οὔπω must be wrong: we want a word meaning "scarcely" (say μόλις); for, as Cornford (*loc. cit.*) has seen, there is here a ritual reference to the 6th day. This may be due to Apollo, who is angry (Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 236) and on this day acquires the lyre; or it may be due to Hermes, who (not only as ὅδιος and guardian of the cross-roads) had cult-associations with Hecate and had a marked chthonian character in many rites. If the lyre of Hermes was strung with the sinews of Typhon, the reference to the 6th day is explained.

[3] Gruppe, p. 1255.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1259, n. 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1626, n. 3. That Satan shall be bound on the 6th day was known to Augustine (*Ciu. Dei* xx. 6–8). Christ, whom the Fathers often called the Sun, in overcoming Satan was identified with Apollo (Gruppe, p. 1626, n. 3), as Apollo was identified with Horus (*ibid.*, p. 1259, n. 1).

the times shall bind and cast into the abyss "the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan." That this deed, whether regarded as occurring in the past, at creation, or expected at the end of the world, was dated on a 6th day or on New Year's day, we have already seen. The myth, being very ancient, assumed many forms and was brought into relation with many gods; consequently it is impossible from our fragmentary sources to show in detail the interrelation of the versions.[1] At a comparatively early date the myth was connected with the constellations;[2] but it is uncertain whether it had an astrological origin, although even in its earliest forms it is associated with the New Year. That in a still more primitive age the myth of the threatening dragon related to the peril of the moon at the conjunction has already been suggested, and is made probable by myths still current among savages.

From all these considerations it must be clear that the connection of Apollo and Artemis with the 6th and 7th days is neither late nor fortuitous: it is rather of the essence both of their rites and of the myths associated therewith. This being admitted, it follows with certainty that we are here dealing with deities who, by whatever intermediaries, still undetermined, are intimately linked with Yahweh and many another god and goddess of the Mediterranean Basin. Once this is fully understood, minor points of agreement surprise us little. Of these we shall speak more at length presently.

Apollo and Artemis cannot be considered apart from Hecate; for "Hecate" must be related to "Hecatus," an ancient appellative of Apollo, and Hecate was so completely identified with Artemis that a clear distinction cannot be drawn between them. It is probable that Hecatus and Hecate were originally quite distinct from Apollo and Artemis; but though "Hecatus" sometimes stands alone, our sources never leave room for doubt that Apollo is intended, to whom it is given as a surname. (Apollo) Hecatus is mentioned rather frequently in the *Iliad* and the Homeric *Hymns*,[3] and, though not met

[1] Elsewhere reference has been made to Persian myths reported by Al-Biruni; for older Iranian sources, see *Sacr. Books of the East.* v, 1–19, 156–163; *J. Enc.*, v, 211 *b*; Carnoy, *Iran. Mythology*, p. 293. Cf. the rites observed on the Gold Coast in driving out the evil spirit (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., p. 555): it suggests a very primitive custom rather than borrowing (say) from Egypt.

[2] See Boll, *Aus der Offenbar. Johannis*, p. 108 *sq.*

[3] *Il.* i. 385; vii. 83; xx. 71, 295; *Hymn to Apollo* 1, 63, 90, 275, 276; *Hymn to Artemis* 1; *Hymn to Hestia* 1.

with in the *Odyssey,* occurs in later Greek authors, possibly as a reminiscence of Homer; it seems strange, therefore, that Hecate should not have been mentioned in either *Iliad* or *Odyssey,* and that among the *Hymns* her name should occur in that to Demeter alone.[1] However this fact is to be explained, there is no reason for supposing that the goddess was unknown to the Greeks in the Homeric age; for, as will presently be seen, from the time of Hesiod onward she was a familiar member of the Greek pantheon.

Scholars have been chiefly concerned with the questions relating to the original nature and home of Hecate. For us these questions are not of vital importance. Hesiod [2] says that Hecate received her portion among the older generation of gods, the Titans, sharing in heaven and earth and sea; and that Zeus respected her prerogatives and even increased them: whenever men offer fair sacrifices of propitiation they call on her name. This is not, as some have interpreted it, a claim that Hecate was invoked at every sacrifice, of whatever character:[3] as one of the Titans, she is certainly not regarded as an Olympian, and the rites, here specially emphasized, are those of the ancient order, in which the desire to propitiate the godhead prevailed. She is here, as in later times, chiefly the goddess whose favor must be procured because of her power to work harm. Hesiod does indeed emphasize her beneficent help; but when one considers the spheres of her influence, the character of her rites becomes abundantly clear. Before doing so, however, we must survey in detail the data regarding the days of her rites.

Porphyry,[4] quoting from Theopompus, says that at Methydrium in Arcadia the images of Hecate and Hermes were crowned and cleansed at the new moon of every month. Pindar [5] also practically identifies Hecate with the new moon, making her a herald of coming events. In this aspect she is hardly to be distinguished from Artemis who, as we have seen, was worshiped on that day. In ancient as in modern times, however, "new moon" sometimes means the time of the conjunction and sometimes that of the first appearance of the crescent. In the instances just mentioned, the latter is intended; in

[1] 25, 52, 59, 438.
[2] *Theog.* 416 *sq.*
[3] This would make her akin to Hestia, who was the daughter of Hecatus (*Hymn to Hestia* 1).
[4] *De abstin.* ii. 16.
[5] *Pæan* ii. 75 *sq.*

others the meaning is not certain. Thus it is reported [1] that at new moon the well-to-do sent a repast at nightfall as a sacrifice to Hecate at the cross-roads, while elsewhere we are told that this was done at the conjunction.[2] It is of course possible that a certain confusion of practice may have matched the confusion of language; but it is more probable that Hecate's repast belonged rather to the dark of the moon, the "dread nights of Hecate," [3] when ghosts were thought especially to haunt the fateful parting of the ways. At all events, the last day of the year, which, as a "thirtieth" (*triakas*), was properly the conjunction, was solemnly observed in the cult of Hecate at Lagina in Caria; [4] and it has been conjectured that "all the festal days of the goddess in the year," mentioned in the inscriptions found at the same sanctuary,[5] refer to the thirtieth days of the several months. It may be questioned, however, whether so general an expression does not include other days; for at Lagina we find New Year's day observed as a joint festival of Hecate and of the Roman Emperor, beside the celebration of the "birthday" of the goddess and the ceremony called the "Translation of the Key." [6] The days on which these latter observances fell are not known, and can at best be inferred only when other data are considered, to which we shall presently give our attention. As regards the connection of Hecate with New Year's day, there is no reason for supposing that it was due solely to the desire to associate her cultus with that of the Emperor. Wherever her cult may have originated, there can be no doubt that it was very ancient in Asia Minor, in historical times clearly the center from which it spread.[7] Moreover, the sites most sacred to her lay in the interior, making it certain that they owed their sanctity not to the Greeks but to other peoples. Now, as has already been pointed out, among the peoples of Asia Minor New Year's day was connected especially with the vernal equinox, as it was among most other peoples of Western Asia. At Ephesus [8] we know of a largess provided by the will of one Salutaris to be dispensed on the 6th Thargelion, which we have recognized as a New

[1] *Schol.* on Ar. *Plut.* 594.
[2] Athenæus 325 A.
[3] See *Inscr. Gr. Sic. et Ital.*, No. 1019.
[4] See *B.c.h.*, XLIV (1920), 89.
[5] Newton, *Halicarnassus*, p. 790; see Hatzfeld, *B.c.h.*, XLIV (1920), 86.
[6] See Hatzfeld, *B.c.h.*, XLIV, 83 *sq.*
[7] See Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1885.
[8] Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 247.

Year's day; and a late text,[1] which, though impugned, is certainly to be trusted, mentions Mysteries of Hecate in connection with the Phasis River at the vernal equinox. One may be inclined to explain this congruence with the rites of Artemis as due to the relatively late identification of these goddesses; but this procedure is unjustified for various reasons. As regards their specific characteristics, they are so different that the wonder is rather that they were ever identified. Furthermore, in the complex which ultimately came to constitute the character of Artemis, the elements of Asiatic derivation greatly predominated, as they did in Hecate. The Ephesian Artemis, who extended her cultus directly or indirectly to the ends of the Greek world, never became really Hellenized; and it may be regarded as certain that she, and other Asiatic goddesses likewise identified as Artemis, imposed the forms of their ancient cults upon those which were observed in Greece. There is, therefore, no good reason for doubting that in essentials the ritual schemes of Artemis and Hecate were alike from times immemorial, and that these, rather than the specific characters of the goddesses, brought about their identification. Now the sacred day of Artemis, as we have seen, was the sixth; hence, even without express testimony, we might be sure that certain sixth days would be sacred to Hecate. Plutarch[2] says that the Athenians made a solemn thank-offering to Hecate for their victory at Marathon on the 6th Boëdromion. Scholars have been prompt to change the text, eliminating the reference to Hecate, because the offering was made to (Artemis) Agrotera;[3] but, in view of the identification of Artemis and Hecate long before achieved, there is no justification for the proposed emendation. In another instance there is mention of an offering to Artemis and Hecate on the 16th Munychion,[4] but since it was made at the cross-roads, Artemis rather than Hecate is presumably the interloper. A scholiast on Euripides[5] says that the moon of three days is called Selene; of six, Artemis; of fifteen, Hecate. There is reason for supposing that in regard to Hecate this is erroneous, and that it would have been more correct to say "sixteen" instead of "fifteen."[6] The "Hecate," who, according

[1] (Plut.) *De fluuiis* v. 2. Strabo x. 3. 10 likewise mentions Mysteries of Hecate.

[2] *De malign. Herod.* xxvi; *De glor. Athen.* vii.

[3] See Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 175, n. 4.

[4] See Tresp, p. 81 *sq.*

[5] *Medea* 397.

[6] See below, p. 519, n. 8.

to Herondas,[1] prepared a wedding on the 20th of a certain month, is doubtless not the goddess, but a woman.

This exhausts the list of days expressly named in our sources. It is obvious that they coincide throughout with those of Artemis, except as regards the observances of the days of the conjunction. It appears to be the common view that these—the *triakades,* or "thirtieths" of the month—were the days of Hecate *par excellence,* and probably those originally kept in her honor; but this is far from certain. If this assumption were true, it would be difficult to discover why these days did not pass over to Artemis, when she was identified with Hecate. The dark of the moon was of course from very ancient times a period of especial dread, when the spirits of the departed dead returned: as such it could not have been peculiarly appropriated to Hecate, though in her character of mistress of the underworld she would naturally be remembered. But, whether or not Hecate was originally a Moon-goddess, she came to be associated with the moon in all its fateful phases—new moon, half(quarter)-moon, and full moon, as well as the conjunction. There is nothing to indicate that her character was originally such as to mark the conjunction as her time exclusively; rather, the progressive association of this goddess with the uncanny aspects of nature and the darker impulses of the human heart sufficiently accounts for her special connection with this season.

On the other hand, there is much evidence that points to her connection with the sixth days. The direct testimony to this fact has already been cited; the constructive evidence, to which no attention has hitherto been paid, remains to be adduced. It is various and by no means all due to Hecate's association with Artemis; though, if we be right in maintaining that the identifications made by the Greeks were based chiefly on identity or close analogy of ritual forms, the very fact of this association is itself an important datum. Thus it is true that Artemis received the surname Pers(e)ia, which was likewise given to Hecate;[2] but it is far more likely to have been first given to the latter and then appropriated by Artemis. In an earlier connection[3] it was pointed out that "Perseia" was a name applied to the number six and that the Persian goddess (Anāhita) was, like the various gods of the Semites, associated with the passovers on

[1] vii. 85.
[2] Roscher, *Lex.,* I, 1898, 66 *sq.*
[3] P. 186, n. 4.

sixth days. Again Diodorus [1] mentions a Hecate Scotia ("Dark") in Egypt, who in all probability was the same divinity whom Hesychius [2] calls Aphrodite Scotia. If so, she was an Astarte, whose day was the sixth. Brugsch [3] with great probability identifies this Egyptian goddess as the dark Kekuit, who is the sixth of the ogdoad of Hermopolis. In such a case one is not justified in looking to Artemis as the *tertium comparationis:* the equation of Hecate with the Asiatic goddess is made directly. In like manner the intimate connection of Hecate with the Artemis of Ephesus and Delos [4] cannot be conceived of as secondary. Delos, we are told, was once called Asteria; but Asteria—perhaps Astarte, the Queen of Heaven—was, according to Hesiod,[5] the mother of Hecate. Hard by Delos, also, lay an islet called Hecate's Isle;[6] and the son of Leto, born on Asteria or Delos, bore the name of Hecatus. On Hecate's Isle there was a cult of Iris, the Messenger, and Hecate likewise had the surname Messenger (Angelus).[7] We have already met Hecate at the new moon serving as messenger;[8] but this function most clearly appears in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter,* which is connected with the Eleusinian Mysteries.

To this association with the myth of Demeter and Cora we must now direct our attention. It has hardly been duly considered: Farnell [9] goes so far as to say that Hecate had no place in the Eleusinian Mysteries. How so careful a student could make this statement is incomprehensible. From the fifth century onward Hecate was certainly confused or directly identified with Persephone;[10] but there is the strongest presumption that this association dates back at least two centuries earlier, because it is implied in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter,* which, as the sacred story of the Eleusinian Mysteries, undoubtedly reflects the rites. That the rites were supposed to reproduce the myth is merely the customary inversion of the true re-

[1] i. 96. 9.
[2] *S. v.*
[3] *Rel.,* p. 141.
[4] Picard, *Éphèse et Claros,* p. 297, n. 4.
[5] *Theog.* 409 *sq.* Cf. Lydus *De mens.* ii. 11, p. 32, 1 *sq.* Wünsch.
[6] Picard, *op. cit.,* pp. 324; 398, n. 6.
[7] Gruppe, p. 1290, n. 3.
[8] P. 512 *sq.*
[9] *Cults,* II, 503; but see Roscher, *Lex.,* I, 1893, l. 4, and 1900, l. 59, for Hecate at Eleusis.
[10] Roscher, *Lex.,* I, 1898; Gruppe, p. 1291.

lation in such matters. Now in this *Hymn*[1] it is stated that when Pluto raped Persephone, Hecate and Helius heard her voice, as did Demeter also, who went seeking her daughter torch in hand, neither eating nor drinking nor bathing[2] her body, for a space of nine days; but when the tenth dawn had come Hecate, torch in hand, met her and gave her the message. Thereupon Demeter, torch in hand, repaired to Helius, and from him learned the fate of her daughter; so she held aloof from the gods in anger and wandered many days among men disguised[3] and unrecognized, until she had instituted her Mysteries. In this story two points are so clear that they can hardly be mistaken. First, Demeter with the flaming torches, of whom Persephone is but a replica, is another Hecate,[4] who appears in duplicate in the sacred story; and, secondly, the scheme of days, framed by the mention of Hecate and Helius, is an integral element of the cult myth. These occasions lie ten days apart, and we have already noted the connection of Hecate with the 6th[5] and 16th days of the month. Now, though much else in regard to the Eleusinia remains uncertain, there is every reason for accepting the conclusion of Mommsen[6] that the Mysteries proper began either on the 15th or the 16th Boëdromion. Thus the period of ten days will be the interval between the two days of Hecate, the 6th and (15th or) 16th.[7]

In view of many parallel instances already cited in this study, such a use of the data requires no further justification; but we may give

[1] 19 *sq.* Cf. Kern, *Orph. Fragm.*, p. 121, *fr.* 49, 76.

[2] Fasting and abstention from bathing go together. One suspects that Demeter, like the competents for initiation, bathed on Halade Mystai, the 16th Boëdromion.

[3] Disguise, one of the observances of the fast, is ended at the Eccalypteria. The periods of nine and ten days, represented in the sacred story as successive, as is common in literary embellishments of a rite, are probably to be regarded as coincident and as referring to the 6th to the 16th Boëdromion. In that case we have a valuable hint as to the practice of the competents, who (like the bride) were perhaps veiled during this time of preparation.

[4] See Gruppe, p. 1291, n.

[5] It is altogether probable that the line ἕκτῃ ἐν ἠριγένει ῥοδοδακτύλῳ ἀργυροπέζῃ, from the Orphic poem *The Wrath of Demeter* (*fr.* 275 Kern), refers to the date of the rape of Persephone.

[6] *Feste,* p. 205 *sq.*

[7] The association of the Eleusinian Mysteries with the number six may be further illustrated by the statement of Andron (*fr.* 24, Tresp, p. 68 *sq.*), that the Eumolpus who imparted them was not the first (who fought against Erechtheus), but the third (cf. the τρίτος σωτήρ), who was of the sixth generation: (1) Eumolpus, (2) Ceryx, (3) Eumolpus, (4) Antiphemus, (5) Musæus the poet, (6) Eumolpus. That this genealogy is an artificial construct is palpable.

another example which, though sufficiently obvious, has been ignored by scholars. In order to understand it one has only to recall how commonly a term, say, of six days, is connected with a deity to whom the sixth day is sacred. That the latter is true of Artemis is familiar to every reader by this time. Now the story of Meleager, as told by Bacchylides,[1] is interesting and instructive. The Greeks waged warfare against the Calydonian Boar six days and then, having slain the brute, fell to quarreling over the spoils: in the fighting Meleager slew his kindred because Artemis Agrotera had not ceased from her wrath. That this sanguinary fighting, and the consequent death of Meleager, fell on the fateful sixth day of the wrath of Artemis is so plain that there is no reason for arguing the point. Such definite mention of days in myth, rarer than we could wish, is never to be ignored.[2]

Returning to Hecate, we may now consider the story of Chrysame and the occupation of Erythræ at the time of the Ionian Migration, as told by Polyænus.[3] It has the appearance of being the accepted legend of the founding of the "colony." While other states looked upon Apollo or Artemis as the leader of the migration, Erythræ would have it that Cnopus, of the race of Codrus, who headed the expedition, was bidden by an oracle to obtain as general from the Thessalians the priestess of Enodia, who can be no other than Hecate. So Chrysame, who held that office, came, and being an adept in the use of drugs, chose a bull and, adorning him for sacrifice and feeding him with maddening drugs, had him led out to an altar erected between the lines of the armies, which were drawn up close to each other, as if to offer him there; but the intended victim fled into the lines of the enemy, who, seeing how he was adorned, regarded his coming as a good omen and proceeded to sacrifice him. As they partook of the flesh of the sacrifice, they all became mad and leaping up, running to and fro, and skipping, neglected to stand

[1] v. 113 *sq.* As Preller-Robert (*Gr. Mythol.*, II, 92) suggests, the account of Bacchylides, probably influenced by the play of Phrynichus, obviously stands close to the local myth of Pleuron; the Homeric account (*Il.* ix. 529 *sq.*), on the other hand, is clearly the result of contamination.

[2] I cannot, of course, understand all such references. Thus the meaning of the seventh day in Apollodorus *Bibl.* i. 8. 2 remains a mystery to me. Editors have sedulously tried to remove such time references from the text when, as in Æsch. *Agam.* 1605, they could make nothing of them. Cf. *Prom. Bound* 773.

[3] viii. 43.

guard.[1] Chrysame, seeing this, bade Cnopus arm his soldiery and set upon the enemy, who were in no condition to defend themselves: so Cnopus slew them all and became master of the city. If this story is what it purports to be, it reflects the rites of a goddess who is actually called Enodia, but might with equal propriety be called Tauropolos or Artemis. That the sacrifice of the bullock between the lines [2] is a passover-offering, the bullock being regarded as a willing victim, seems perfectly clear: the scene described by Polyænus bears all the marks of a Semitic *hag*. The tale also of the terrible slaughter among the enemy agrees with the standing features of the day of Artemis.[3] Who will doubt that this occasion, presided over by the priestess of (Hecate) Enodia, was a sixth day? One recalls especially that Hesiod [4] said that Iphigenia, offered to Artemis on the day of the fleet's departure to Troy,[5] did not die, but by the will of Artemis became Hecate. The Attic legend rather represented her as changed into Tauropolos.[6]

So intimately was Hecate associated with the number six in the minds of the Greeks that the Orphics seem to have thought that there was an etymological connection between the hexad and Hecate.[7] A scholium on Aristophanes [8] may be connected with the same con-

[1] Cf. the story of the death of Cnopus by Hippias of Erythræ in Athenæus 258 F *sq.* It seems not improbable that Enodia is the same as Artemis Strophæa, for whom see Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 242.

[2] Cf. Achilles Tatius iii. 15 *sq.* and 19, where the "virgin sacrifice" of Leucippe is clearly a passover-offering, as is that of Iphigenia. For the significance of the sacrifice of Leucippe, Iphigenia, and Jephthah's daughter, cf. S. A. Cook in *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* III, 452 *sq.*

[3] See above, p. 365 *sq.*

[4] Pausan. i. 43. 1; cf. Philodemus *De pietate,* p. 24 Gomperz.

[5] Theognis 11 *sq.* dates the dedication of the temple or cult-statue of Artemis, which would of course fall on her *natalis,* on the day of Agamemnon's sailing to Troy.

[6] See Vürtheim, *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie,* p. 47 *sq.*

[7] *Fr.* 316 compared with *fr.* 312 Kern. Kern (p. 324) rightly observes that Byzantine scholars (misled by Pythagorean speculations) erred in referring Orphic statements (made with reference to the hexad) to the decad. Lydus' (*De mens.* i. 15 [p. 9, 2 W.]) ἕκτα τὰ ζωογονικά falls in with the old scheme which connects the creation of man with the sixth day. Cf. Orph. *fr.* 312 Kern.

[8] *Thesm.* 80: ἡ τρισκαιδεκαταία ὡς "ἑκαταία ἑκατηβόλος σελάνα," <ἡ> ἑκκαιδεκαταία. Here Dindorf has substituted ἑκταία for ἑκαταία, and his example has been followed by others; but as the source of the quotation is unknown and ἑκατηβόλος does not well go with σελάνα, it is possible that the poet actually used Ἑκαταία for Ἑκάτα. The scholiast follows the usage known from Hesiod's *Works and Days.*

ception, though it is perhaps corrupt. However that may be, Hecate as the mistress of ghosts was of course specially associated with the period between midnight [1] and cockcrow and the midday hour: [2] that these were both sixth hours has already been pointed out. In a former chapter [3] the kinship of Hecate with certain deities of the Babylonian pantheon, who were connected in various ways with sixth days, was shown. Without presuming to say anything about origins, one may indicate still other points of agreement between Hecate and Semitic deities. Thus in the matter of offerings it is interesting to note that Hecate falls into a special group. She received the honey-cake,[4] like all chthonians: the connection between this oblation and that of the manna and unleavened bread offered to Yahweh has already been referred to.[5] But she likewise had fish-offerings,[6] which associate her with Atargatis and the practice of eating fish on Friday. One is tempted to ask whether the practice of placing the sweepings from the homes at the cross-roads as offerings to Hecate [7] is not somehow connected with the Jews' search for leaven and the solemn disposal of it just before the beginning of the New Year.[8] In an earlier chapter,[9] reference has been made to the apparent connection between the shewbread offered in the temple at Jerusalem and the *amphiphoön* brought to Artemis and Hecate on the 16th Munychion. We have pointed out [10] that offerings of unleavened bread were made to Yahweh at Mazzot, a sixth-day festival, and that the preparation of the shewbread was a ritual act falling properly at the close of Friday, the oblation obviously being in earlier times made on the sixth day, though later, with many other rites, transferred from the sixth to the seventh day. If there is really a connection, by whatever intermediate links, between these Greek and Jewish observances, we may perhaps push the parallel even further.

[1] Apollonius Rh. *Arg.* iii. 1029 *sq.*; Lucian *Philopseud.* xiv. Cf. Theocritus xxiv. 64 and 92.

[2] *Schol.* on Ar. *Frogs* 295; Lucian *Philopseud.* xxii. She was a *meridianus dæmon.*

[3] P. 386, n. 3.

[4] Sophocles, *fr.* 734 Pearson.

[5] P. 154 *sq.*

[6] Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1888, 66. See above, p. 376, n. 5.

[7] Roscher, *loc. cit.*, 1889, 11.

[8] Compare the ceremony of the *busk* of the Creek Indians (Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* abr. ed., p. 484). The Talmud says that all leaven must be disposed of by the sixth hour of the 14th Nisan. Was the original hour midnight?

[9] P. 148.

[10] P. 146 *sq.*

The shewbread, after being left before Yahweh, was "profaned," let us say, by being given to the priests. That the *mazzot* eaten "for seven days" by the Jews were in the older time similarly "profaned," after having been first dedicated to Yahweh, is not unlikely, though we know of no proof of the fact. The priests ate the shewbread on the Sabbath, and the eating of unleavened bread at Mazzot for "seven days" is perhaps a ritual development of the practice of eating this analogue of the shewbread on the seventh day. If that were true, we should have a complete parallel to the rites of Hecate; for we know that the offerings made to Hecate were—certainly only after her day had passed [1]—eaten by the poor. So among the Jews the Sabbath meals for the poor are well attested; [2] and "according to one of the ten ordinances of Ezra, [3] Jewish women were advised to bake bread early on Friday to supply the poor." These ordinances are parallel in form to those regarding the volunteer produce of the fields in the Sabbatical year,[4] to which reference has elsewhere been made.

In considering the connection of Hecate with the sixth day, it must not be overlooked that she had the surname Kleidophoros, "Bearer of the Key," and had a solemn festival called the Translation of the Key.[5] Unfortunately the date of this observance at Lagina is not known; but there can be no doubt of its meaning. Hecate's connection with the dead is of the closest, and her association with Hermes,[6] the Conductor of Souls, is certainly not limited to a sort of partnership in the guide-posts along the highways. When she appears, she is apt to be accompanied by the ghosts of the dead. This being so, it seems certain that the Key, which she bore or had in her keeping, was the Key of death and of Hades, or the Key of

[1] Ar. *Plut.* 597 is not to be taken literally. One may compare the act of Moschion of Priene, who as Stephanephorus sacrificed to the gods of the city at every new moon and apportioned the flesh of the victims and the other offerings among the citizens on the following day (Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 37).

[2] *Pesah.,* VIII, 7.

[3] *J. Enc.,* X, 594 *b*.

[4] *Deut.* XIV. 28–29.

[5] Cf. *Orph. Hymn* 1. 7; Hatzfeld, *B.c.h.,* XLIV. 83; Picard, *Éphèse et Claros,* p. 248 *sq.* Hatzfeld and Picard (*op. cit.,* p. 292, n. 8) see the connection of this rite with the New Year.

[6] Porphyry *De abstin.* ii. 16; *C.i.A.* i. 5, ii. 208. One may compare Artemis (Hecate) Strophaia and Hermes Strophaios: see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States,* II, 601 (R. 23 *c*). It is possible that στροφαῖος properly referred to the turn of the year and the beginning and end of the world before it came to be associated with the hinge of the door or the act of averting the face. See Nilsson, *Feste,* p. 242, n. 2.

the pit of the abyss:[1] with it she locked and unlocked the prison-gates of the nether world.[2] When one celebrated the festival of the Key, one may be sure that it was done in order to prevail on the goddess to open the gates of the pit and permit the dead to return. Though the calendar-date of this festival is not given in our sources, we are safe in saying that it was either New Year's or a sixth day.

In the same way one may interpret Hecate's connection with the *agōn*. Hesiod[3] says that "she is good when men contend in games;" and we meet her in the greatest contest of all, the Battle of the Giants,[4] which was won by Zeus and his confederates on the sixth—New Year's—day. One may imagine her on that occasion not unlike the angel, seen in the *Apocalypse*,[5] coming down out of heaven having the Key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand, wherewith he bound Satan and cast him into the abyss; for though of the race of the Titans, Hecate (who had a portion in heaven, on earth, and in the sea, as well as a throne in the nether world) sided, like the Titan Prometheus, with Zeus in that supreme contest; wherefore, no doubt, Zeus confirmed the lot which fell to her in the original allotment.[6] There is, indeed, some reason to suspect that Hecate was not only, like Apollo at Tyre, represented as bound, but also as carrying a chain or fetter,[7] herein resembling another Saviour, Prometheus, who was a Titan supporting Zeus and was bound only to be unbound in the fullness of time.[8] This treatment of the Saviour, as

[1] *Rev.* i. 18; ix. 1; xx. 1.

[2] See above, p. 389, n. 4.

[3] *Theog.* 435. Games were held in her honor at Stratonicea (*B.c.h.*, 1881, 236). Cf. Apollonius Rh. *Arg.* iii. 1211.

[4] Roscher, *Lex.*, i, 1892, 6.

[5] xx.

[6] Hesiod *Theog.* 421 *sq.*; Plutarch *De Iside* xliv.

[7] *Schol.* on Pindar *O.* vii. 95 says the image of Artemis (= Hecate, see above, p. 518 *sq.*) at Erythræ was bound. If her name Strophaia (Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 242, n. 2) is derived from στροφεῖον = "a rope," she would no doubt be regarded as bound, though released, like Cronus, on her day. See above, p. 492, n. 4.

[8] Set-Typhon, too, was bound and released. That he was identified with the Saviour-Messiah has already been pointed out. Prometheus, besides being regarded as a Saviour and Creator of man, has certain marked Satanic traits, which run closely parallel to the old Serpent of *Genesis*. It was not for nothing that Marcion and others identified the Creator with Satan. The Jews themselves, as we have seen, thought of Mastema as unbound on the passover-days, and attributed to him deeds elsewhere ascribed to Yahweh. How this strange, and at first disconcerting, parallel between the Saviour and Satan is to be explained, I do not know; the most probable suggestion that has occurred to me is that it may be connected with the rites of the scapegoat,

if he were Satan, need surprise no student of comparative religion. That Satan was to be bound and again unbound at the turn of the year, on a sixth day, we already know.

Hecate was represented now as a normal woman, now as triform, sometimes with three heads, sometimes with one, and with six arms and feet.[1] The latter form is certainly of Oriental derivation, and reminds one of the Seraphim with six wings who guarded the ark in the Holy of Holies. This six-handed Hecate may well be cited as evidence of her association with the number six; for one recalls the fact that the "hundred-handed" monsters are sometimes called "hundred-headed." One recalls also that Phorbas was said[2] to have begotten on Hecate the monster Scylla, who, according to Homer,[3] had six heads, with each of which she snatched from his ship one of Odysseus's crew. Scylla, whose heads were sometimes represented as those of dogs,[4] bears a kind of kinship to Cerberus, who had, however, for mother not Hecate but Echidna, the Serpent of Hell.

Hesiod[5] says that Zeus made Hecate a Nurse of the Young (*Kourotrophos*), and late authors[6] identified her, like Artemis, with Eileithyia. Hesiod also associates her with Hermes as favoring the increase of flocks.[7] In view of the connection of Hecate with the 6th and 16th days of the month, which was pointed out above, it is of interest to see what Hesiod has to say of them in the *Works and Days:*[8] "This sixth of the mid-month is very unfavorable for plants, but good for the birth of males, though unfavorable for a girl either to be born at all or to be married. Nor is the first sixth a fit day for a girl to be born, but a kindly for gelding kids and sheep and for fencing a sheep-cote. It is favorable for the birth of a boy, but such will be fond of sharp speech, lies, and covert dalliance." It is difficult to dissociate this emphasis on the birth of male children on the sixth days from the evidence elsewhere given of the creation of man on the sixth (New Year's) day.[9] One is reminded of the fact

or Pharmakos, who is treated with contumely, but is nevertheless, though for the moment the very embodiment of evil, the means of salvation.

[1] Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1900 *sq.*
[2] Hesiod in *Schol.* on Apollonius Rh. *Arg.* iv. 828.
[3] *Od.* xii. 90, 110, 246 (cf. *ibid.* ix. 60, xxii. 252).
[4] Cf. Hecabe.
[5] *Theog.* 450.
[6] Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1897.
[7] *Theog.* 443.
[8] 782 *sq.*
[9] See Lydus *De mens.* ii. 11, p. 32. 4 *sq.* Wünsch, on six as a generative

that, according to Lydus, the oft-quoted line attributed to Orpheus,[1]

> "Be propitious, illustrious Number, father of the Blessed, father of men,"

was said with reference to the number six, though it has been erroneously referred to the decad. That the sixth days should have been deemed inauspicious for the birth and marriage of girls is easily explained, if we recall their connection with Hecate and Artemis; on the other hand, the characterization of the boys born on the sixth day and the reference to the flocks might at first suggest the connection, already noticed, between Hecate and Hermes. But it is doubtful whether the character of the boys born on the sixth day was not rather drawn with reference to the raillery and abuse practised on the sixth day; to the "father of lies," who is cast into the pit on the 6th (New Year's) day; and to the sexual license known to have been practised in the cultus of many a goddess who was identified with Hecate [2] and Artemis.

Like Artemis, Hecate gave victory in war; [3] like Artemis Delphinia and Apollo Delphinius, she was a patroness of those who went to sea,[4] as well as of fishers; [5] and, like Apollo, she had her oracles.[6] All these functions we have seen more or less commonly connected with the sixth days. Finally, the deepest pit in the moon (whither many thought the souls departed at death) was called the Circle of Hecate,[7] because there was held the Judgment: it may be questioned whether there was any thought here of the judgment-seat of Osiris, to which the departed repaired at the sixth hour of the night (midnight).

It would be indefensible to press each item of this long list of possible associations of Hecate with the number six and the sixth day; but after making all allowances, there remains enough to cause one to ask whether we are here dealing with mere matters of chance

number and its connection with Aphrodite, "the nature of the sensible world." See above, p. 519, n. 7.

[1] *Fr.* 312 Kern.

[2] For the association of Hecate with Priapus, see Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1892, l. 8, The sixth day belonged to the licentious Aphrodite (Astarte).

[3] Hesiod *Theog.* 431.

[4] *Ibid.* 440.

[5] *Ibid.* 443; cf. Oppian *Halieut.* iii. 28 and *Schol.*

[6] Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1895, l. 19 *sq.*

[7] Plutarch *De facie in orb. lunæ* xxix (944 C).

or traits apropriated from Artemis. The answer, it seems, must be in the negative; for, quite apart from the fact that the same associations occur in part in the cultus of Artemis and Apollo, the obvious affiliations of Hecate with Asia, where the number six enjoyed a prominence in the cultus second to none, make any other view untenable.

Reference was made above to the three-headed, six-handed Hecate and to the six-headed Scylla, born of her. Whatever view we take of her, she is certainly to be grouped with the large number of figures who were objects of dread to the popular mind in all lands. These monstrous beings, as they appear in our literary sources, are the creatures partly of the popular mind, partly of the imagination of poets. Of these Typhon may be regarded as the type. What is most surprising about these beings is the number of their members. When the poets represent Typhon as having 100 heads and 200 arms, or 50 heads and 100 arms—sometimes in the form of serpents—one knows that this is not a popular conception, because, if for no other reason, such a being cannot really be pictured to the imagination. It may be said that 100 is in such cases only a round number, and that it matters little whether it attaches to heads or arms. The latter point is obviously well taken, because the hundred-headed Typhon is matched by the hundred-handed Giants. One is amazed, however, by the variants; for alongside the fifty-headed or hundred-headed Typhon we find three-bodied Typhons,[1] who, like the triform Hecate, presumably had six arms.[2] So, while the poets tell of the hundred-handed Giants, an obviously popular myth, found at Cyzicus, represents the Earth-born (Giants) as having six arms.[3] One might greatly extend this list, but it would serve no useful purpose. Now among the names of Apollo, as has been said, was that of Hecatus, which Strabo[4] thought it possible to connect with the name of the Hecatonnesoi, usually supposed to mean "Hundred Islands." In like manner, a lexicographer reports that the surnames of Apollo, *Hekate-*

[1] Eurip. *H.F.* 1271, and the Typhon of the old Hecatompedon of the Athenian Acropolis.

[2] On six as the *"Unterweltszahl,"* see Fritz Hommel, *Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 1023. On pp. 407, 494, n. 1, and 1029, he refers to several dragons with six heads.

[3] Apollonius. Rh. *Arg.* i. 942 *sq.*; cf. Orphic *Argon.* 512 *sq.* (cf. II *Sam.* XXI. 20).

[4] xii 2. 5.

bolos and *Hekebolos,* were by some interpreted as derived from the fact that Apollo slew the dragon at Delphi with a hundred bolts.[1] The later Greeks, then, were not averse to the thought that Hecatus (and consequently Hecate) might be connected with a number; but they thought only of *hekaton* (100).

This suggestion, however, is not the only conceivable one; for it is possible that "Hecatus" and "Hecate" may actually be derived from the number six.[2] This etymology has undoubtedly some difficulties,[3] which one may not blink; but it offers an explanation which is at least worthy of consideration. If *hekatos* be an alternative form of *hektos* (6th), it is presumably a Greek form of great age crowded out of use in the literary period by *hekaton* (100) and hence, because no longer understood, interpreted in various compounds as meaning "100," as in reference to the Hecatoncheires (Hundred-handed), though these monsters of the infancy of the world lived on in the imagination of the people as the "Six-

[1] Apollonius *Lex.* lvi. 14 *sq.* (Hesychius, *s. v.* "ἑκατηβόλος"). Of course it signifies little that Fulgentius (*Mitolog.* x, p. 22, 14, ed. Helm) connects the name of Hecate with ἑκατόν.

[2] Cf. τρίτατος (τρίτος), perhaps formed by analogy to τέτρατος, εἴνατος, δέκατος (Boisacq). Sethe (*"Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern"* (1916), p. 124 *sq.*) regards τρίτατος, ἑβδόματος, ὀγδόατος as, like δεύτατος, superlative forms.

[3] For ἕκατος, ἑκάτη would be the ordinal form. But we have Eshmun, "the Eighth," who cannot be dissociated from "the Eight" of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, on whom see Sethe, *"Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern"* (1916), p. 33. Lydus *De mens.* iv. 111, p. 150, 15 *sq.* W., connects the fact that August is the eighth month with the circumstance that Augustus was called Octavius. It is possible that ἑκατόμβη (cf. the ἕβδομος βοῦς) properly meant six (or the sixth) oxen (ox). Axel W. Persson ("Der Ursprung der eleusinischen Mysterien," *A.R.,* xxi, 302) connects the *bukranion* of those Mysteries with the *bukrania* found on Minoan cut stones and vases, and calls attention to their association with the goddess of fertility and to the fact that on a seal-ring are represented six *bukrania* (see Schliemann, *Mycenæ and Tiryns,* p. 354). If the derivation here suggested be correct, the gem would perhaps represent a "hecatomb." It is plain that the word has no connection with ἑκατόν, "100." See Van Leeuwen (*Ench. dict. epicæ*[2], 144, n. f.), who (wrongly, I think) denies also its connection with βοῦς. With ἑκατόμβη one must compare ἑκατομφόνια, said to have been offered of old by the Messenians (Plutarch *Sap. conuiu.,* xvi. 159 E). Pausan. (iv. 19. 3) says that Aristomenes twice offered ἑκατομφόνια over the defeated Spartans. Did this properly mean "twice six" human victims? Cf. Herod. i. 86 and vii. 114, where victims "twice seven" are mentioned. In the first passage this number clearly has a special significance, and may be affected by the connection of the story with Apollo; in the second (a detached fragment of the tale of Amestris in Herod. ix. 108–113) one might have expected "twice six," rather than "twice seven," victims offered to the Chthonians.

handed." [1] One may compare with them not only the Seraphim, which had six wings, and the similar spirits which in *Secrets of Enoch* [2] are located in the fourth and sixth heavens, but more especially the Satan of the Iranians, Azhi Dahâka, whom we have seen overcome and bound by Jamshid on the sixth (New Year's) day, as he had been worsted by Trita (Thraëtaona) in the perhaps older myth; for he is described as an evil spirit created by Angra Mainyu and having three heads and jaws and six eyes.[3] If Hecate was from the first such a being of the nether world, her association with the powers of darkness is easily explained.[4]

This view gains appreciable support from a study of Apollo Hecatus. As has already been pointed out, he figures somewhat prominently in the *Iliad,* where he is unmistakably a god of death.[5] Hector, the "manslayer" and son of Hecabe (Hecuba), is his protégé and sometimes called his son: that he is a replica of Apollo Hecatus cannot be doubted.[6] If this be granted, the story of Hector in the *Iliad* becomes of prime interest to us. Here we are especially concerned with the central action of the epic, which, as the poet announces in the opening line, deals with the wrath of Achilles.[7] It is this motive that dominates the whole poem, with the exception of the last two books, which on any view are less directly connected with the main theme. Obviously we must here confine ourselves to the barest outline and to such data as are relevant to our present inquiry.

The main action, which extends over six days, begins [8] with the

[1] Cf. Geryones, Hesiod *Theog.* 287.

[2] XI. 4; XIX. 6; XXI. 1.

[3] Carnoy, *Iran. Mythology,* p. 265. This monster is generally thought of as having snaky arms. The Hecate who appears on coins of Æzanœ in Phrygia has six hands and is quite surrounded by serpents. She is plainly not a creature of the Greek imagination.

[4] It would equally well explain her relation to fertility; for Hippocr. (*Περὶ διαίτης* iv. 92 [vi. 658 L.]) says *ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων αἱ τροφαὶ καὶ αὐξήσιες καὶ σπέρματα γίνονται.*

[5] See Pauly-Wissowa, art. "Hekatos."

[6] Roscher, *Lex.,* I, 1918; Gruppe, pp. 305, n. 1, 621.

[7] Achilles, as well as Hector, had his cultus. It is not necessary to debate whether they were gods or Heroes: both were Saviours, fated to an untimely death. Whether in their cults they were regarded as having a resurrection, which would make them gods, is not known. The story told by Ptolemæus Chennus (Photius *Bibl.,* p. 151 *b*29 *sq.*) regarding Achilles returned to life through the intercession of Thetis in order to have his revenge on Penthesilea, is not decisive. It has many parallels in myths relating to the marriage-rite, in which bride and bridegroom are often regarded as revenants.

[8] *Il.* ii. 48.

assembly of the Greeks called by Agamemnon at dawn to test their steadfastness of purpose, and ends with the death of Hector. The days are on the whole indicated with precision,[1] leaving no reasonable grounds for dispute; and it is to this scheme of days, together with the significant incidents, which reveal the articulation of the term and the relation to other schemes already studied, that we have now to direct attention. It may be stated at once that the scheme is not simple; for, like that embodied in the Biblical account of creation, it shows a division of the hexaëmeron into two terms of three days, and, again, like the Hebrew and other festival terms, marks a clear parallel between the first and last (sixth) days. We should not be surprised, in view of what has already been said, to find in the incidents of the story numerous suggestions of rites and usages proper to the turn of the year.

On the first day, as has been said, occurs the assembling of the host. Agamemnon had had a dream during the foregoing night which led him to believe that he might take Troy that day. In view of this fact, the incidents of the gathering are noteworthy, and have indeed been the subject of much comment. The chief actually suggests that the undertaking be abandoned, and that all return home: the suggestion is hailed with delight, and there ensues a general rush for the ships, which is checked with difficulty by Nestor and Odysseus. This hasty leave-taking (flight) and speedy return may well remind one of the custom of taking formal leave and then returning, observed at New Year in many parts of the world.[2] On the same day Hector, destined to die on the sixth day, likewise takes leave of Andromache and Astyanax,[3] and, though still living, is mourned as if dead by his wife and her maids.[4] Associated with this New Year's custom is that of exchanging gifts, a motive which we meet twice on this day:—first Diomed and Glaucus, recognizing each other as family-friends, exchange armor[5] instead of fighting, and again, Telamonian Ajax and Hector, after a battle in which the latter is all but slain, are parted as night comes on, and mutually give gifts.[6] This same important episode contains another motive proper to the New Year:

[1] The second day begins at vii. 421; the third, at vii. 433; the fourth, at viii. 1; the fifth, at xi. 1; the sixth, at xix. 1.

[2] Van Gennep, p. 254 *sq.*

[3] vi. 369.

[4] vi. 500.

[5] vi. 119–236.

[6] vii. 288 *sq.*

when Hector rages unchecked, the Greek leaders cast lots[1] to determine who of their number shall meet him in the field, the choice falling on Ajax. And one must not overlook the mustering of the forces, which yields the *Catalogue of Ships;* for, though this is not inappropriate to the situation, since on this day the fighting described in detail in the *Iliad* really begins, there is reason enough for omitting it, because the war has already lasted nine years. The motive is certainly more suitable for the beginning of an expedition and, like the census, fell naturally at the opening of the year.[2] The behavior of the army at the assembly on this day suggests another observance of New Year's day; for its hasty retreat to the ships amounts practically to a renunciation of loyalty to the sovereign, as indeed Achilles had renounced it the previous day. Thersites, too, takes up the quarrel of Achilles and like him reviles the king; but he is roundly beaten for his ribaldry and is treated after the fashion of a Pharmakos.[3] Finally we may mention the sacrifice to Zeus and all the gods—a New Year's custom[4]—and the feast.

That night, as if by a common inspiration, the Achæans and the Trojans agree to make a truce for the following—second—day in order to bury their dead, both sides professing a desire to fight on thereafter without further truce until the decision shall have been reached. The cessation of hostilities follows, and the avowed purpose is fulfilled, but not as we should have expected; for, though Hector is slain on the sixth day, Troy is not taken; and so far as the *Iliad* is concerned, there is no further fighting. For this epic, then, the death of Hector marks the end of the fighting. It does not seem to have been noted that this incident conforms to the ancient practice, of which we learn from the *Iliad* itself, of burying the dead on the second day.[5] That this rite was performed on this occasion only may

[1] vii. 171 *sq.*

[2] Or of the period. The Roman census was anciently taken at the beginning of a *lustrum.* The Christian era dates from the taking of a census. *Numbers,* which purports to relate the story of the exodus, begins with the census-taking of Israel. Why it is dated the 1st day of the 2d month of the 2d year, I do not know, unless it is somehow connected with the Second Passover. It is interesting too to observe that Hebrew tradition regarded the taking of a census as an evil, to be explained as due to the inspiration of the Evil One.

[3] The cursing and reviling of David by Shimei, the discrowning of the Babylonian and Persian kings, and the scapegoat-rites have all been shown to be connected with the turn of the year.

[4] Sacrifices to all the gods were offered in Egypt on the first of each month.

[5] *Il.* xix. 229; cf. the "law of Solon," Demosth. xliii. 62. By the fifth century the custom of burying the dead on the third day had fully established

be regarded, when taken with other indications, as evidence that we are here dealing with a recognized scheme of days.

The third day is passed over lightly with no fighting and with little incident. On it the Achæans prepare the wall and trench to guard their camp and ships. That night they hold a feast and drink wine, as if victory had come to their arms; but their good cheer is disturbed by ominous thunders, which prompt them to offer libations [1] to Zeus. Herewith the first triduum, which is plainly introductory, ends.

The fourth day clearly marks a new beginning; for not only is the fighting resumed, but Zeus now recalls his promise to avenge the wrongs of Achilles. At his bidding the gods refrain from the battle, and the victory goes to the Trojans: for the Achæans it is a very black day, though not so fateful as the following.

The fifth day Zeus continues to favor the Trojans who, led by Hector, almost compass the destruction of the Achæans. Diomed, Odysseus, and Agamemnon are wounded; and though Achilles, nursing his wrath, still holds aloof, his boon companion Patroclus dons his armor and enters the battle, though with the strictest command from his chief not to cross the wall and trench. This injunction he disregards in the heat of the contest and falls, smitten by Apollo, wounded in the back by Euphorbus, and slain by the spear of Hector. He is the precursor of Achilles and tries to impersonate him. Over his body, rescued with difficulty without his arms, which fell into the hands of Hector, a fierce battle is waged. Before this Hector and his fellows had crossed the trench and fired the ships. This was the critical juncture, as every one knows. Since this episode is referred to the fifth day, it seems impossible to regard it otherwise than as a variant of the passover-theme. Achilles, who holds himself in reserve, and has offered a libation and prayer to Zeus for Patroclus, gives way to passionate grief for his friend. Before his death Patroclus had prophesied that Hector should soon die at the hands of Achilles, and that prophecy is repeated by Thetis, who comes to com-

itself. In the *Iliad* itself, the body of Patroclus is burned on the third day. Of this matter I hope to treat more fully at another time. Sophocles *Ant.* 194 *sq.*, 245 *sq.*, represents the bodies of Eteocles and Polynices as buried on the second day. See above, p. 295, n. 4 In all the great Armenian festivals the dead are commemorated on the second day, usually Monday (*E.R.E.*, v, 835 *b*).

[1] Cf. the three libations: the first would have been offered to Zeus and the other Olympians at the feast on the first day; the second, to the dead, on the second day; and the third, to Zeus at the feast on the third day.

fort her son. She bids Achilles wait until the morrow, when she will return with new armor wrought for him by Hephæstus. The hero makes a supernatural appearance when, to the utter dismay of the enemy, he shows himself at the trench, which he refrains from crossing. All that night the Achæans, especially Achilles, mourn the dead Patroclus, Achilles vowing that he will not bury his friend before he shall have slain Hector and brought back his head.

The sixth day, clearly a day of doom, dawns; and with its coming returns Thetis, bringing the promised armor, a gift divine for the incomparable hero. The significance of this incident becomes clear in the elaborate description of the wonderful shield, which cannot be dissociated from the various myths regarding the mantle representing the heavens and the earth. That this complex of myths is connected with creation, which dates at New Year, is so obvious that there is no need of insisting on the point.[1] On this day Achilles, as Agamemnon had done on the first day, calls an assembly, and announces his reconciliation with his chief. A reconciliation had been attempted in vain on the fourth day—the first of the second triduum; now it is accomplished, and Achilles renounces his wrath against the Achæans, but vows to avenge himself on their enemies, Hector and the Trojans. As Achilles from more than one point of view is to be regarded as a superhuman saviour, his attitude recalls not only the associations of that typical Greek doomsday, the 6th Thargelion, but also those of the day of Yahweh among the Hebrews. That these were both New Year's days we have already shown: here it remains only to point out that pardon or reconciliation presents another motive of that occasion.[2] As Achilles fares forth on this sixth day[3] the gods all join in the battle. Achilles makes havoc among the Trojans, especially at the fords of the River Xanthus, into which he

[1] See above, p. 415, n. 1.

[2] See Van Gennep, p. 254. Why he says that the rite of pardon is secondary I do not know. Certainly it is highly appropriate to making a fresh beginning, "turning over a new leaf." Libanius (*Or.* ix. 14) mentions universal pardon and reconciliation as customary at the Roman New Year. The Jews say that on the Day of Atonement all sins are forgiven, though one sins throughout the year. One forgets the things that are behind as one presses toward the new goal. Cf. *Il.* xix. 65.

[3] He fasts (as Hector declined wine and food the first day [*Il.* vi. 258 *sq.*]), saying that he will neither eat nor drink before nightfall (xix. 205 *sq.*); but Athena instils nectar and ambrosia into him, that he may not faint (xix. 352 *sq.*). This may have a ritual significance. If nectar is honey, the food of the fast, all is clear. The practice of eating sweets at New Year has already been mentioned.

leaps sword in hand "like a dæmon."[1] Hephæstus too joins in the battle with the Xanthus, whose waters are heated and dried up. These motives again suggest a sixth-day passover. On earth the strife of the elements, of the gods, and of heroes was terrifying: but in heaven, too, there was war between the gods.[2] On Olympus, however, it is rather *opéra bouffe:* one god smites another; Artemis weeps and lays her head in the lap of Zeus, who laughs[3] and comforts her as if she were a child; Hera, too, laughs aloud. Yes, there was war in heaven, but it was the make-believe of the poetic imagination, picturing the rough-and-tumble of a New Year's carnival. Of course this instance of the laughter of the gods is not solitary. Of another in the *Iliad*[4] we have spoken in an earlier chapter. There Zeus was angry and threatened to lay violent hands on Hera; the tense situation was relieved by the limping progress of Hephæstus serving as cupbearer about the table of the gods, who burst forth in inextinguishable laughter. That this was New Year's day, following a twelvetide,[5] marked by the absence of the gods from Olympus, can hardly be doubted. Again, in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus,[6] Zeus laughs when he wins the victory over Typhon, which, as we know, occurred on New Year's day; and in the Hebrew *Psalms*[7] likewise we repeatedly

[1] *Il.* xxi. 18, 227.

[2] For Jewish views of the warfare in heaven at the end of the world, see Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos,* pp. 171–398; *J. Enc.,* v, 211 *b*; and *Isa.* xxxiv. 5. Heraclitus (*Qu. Homer.* liii) mentions the view, held by some interpreters, that the Homeric Battle of the Gods refers to the simultaneous concourse of the seven planets in the same sign of the zodiac, which portends the end of the world and the reduction of all things to chaos (σύγχυσις τοῦ παντός).

[3] *Il.* xxi. 389, 508 *sq.*

[4] *Il.* i. 493–600.

[5] See above, p. 507, n. 1.

[6] ii. 563. Zeus had just sounded his trumpet, proclaiming the victory (ii. 557): it was evidently "the last trump," sounding the recall from battle and heralding the New Age. Nonnus adds (ii. 650) that Nature, stewardess of the cosmos and mistress of reborn matter, once more reduced Chaos to order, as the hubbub in heaven ceased. A magical text (Dieterich, *Abraxas,* p. 7 *sq.*) tells how the god laughed seven times, each guffaw accompanying an act of creation. Photius (*Bibl.* 152 *b*26 *sq.*) cites from Ptolemæus Chennus (*ca.* A.D 50) a statement, attributed to Theodorus of Samothrace, that Zeus at his birth (which must have marked the beginning of the αἰών) laughed without ceasing for seven days, wherefore the number seven was regarded as perfect (τέλειος). That this is somehow connected with the foregoing magical text is certain; but their common source seems to be unknown.

[7] II. 1 *sq.*; XXXVII. 13; LII. 6; LIX. 4, 8. These are penitential *Psalms* (the connection of which with the Babylonian *shigū* was pointed out above, p. 386, n. 3), referring to the day of Yahweh's wrath, when the wicked shall be punished. The Lord will have his enemies in derision, as Zeus derides Typhon

read that Yahweh will laugh at sinners in the day of his wrath. Returning now to the sixth day of the battle before Troy, we find that the end has surely come: Zeus weighs in the balance [1] the souls of Achilles and Hector, and the latter, forsaken by Zeus and his patron (father) Apollo, and betrayed by Athena, recognizes that his hour has come. He is slain and his body ignominiously dragged behind his victor's chariot to the camp of the Achæans. "But come," says Achilles,[2] "let us now, singing our song of victory, go back to the hollow ships, and take with us our foe. Great glory have we won; we have slain the noble Hector, unto whom the Trojans prayed throughout their city, as he had been a god."

That Hector, a replica of Apollo Hecatus, was indeed a god or Hero slain on the sixth day, seems to be beyond question. And what is true of Hector may be said with equal assurance of Hecatus. But Hector was not only the protégé and son of Apollo (Hecatus), but likewise the son of Hecabe, who was unmistakably another Hecate. This group is certainly significant, as is its connection with the sixth day. Here we find the explanation of the dark character of the 6th Thargelion, with its rites of purification including the expulsion of the Pharmakos. We may be sure that on this day Apollo (Hecatus) was in early times supposed to have been slain and buried.[3] The seventh day in the cultus of Apollo, marked by the singing of his song of victory over Python, which was his victory over Death and the Grave, was that of his return or epiphany, when anciently he gave oracular responses, as being once more in his holy temple. When Apollo came to be regarded chiefly as the god of purity and purification and as the dispenser of oracles, it was natural that the aspect of his cultus associated with the seventh day should predominate in the thought of his devotees and obscure the darker phases of his character. These, it would seem, were in good part transferred to

(Nonnus *Dionys.* ii. 565 *sq.*). The Fathers even suggest that on the Last Day the saints, who are saved, will laugh when the damned are cast into Hell; and certain Gnostics held that at the Crucifixion the Jews by misprision crucified Simon of Cyrene, while Jesus stood by and mocked his enemies.

[1] *Il.* xxii. 208 *sq.* This is the ψυχοστασία (Plutarch *M.* 17 B). Æschylus took it as the subject of a play, and Aristophanes parodied it in the *Frogs* (1365 *sq.*), when Dionysus descended to Hades. That it is an ancient motive of New Year's day, as the day of judgment, is well known: see *E.R.E.*, v, 390 *b*. Cf. *Il.* viii. 69 and xvi. 658 for the related scale of battle.

[2] *Il.* xxii. 391, tr. Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

[3] See above, p. 497 *sq.* For the cubic altar of Apollo and the Kaaba, see above, p. 64, n. 4.

Dionysus, who was adopted at Delphi and as a Mystery-god might appear more naturally to claim the rites referring to death and resurrection. Be that as it may, it is certain that the sixth day was dark and the seventh was one of joy in the cultus of Apollo. In the speculations regarding numbers, known to us from later antiquity, this situation is clearly reflected; for in unmistakable connection with Apollo, the number six is characterized as complete, perfect, finished; whereas seven is equated with one.[1] That these speculations ultimately rest on the ritual forms requires no further argument.

So far as the foregoing statement has the appearance of offering an *explanation* of the ritual forms of the cultus of Apollo, it may well be fallacious. It is doubtful whether we shall ever be able to explain these forms, because the figure of Apollo is almost certainly composite, even when we first meet him. The scheme, therefore, which can now be traced, may be the result of an accommodation effected by the priests in order to reconcile conflicting forms; but the notable agreement between the issue of this compromise, if such it was, with that which we have found in the cultus of Yahweh is none the less significant. It reveals a common sense of ritual forms in Greece and Judea which deserves careful consideration. Apollo, though not cordially welcomed by the Semites, was not so alien to them as they may have thought.

The reader will have noted the importance of the fifth day in the hexaëmeron of the *Iliad,* where it bears an unmistakable resemblance to the fifth day of the Hebrew Passover.[2] There seems to be no other direct evidence of the significance of this day in the cultus of Apollo; but much of Plutarch's treatise *On the "E" at Delphi*[3] assumes that the number five played a considerable rôle in that shrine. The objection may, indeed, be offered that there is little in that discussion which really shows more than the disposition of the Greeks to play on the properties of numbers; yet Plutarch's relation to the priesthood of Delphi was such that one can hardly credit him with so much emphasis on this point if he believed it was merely fanciful. One of

[1] Lydus *De mens.* ii 11 *sq.*; cf. Plutarch *De Iside* x. For Philo's identical views of the numbers 6 and 7, see above, p. 418 *sq.*

[2] One may here recall what Pausan. (x. 5. 9, tr. Frazer) says: "They say that the most ancient temple of Apollo was made of laurel, and that the boughs were brought from the laurel in Tempe. This temple must have been in the shape of a shanty." The καλύβη is rather a booth or tabernacle, similar to the *sukkah* in which the Israelites dwelt during their festivals.

[3] iii–xvi.

the interlocutors in that dialogue [1] insists indeed that E was merely the ancient way of writing EI, "Thou art," a form of address peculiarly appropriate to God. The similarity of this appellation to the Jewish interpretation of the name of Yahweh [2] is sufficiently striking to arrest our attention. If, in addition to these points, we recall the prominence of the quail in the stories and cultus of Apollo, Artemis,[3] and Yahweh,[4] and the connection between Apollo Smintheus and the Hebrew ark with its golden mice,[5] we may well ask whether Apollo and Yahweh did not in fact have a certain kinship, though its degree can no longer be determined.

[1] xx.

[2] *Exod.* III. 14; *John* VIII. 58; *Rev.* I. 18; cf. *Mark* x. 18 and parallels.

[3] Marked by their birth in Ortygia.

[4] See the quail-Passover, *Exod.* XVI. From Al-Biruni, p. 273 *sq.*, it would seem that late Jewish tradition represented the quails as being supplied along with manna to the end of the exodus, i. e., to the death of Moses.

[5] See above, p. 484.

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XXXV. 10 *sq.* .....85, n. 2
XXXV. 17 .....128, n. 2

Ezra

III. 1-6 (III. 8-13) .....198, n. 5
III. 4 .....198, n. 2
VI. 15 .....330, n. 3
VI. 19, 22 .....123 and n. 1; 128, n. 2
VI. 20-21 .....54, n. 2
VI. 22 .....123 and n. 1; 128, n. 2; 337, n. 1

Nehemiah

I. 1 .....330, n. 3
II. 1 .....330, n. 3
VI. 15 .....330, n. 3
VII. 17 .....337, n. 1
VIII. 1 *sq.* .....208 and n. 1
VIII. 9 .....170, n. 3, n. 5
VIII. 10 .....208, n. 2, n. 5
VIII. 13, 14 .....192, n. 1
VIII. 13 *sq.* .....198 and n. 5
VIII. 14 .....192, n. 1
VIII. 16 .....232, n. 6; 241, n. 2
VIII. 17 .....113, n. 1
VIII. 18 .....211, n. 3; 273, n. 4
IX. 1 .....281, n. 4
IX. 1-2 .....209 and n. 5
X. 31 .....401 and n. 6
XIII. 15-18 .....150, n. 1; 242 and n. 3
XIII. 15 *sq.* .....401 and n. 6

Esther

II. 16 .....330, n. 3
III. 7, 13 .....330, n. 3
III. 13 .....330, n. 3
VIII. 9, 12 .....330, n. 3
VIII. 12 .....330, n. 3
IX. 1, 15, 17, 19, 21 .....330, n. 3
IX. 15 .....330, n. 3
IX. 17 .....330, n. 3; 337, n. 1
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IX. 19 .....330, n. 3; 337, n. 1
IX. 21 .....330, n. 3
IX. 22 .....337, n. 1

Job

I. 2-4 .....318, n. 3
I. 6 .....281, n. 1
III. 6 .....368, n. 7
VII. 21 .....79, n. 1
XXVII. 21 .....451, n. 4
XXIX. 6 .....155, n. 7
XLII. 8 .....121, n. 2

Psalms

II. 1 *sq.* .....532 and n. 7
II. 7 .....230, n. 2
II. 11 .....397, n. 1
XI. 1 .....451, n. 4
XI. 4 .....396, n. 3
XIX. 11 .....282, n. 3
XXIV .....96, n. 2
XXIX .....218, n. 3; 229, n. 7
XXX. 5 .....134, n. 6
XXXVII. 13 .....532, n. 7
XLVI. 5 .....134, n. 6; 165, n. 5
XLVIII .....96, n. 2
XLVIII. 7 .....451, n. 3
LII. 6 .....532, n. 7
LIX. 4, 8 .....532, n. 7
LIX. 8 .....532, n. 7
LXVII. 7 *sq.* .....169, n. 5
LXXIV. 9 .....353, n. 1
LXXVII .....135, n. 1
LXXXI. 4 .....335, n. 2 (336); 354 and n. 1
LXXXVII .....96, n. 2
XC. 10 .....117, n. 4
XCIV. 1 *sq.* .....509, n. 2
XCV .....96, n. 2
XCV. 8 .....223, n. 5; LXX, 225, n. 4
C .....96, n. 2
CII. 13 .....357, n. 6
CIV. 19 .....352, n. 2, n. 4
CV. 43 .....135, n. 1
CVI. 10 .....223, n. 5
CVI. 25 .....116, and n. 3
CVI. 35 *sq.* .....395, n. 8
CXIII. 9 .....72, n. 5
CXIV. 1 .....169, n. 5
CXIV. 1, 3, 5 .....177, n. 1
CXIV. 3 .....133, n. 2; 177, n. 1
CXIV. 3, 5 .....133, n. 2
CXIV. 5 .....133, n. 2; 177, n. 1
CXVI. 13 .....95, n. 1
CXXI. 8 .....80, n. 1
CXXVI .....396, n. 2
CXXX. 3 .....356, n. 3

Proverbs

VI. 16 .....318, n. 2
VII. 20 .....335, n. 2 (336)
XVII. 19 .....223, n. 2
XX. 4 .....324, n. 8

XXV. 23 .....451, n. 7
XXX. 15, 18, 21, 24, 29 .....318, n. 2
XXX. 18 .....318, n. 2
XXX. 21 .....318, n. 2
XXX. 24 .....318, n. 2
XXX. 29 .....318, n. 2

SONG OF SOLOMON

(CANTICLES)

I. 11 .....99, n. 3 (100)
II. 11 .....81, n. 1

ISAIAH

I. 10-12 .....216 and n. 4
I. 13 .....273, n. 2; 274, n. 3; 400, n. 2; 401 and n. 4
I. 13-14 .....327, n. 1
I. 16 .....222, n. 2
I. 18 .....163, n. 2
II. 12 *sq.* .....356, n. 5
II. 18-21 .....130, n. 5
IV. 5-6 .....229, n. 4
VI. 2 .....474, n. 2
VII. 15-16 .....157, n. 2; 174, n. 3
VII. 22 .....157, n. 2
VIII. 6 .....219, n. 1
VIII. 6 *sq.* .....426, n. 1
IX .....287, n. 5
IX. 2-3 .....218, n. 4 (219)
IX. 4 .....357, n. 2
IX. 5 (6) .....313, n. 5
IX. 7 .....313, n. 6
X. 3 .....394, n. 1
X. 8, 10, 11 .....93, n. 3
X. 10 .....93, n. 3
X. 11 .....93, n. 3; 130, n. 5
XI. 15 .....184, n. 8
XI. 15-16 .....221 and n. 1; 451, n. 5
XII. 3 .....217, n. 6; 218, n. 2
XII. 31 .....93, n. 3
XIV. 3 *sq.* .....427, n. 4
XVI. 2 .....179, n. 1. *See also: Jeremiah* XLVIII
XVI. 14 .....43 and n. 1
XVII. 14 .....165, n. 5
XIX. 1 .....130, n. 5; 177, n. 3
XIX. 5 *sq.* .....164, n. 3
XIX. 19 .....448 and n. 8
XXI. 16 .....43, n. 2
XXV. 4-5 .....229, n. 4
XXVII. 8 .....451, n. 5
XXX. 25 .....356 and n. 6
XXX. 29 .....72, n. 4; 135, n. 1; 329, n. 2
XXXI. 5 .....130, n. 5
XXXI. 5-7 .....130, n. 5
XXXII. 9 *sq.* .....218, n. 4
XXXII. 10 .....218, n. 4; 316, n. 1; 339 and n. 5
XXXIV. 4 .....532, n. 2
XLV. 7 .....395 and n. 5
XLVI. 7 .....311, n. 7
XLIX. 3 .....230, n. 2
XLIX. 10 (LXX) .....451, n. 4
L. 2 .....133, n. 2
LII. 10-12 .....93, and n. 2
LIII .....287 and n. 5
LIII. 7 .....306, n. 2
LVI. 21 .....150, n. 1
LVII. 8 .....80, n. 1
LVIII .....208, n. 4
LVIII. 1 *sq.* .....211 and n. 2
LVIII. 4 .....223, n. 3
LVIII. 13-14 .....401, n. 7
LXI. 1 *sq.* .....488, n. 2
LXI. 3 .....155, n. 9
LXII. 9 .....279, n. 2
LXIII. 3 .....482, n. 10
LXVI. 17 .....484, n. 3
LXVI. 23 .....327, n. 1

JEREMIAH

I. 3 .....330, n. 2
II. 13 .....220, n. 9
IV. 12 .....451, n. 4
V. 24 .....259 and n. 3
VIII. 12 .....394, n. 1
VIII. 20 .....81, n. 1; 99 and n. 1, n. 3 (100)
IX. 1 .....273, n. 2; 274, n. 3
IX. 7 .....177, n. 3
X. 5 .....311, n. 7
X. 15 .....394, n. 1
XI. 23 .....394, n. 1
XVI. 5-10 .....318, n. 3
XVI. 6 .....62, n. 7
XVII. 13 .....220, n. 9
XVIII. 17 .....172, n. 4; 451, n. 4
XXI. 5 .....38, n. 5
XXV. 11-12 .....33 and n. 1
XXVI. 9, 17 .....170, n. 4
XXVI. 17 .....170, n. 4
XXVII. 7 .....33 and n. 1
XXVIII. 1, 17 .....330, n. 2
XXVIII. 17 .....330, n. 2
XXXI. 5-6 .....39, n. 4
XXXI. 6 .....353 and n. 2
XXXI. 8-9 .....170, n. 4
XXXI. 15 .....69, n. 3
XXXII. 35 .....92, n. 2
XXXIV. 18 .....282, n. 3
XXXVI. 4-8 .....216 and n. 3
XXXVI. 9 .....354, n. 6
XXXVI. 9, 22 .....330, n. 2

XXXVI. 22 .....330, n. 2
XXXIX. 1-2 .....330, n. 2
XLI 201
XLI. 1 .....330, n. 2
XLI. 5 .....62, n. 7
XLI. 14 (XXXIV. 14 in the Hebrew) .....44, n. 8
XLIV. 15 .....170, n. 4
XLIV. 15 *sq.* .....393 and n. 5
XLVI. 21 .....394, n. 1
XLVIII ...179, n. 1. *See also: Isaiah* XVI. 2
XLVIII. 44 .....394, n. 1
L. 2 .....130, n. 5
L. 27 .....394, n. 1
LI. 1 .....451, n. 4
LI. 4, 6, 12, 31 .....330, n. 2
LI. 6 .....330, n. 2
LI. 12 .....330, n. 2
LI. 18 .....394, n. 1
LI. 31 .....330, n. 2

Ezekiel

VI. 6 .....130, n. 5
VIII. 14 .....69, n. 4
XIII. 14 .....477, n. 3
XVII. 10 .....451, n. 4
XIX. 12 .....451, n. 4
XX-XXIII .....150, n. 1
XX. 25-26 ....92, n. 2; 395 and n. 6
XXII. 20-22 .....177, n. 3
XXIII. 15 .....309, n. 3
XXVI. 1 .....330, n. 4
XXVII. 26 .....451, n. 3
XXIX. 17 .....330, n. 4
XXX. 1 *sq.* .....356, n. 5
XXXI. 1 .....330, n. 4
XXXII. 1 .....330, n. 4
XXXVI. 25 .....222, n. 2
XL. 1 ...331 and n. 6; 332; n. 6 (333)
XLIII. 1 *sq.* .....325, n. 2
XLIII. 27 .....255, n. 4
XLV .....279, n. 3
XLV. 17 .....327, n. 1; 401 and n. 2
XLV. 18 .....330, n. 4
XLV. 18-20 .....281 and n. 2
XLV. 18 *sq.* .....292, n. 3
XLV. 21 .....259 and n. 2
XLV. 21-22 .....82, n. 2
XLV. 21-25 .....120, n. 3
XLV. 25 .....197 and n. 6
XLVI. 1, 3 .....401 and n. 2
XLVI. 3 .....327, n. 1; 401 and n. 2
XLVI. 7 .....318, n. 2
XLVI. 9 .....96, n. 3
XLVII. 1 *sq.* .....217, n. 6

Daniel

I. 12 .....223, n. 5
IX. 11 .....282, n. 3
X. 3 .....155, n. 9

Hosea

II. 11 .....327, n. 1; 400, n. 2; and 401, n. 3
II. 11 (13) .....396, n. 1
II. 13 .....393 and n. 3
II. 13 (15) .....396, n. 1
II. 16 .....465 and n. 5
IV. 15 .....165, n. 2
VI. 2 .....266, n. 4
IX. 5, 7 .....394, n. 1
IX. 7 .....394, n. 1
XI. 1 .....230, n. 2
XII. 1 .....451, n. 6
XIII. 15 .....451, n. 4

Joel

I. 8 *sq.* .....357 and n. 3
I. 14 .....273, n. 1, n. 2; 274, n. 3
II. 1 .....273, n. 1
II. 1-17 .....223 and n. 6
II. 12 *sq.* .....357 and n. 3
II. 15 .....273, n. 1, n. 2; 274, n. 3
III. 2-8 .....212, n. 2
III. 14 .....356 and n. 7
III. 17 .....357, n. 4

Amos

IV. 4 .....43 and n. 4; 165, n. 2
IV. 5 .....253, n. 1
IV. 11 .....257 and n. 2
V. 5 .....165, n. 2
V. 17 .....357 and n. 4
V. 18 *sq.* .....356 and n. 2
V. 21 .....273, n. 2; 274, n. 3
V. 26 .....492, n. 2
VII. 8 ...79, n. 1; 282, n. 3; 357 and n. 4
VIII. 2...79, n. 1; 282, n. 3; 357 and n. 4
VIII. 5 ...327, n. 1; 400, n. 2; 401 and n. 5
IX. 11 .....331, n. 6

Jonah

I. 4 .....451, n. 3
III. 5, 7 .....354, n. 7
III. 7 .....354, n. 7
IV. 8 .....451, n. 4

Micah

I. 7 .....130, n. 5
I. 16 .....62, n. 7
IV. 6-7 .....179, n. 6; 454 and n. 9
V. 7 (8) .....99, n. 3
VII. 4 .....394, n. 1
VII. 18 ...79, n. 1; 99, n. 3; 282, n. 3
VII. 19 .....290, n. 1

Nahum

I. 15 .....357 and n. 4
II. 3 .....73, n. 6
II. 7 .....73, n. 6

Habakkuk

II. 2-3 .....357 and n. 6
III. 2 .....316, n. 1
III. 2 (LXX) .....316, n. 1
III. 8 .....133, n. 2

Zephaniah

I. 7 *sq.* .....356, n. 5
I. 9 .....80, n. 1
III. 19 .....179, n. 6; 454 and n. 10
V. 4 *sq.* .....356, n. 5

Haggai

II. 1-5 .....218, n. 4
II. 10, 20 .....209, n. 4
II. 20 .....209, n. 4

Zechariah

I. 7 .....281, n. 4; 330, n. 3
III. 1-10 .....176, n. 2; 281, n. 4
III. 1 *sq.* .....395, n. 2
III. 2 .....257 and n. 3
III. 7 .....288, n. 4
V. 5-11 .....285, n. 1
VII-VIII .....396 and n. 4
VII. 1 .....330, n. 3
X. 11 .....126, n. 3
XII-XIV .....248, n. 3
XII. 10-11 .....248, n. 3 (249)
XIII. 2 .....130, n. 5
XIV. 7 *sq.* .....217 and n. 5
XIV. 16-18 .....210 and n. 5
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Apocalypse of Abraham

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Assumption of Moses

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II Baruch

(Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch)

XX. 1 .....143, n. 2

III Baruch

IV. 15 .....222, n. 2
IV. 26 .....296, n. 6

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VI. 6 .....73, n. 3
X. 4 .....169, n. 5
LX. 8 .....422, n. 2
LXX. 1-2 .....422, n. 3
LXXII-LXXV, LXXXII 4 *sq.* ...346, n. 4
LXXII. 13, 16, 19, 25 .....349, n. 2
LXXII. 16 .....349, n. 2
LXXII. 19 .....349, n. 2
LXXII. 25 .....349, n. 2
LXXIV. 1-6 .....352, n. 5
LXXIV. 5-6 .....349, n. 4 (350)
LXXVI. 5, 7 .....451, n. 8
LXXVI. 7 .....451, n. 8
LXXX. 2 .....143, n. 2
LXXXII. 4 *sq.* .....346, n. 4
XCI. 1-15 .....338, n. 3
XCIII .....338, n. 3
XCIII. 3 .....422, n. 2
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II Enoch

(The Secrets of Enoch)

I. 2, 8 .....422, n. 3
I. 8 .....422, n. 3
XI. 4 .....527 and n. 2
XVI. 3 *sq.* .....338, n. 3
XIX. 1 *sq.* .....116, n. 8 (117)
XIX. 6 .....527 and n. 2
XX. 1 *sq.* .....484, n. 6
XXI. 1 .....527 and n. 2
XXIX. 4-5 .....368, n. 2
XXX. 8 *sq.* .....368, n. 2
XXXIII. 2 .....34, n. 3
XXXIV. 1-2 .....73, n. 3

Epistle of Jeremy

Vs. 3 .....33 and n. 2

I Esdras

I. 5 *sq.* .....85, n. 2
V. 47-51 (V. 54 *sq.*) .....198, n. 5
V. 53 .....331, n. 6. Cf. *Ezra III.* 6
V. 61-65 ...208, n. 4. Cf. *Ezra III.* 11-13
VII. 5 .....330, n. 3

IV Ezra

III. 18 *sq.* .....169, n. 5
VI. 7-10 .....267, n. 4
VI. 26 .....231, n. 1
VII. 26-36 .....416, n. 2
IX. 23-25 .....126, n. 4
X .....298, n. 3
XIII. 44 *sq.* .....427, n. 3
XIII. 46 *sq.* .....187, n. 3

Jubilees

I. 1 .....210 and n. 3
I. 3 .....33, n. 4
I. 15 (II. 1) .....92, n. 1
II. 4 .....165, n. 1
IV. 15, 22 *sq.* .....73, n. 3
IV. 22 *sq.* .....73, n. 3
V. 22 .....345, n. 8
V. 23 .....345, n. 8
VI. 17 *sq.* .....210, n. 2; 351, n. 1
VI. 17-18 .....210 and n. 1
VI. 21 .....267 and n. 3
VI. 23 .....349, n. 2
VI. 23, 29-30 .....346, n. 5
VI. 29-30 .....346, n. 5
VI. 32-38 .....347 and n. 4
VII. 1-3 .....39 and n. 4
VII. 1-3, 35-37 .....38, n. 4
VII. 34 .....234, n. 7
VII. 35-37 .....38, n. 4
XIII. 8 .....331, n. 6
XIV. 10 *sq.* .....147, n. 3
XIV. 20 .....210, n. 1
XV. 1 *sq.* .....351, n. 2
XV. 1-2 .....270, n. 3 (271)
XVI. 11 *sq.* .....214 and n. 6
XVI. 12 .....73, n. 2
XVI. 13 .....40 and n. 3; 351, n. 4
XVI. 14 *sq.* .....214 and n. 6
XVI. 15 .....73, n. 2
XVI. 16 .....205, n. 2
XVI. 20-31 .....205 and n. 1
XVI. 22-23 .....205, n. 3
XVI. 25 .....214, n. 5
XVI. 31 .....68, n. 2
XVII-XVIII .....92, n. 3
XVII. 15 *sq.* .....223, n. 5
XXII. 1 *sq.* .....351, n. 3
XXVIII. 4 .....40 and n. 4
XXVIII. 15 .....351, n. 4
XXIX .....113, n. 4
XXIX. 7 .....351, n. 5
XXXI. 3 .....331, n. 6
XXXI. 16 .....352 and n. 6
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XXXII. 16-17 .....204, n. 1
XXXII. 27 .....204, n. 2
XXXIV .....294, n. 5
XXXIV. 6-18 .....350, n. 3
XXXIV. 12-19 .....350, n. 2
XLI. 8 .....73, n. 2
XLIV. 4 .....270, n. 3 (271)
XLVIII-XLIX .....132 and n. 2
XLVIII. 2-3 .....241, n. 1
XLVIII. 7 .....133, n. 3
XLVIII. 15-16 .....132 and n. 5
XLVIII. 16 .....434, n. 2
XLVIII. 18 .....134, n. 2
XLIX .....138, n. 3
XLIX. 1 .....349, n. 3
XLIX. 2 .....132 and n. 3, n. 4
XLIX. 6 .....135, n. 1
XLIX. 10 .....134, n. 6
XLIX. 14 .....316, n. 1; 349, n. 2
XLIX. 15-20 .....124 and n. 1
XLIX. 23 .....131 and n. 2
L. 8-9 .....275, n. 1
L. 9 .....117 and n. 2

Judith

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XIII. 4 .....146, n. 3
XIII. 4-5 .....128 and n. 3
XIX. 16 .....226, n. 3
XX. 8 .....153, n. 3
XL. 8 .....42, n. 1
XLV. 2 .....73, n. 4
XLVIII. 3 .....71, n. 2
L. 2 .....72, n. 3
LIII. 4 .....364, n. 1
LIII. 4-5 .....75, n. 2
LVI. 6 .....75, n. 1

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II. 27 *sq.* .....57, n. 2
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VII. 43, 49 .....330, n. 3
VII. 49 .....330, n. 3

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i. 18 .....330, n. 3
i. 35 .....208, n. 5
ii. 12 .....202 and n. 7
iv. 36-59 .....202, n. 7
v. 27 .....57, n. 2
vi. 1-8 .....477, n. 2
x. 5 .....330, n. 3
x. 6 .....57, n. 2
x. 6-7 .....244, n. 3
x. 7 .....245 and n. 2
xii. 32 .....258, n. 6
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viii. 311 .....389, n. 4 (390)
viii. 474 *sq.* .....508, n. 4

Sirach

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xi. 8 .....339, n. 5

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xii. 1 .....73, n. 1
xii. 2 .....71 and n. 8

Testament of Zebulon

iv. 4 .....32, n. 3

Tobit

ii. 1 .....258, n. 5
xi. 11 *sq.* .....157, n. 5

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ii. 15 .....230, n. 2
iii. 4 .....157, n. 1
iv. 4 .....152, n. 6
iv. 5 *sq.* .....296, n. 6
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v. 23-24 .....287, n. 4
vi. 7 .....97, n. 4
vii. 15 .....227, n. 1
viii. 28 *sq.* .....390, n. 2
xii. 1 *sq.* .....88, n. 1
xii. 1-8 .....149, n. 3
xiii. 44 .....117, n. 4
xvii. 1 .....231 and n. 2
xvii. 1 *sq.* .....226, n. 1
xvii. 2 .....226, n. 3
xvii. 5 .....226, n. 6
xxi. 12-17 .....292 and n. 3
xxi. 17 .....248, n. 3
xxiv. 1-3 ...298, n. 3. *See also: Mark* xiii. 1-4 and *Luke* xxi. 5-7
xxiv. 11, 24 .....395, n. 4
xxiv. 16 *sq.* .....57, n. 2
xxiv. 22 .....143, n. 2
xxiv. 24 .....395, n. 4
xxiv. 36 ...392, n. 6. *See also: Mark* xiii. 32
xxv. 6 .....101, n. 1
xxv. 12 ...134, n. 6 (135). *See also: Mark* xiii. 35 and *Luke* xiii. 25
xxvi. 21, 26 .....82, n. 6
xxvi. 26 .....82, n. 6
xxvi. 29 .....235, n. 4
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V. 1 *sq.* .....476, n. 3
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